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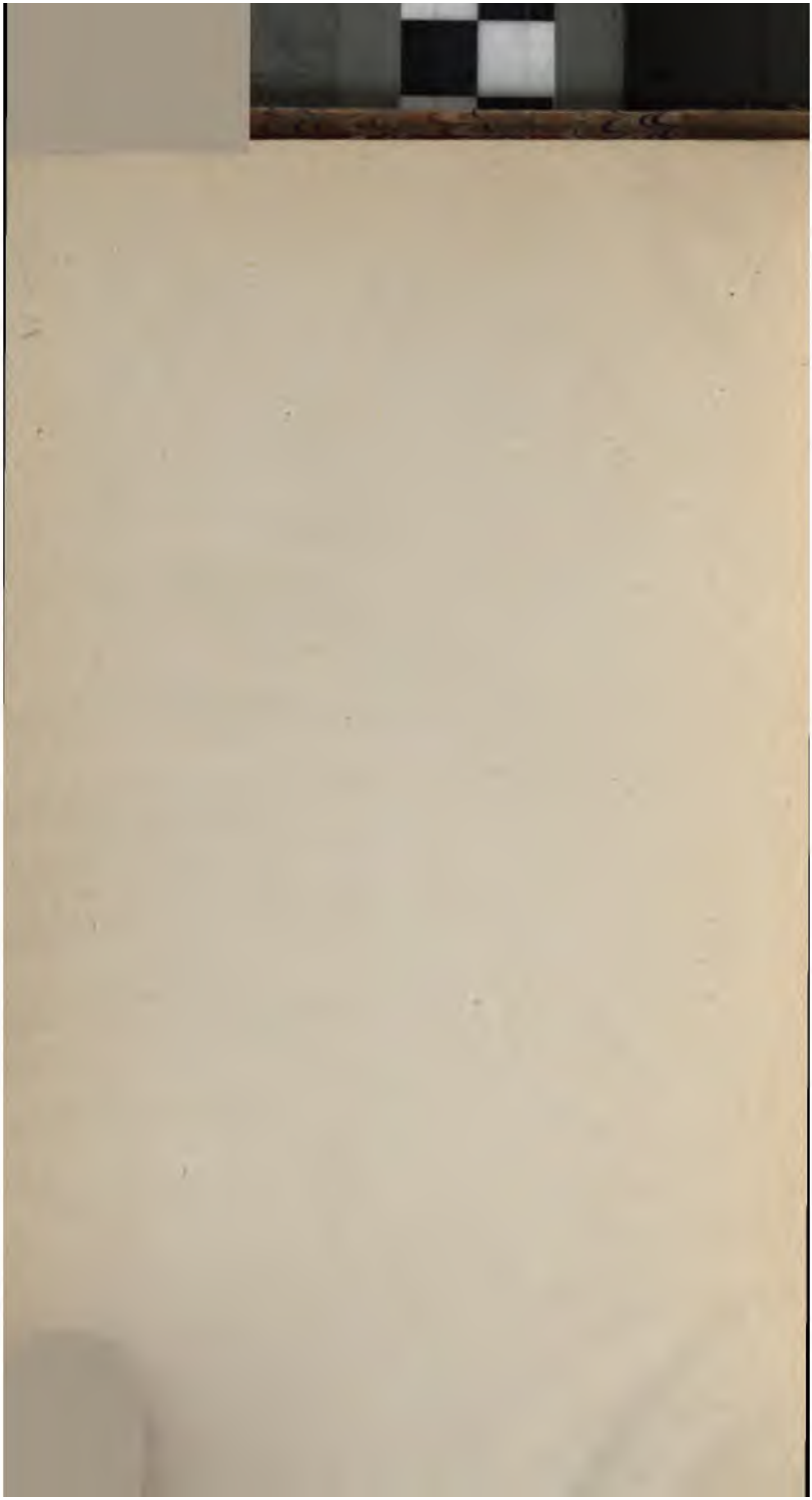
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OF THE

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HISTORY

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FROM

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT.

BY

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

EPOCH FOURTH CONTINUED.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA IS ACKNOWLEDGED.

1776–1782.

THE INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IS ACKNOWLEDGED.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CAPITULATION OF BURGOYNE.

AUGUST 19—OCTOBER 20, 1777.

On the nineteenth of August, Gates assumed the command of the northern army, which lay nine miles above Albany, near the mouths of the Mohawk. Repelling groundless complaints of ill treatment of those captured at Bennington, he taunted Burgoyne with the murders and scalpings by the Indians in his employ. On the return of the battalions with Arnold and the arrival of the corps of Morgan, his continental troops, apart from continual accessions of militia, outnumbered the British and German regulars whom he was to meet. Artillery and small arms were received from France by an arrival at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; and New York freely brought out its resources. 1777. Aug.

The war of America was a war of ideas more than of material power. On the ninth of September, Jay, the first chief justice of the new commonwealth of New York, opened its supreme court in Kingston, and charged the grand jury in these words: "Free, mild, and equal government begins to rise. Divine Providence has made the tyranny of princes instrumental in breaking the chains of their subjects. Whoever compares our present with our former constitution will admit that all the calami- Sept.

ties incident to this war will be amply compensated by the many blessings flowing from this glorious revolution, which in its rise and progress is distinguished by so many marks of the divine favor and interposition that no doubt can remain of its being finally accomplished. Thirteen colonies immediately become one people, and unanimously determine to be free. The people of this state have chosen their constitution under the guidance of reason and experience. The highest respect has been paid to those great and equal rights of human nature which should for ever remain inviolate in every society. You will know no power but such as you create, no laws but such as acquire all their obligation from your consent. The rights of conscience and private judgment are by nature subject to no control but that of the Deity, and in that free situation they are now left. Happy would it be for all mankind if the opinion prevailed that the gospel of Christ would not fall, though unsupported by the arm of flesh."

While Jay affirmed these principles of public justice and wisdom, Gates, after twenty days of inactivity, moved his army up the Hudson to Stillwater. On the twelfth they advanced and encamped on a spur of hills jutting out nearly to the Hudson, known as Behmus's Heights. They counted nine thousand effectives, most of them husbandmen and freeholders, or the sons of freeholders, conscious of superior strength, eager for action, well armed except that but three soldiers in ten had bayonets. They kindled with anger and scorn at the horrid barbarities threatened by Burgoyne; they were enthusiasts for the freedom of mankind and the independence of their country, now to be secured by their deeds; and it was their common determination to win the victory. Gates had no fitness for command, and wanted personal courage; the removal of Schuyler was passionately resented by a few New Yorkers; and Arnold, who assumed the part of Schuyler's friend, was quarrelsome and insubordinate: but the patriotism of the army was so deep and universal that it gave no heed to doubts or altercations.

1777. Sept.

After the toils of five weeks, a hundred and eighty boats

were hauled by relays of horses over the two portages between Lake George and the river at Saratoga, and laden with one month's provisions for the army of Burgoyne. And now he was confronted by the question, what he should do. He had been greatly weakened, and Howe refused him aid; but he remembered that Germain had censured Carleton because he would "hazard nothing with the troops;" so, consulting no one of his officers, reading over his instructions a hundred times, and reserving the excuse for failure that his orders were peremptory, he called in all his men, gave up his connections, and with less than six thousand rank and file thought to force his way to Albany. On the thirteenth of September, his army with its splendid train of artillery crossed the Hudson at Schuylerville by a bridge of boats. 1777. Sept.

At once Lincoln, carrying out a plan concerted with Gates, sent from Manchester five hundred light troops without artillery, under Colonel John Brown of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, to distress the British in their rear. In the morning twilight of the eighteenth, Brown surprised the outposts of Ticonderoga, including Mount Defiance; and, with the loss of not more than nine killed and wounded, he set free one hundred American prisoners, captured four companies of regulars and others who guarded the newly made portage between Lake Champlain and Lake George, in all two hundred and ninety-three men with arms equal to their number and five cannon, and destroyed one hundred and fifty boats below the falls of Lake George, and fifty above them, including gunboats and an armed sloop. Not being strong enough to carry Fort Independence, or Ticonderoga, or Diamond Island in Lake George, the party with their trophies rejoined Lincoln.

Meantime, the army of Burgoyne, stopping to rebuild bridges and repair roads, advanced scarcely four miles in as many days. By this time the well-chosen camp of the Americans had been made very strong; their right touched the Hudson, and could not be assailed; their left was a high ridge of hills; their lines were protected by a breastwork. Burgoyne must dislodge them, if he would get for-

ward. His army moved on the nineteenth, as on former days, in three columns: the artillery, protected by Riedesel and Brunswick troops, took the road through the meadows near the river; the general in person led the centre across a deep ravine to a field on Freeman's farm; while
1777. Sept. Fraser, with the right, made a circuit upon the ridge to occupy heights from which the left of the Americans could be assailed. Indians, Canadians, and tories hovered on the front and flanks of the several columns.

In concurrence with the advice of Arnold, Gates ordered out Morgan's riflemen and the light infantry. They put a picket to flight at a quarter past one, but retired before the division of Burgoyne. Leading his force unobserved through the woods, and securing his right by thickets and ravines, Morgan next fell unexpectedly upon the left of the British central division. To support him, Gates, at two o'clock, sent out three New Hampshire battalions, of which that of Scammel met the enemy in front, that of Cilley took them in flank. In a warm engagement, Morgan had his horse shot under him, and with his riflemen captured a cannon, but could not carry it off. From half-past two there was a lull of a half-hour, during which Phillips brought more artillery against the Americans, and Gates ordered out two regiments of Connecticut militia under Cook. At three the battle became general, and it raged till after sundown. Fraser sent to the aid of Burgoyne such detachments as he could spare without endangering his own position, which was the object of the day. At four, Gates ordered out the New York regiment of Cortlandt, followed in a half-hour by that of Henry Livingston. The battle was marked by the obstinate courage of the Americans, but by no manœuvre; man fought against man, regiment against regiment. A party would drive the British from the cannon which had been taken, and they would rally and recover it with the bayonet; but, when they advanced, it was only to fall back before the deadly fire from the wood. The Americans used no artillery; the British employed several field-pieces, and with effect; but Jones, who commanded the principal battery, was killed, and some

of his officers, and thirty-six out of forty-eight matrosses, were killed or wounded. At five, all too late in the day, Brigadier Learned was ordered with all his brigade and a Massachusetts regiment to the enemy's rear. Before the sun went down, Burgoyne was in danger of a rout; the troops about him wavered, when Riedesel, with more than a single regiment and two cannon, struggling through the thickets, across a ravine, climbed the hill, and charged the Americans on their right flank. Evening was at hand; those of the Americans who had been engaged for more than three hours had nearly exhausted their ammunition, and they quietly withdrew within their lines, taking with them their wounded and a hundred captives. On the British side, three major-generals came on the field; on the American side, not one, nor a brigadier till near its close. The glory of the day was due to the several regiments, which fought in unison, and needed only an able general to have utterly routed Burgoyne's division. Of the Americans, praise justly fell upon Morgan of Virginia and Scammel of New Hampshire; none offered their lives more freely than the continental regiment of Cilley and the Connecticut militia of Cook. The American loss, including the wounded and missing, proved less than three hundred and twenty; among the dead was the brave and meritorious Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Colburn, of New Hampshire. This accidental battle crippled the British force irretrievably. Their loss exceeded six hundred. Of the sixty-second regiment, which left Canada five hundred strong, there remained less than sixty men and four or five officers. "Tell my uncle I died like a soldier," were the last words of Hervey, one of its lieutenants, a boy of sixteen, who was mortally wounded. A shot from a rifle, meant for Burgoyne, struck an officer at his side. 1777. Sept.

The separated divisions of the British army passed the night in bivouac under arms; that of Burgoyne, on the field of battle. Morning revealed to them their desperate condition; to all former difficulties was added the incumbrance of their wounded. Their dead were buried promiscuously, except that officers were thrown into holes by themselves,

in one pit three of the twentieth regiment, of whom the oldest was not more than seventeen.

An attack upon the remains of Burgoyne's division, while it was still disconnected and without intrenchments, was urged by Arnold with all the chances of a victory; but such a movement did not suit the timid nature of Gates, who waited for ammunition and more troops, till his effective men outnumbered his enemies by three or even four to one. A quarrel ensued; and Arnold demanded and received a passport for Philadelphia. Repenting of his rashness, he lingered in the camp, but could no longer obtain access to Gates, nor a command.

During the twentieth, the British general encamped his army on the heights near Freeman's house, so near the American lines that he could not make a movement unobserved. With no possibility of escape but by a speedy retreat, on the twenty-first he received from Sir Henry Clinton a promise of a diversion on Hudson River; and, catching at the phantom of hope, he answered that he could maintain his position until the twelfth of October.

Putnam, who commanded on the Hudson, was unfit to be a general officer. Spies of the British watched his condition, and he had not sagacity to discover theirs. Connecticut had been less drawn upon for the northern army, that its militia might assist to defend the Highlands; he had neglected proper measures for securing their aid, and they were sent in great numbers to Spencer at Providence, with the vain design of attacking the British troops at Newport. Meantime, Putnam, in his easy manner, suffered a large part of the New York militia to go home; so that he now had but about two thousand men. Sir Henry Clinton, with four thousand troops, feigned an attack upon Fishkill by landing troops at Verplanck's Point. Putnam was completely duped; and, doing just as the British wished, he retired out of the way to the hills in the rear of Peekskill. George Clinton, the governor of New York, knew the point of danger. With such force as he could collect he hastened to Fort Clinton, while his brother James took command of Fort Montgomery.

1777. Oct.

Putnam should have re-enforced their garrisons: instead of it, he ordered troops away from them, and left the passes unguarded. At daybreak on the sixth of October, the British and Hessians disembarked at Stony Point; Vaughan with more than one thousand men advanced towards Fort Clinton, while a corps of about a thousand occupied the pass of Dunderberg, and, by a difficult, circuitous march of seven miles, at five o'clock came in the rear of Fort Montgomery. Vaughan's troops were then ordered to storm Fort Clinton with the bayonet. A gallant resistance was made by the governor; but at the close of twilight the British, by the superiority of numbers, forced the works. In like manner Fort Montgomery was carried; but the two commanders and almost all of both garrisons escaped into the forest. A heavy iron chain with a boom had been stretched across the river from Fort Montgomery to Anthony's Nose. This now fell to the British. Overruling the direction of Governor Clinton, Putnam had ordered down two continental frigates for the defence of the chain; but, as they were badly manned, one of them could not be got off in time; the other grounded opposite West Point; and both were set on fire in the night. Fort Constitution, on the island opposite West Point, was abandoned, so that the river was open to Albany. When Putnam received large re-enforcements from Connecticut, he did nothing with them. On the seventh he wrote to Gates: "I cannot prevent the enemy's advancing; prepare for the worst;" and on the eighth: "The enemy can take a fair wind, and go to Albany or Half Moon with great expedition and without any opposition." But Sir Henry Clinton, who, instead of hunting cattle in New Jersey, ought a month sooner to have gone to Albany, garrisoned Fort Montgomery, and returned to New York, leaving Vaughan with a large marauding expedition to ascend the Hudson. Vaughan did no more than plunder and burn the town of Kingston on the fifteenth, and pillage and set fire to the mansions of patriots along the river.

After the battle of the nineteenth of September, the condition of Burgoyne rapidly grew more per- 1777. Sept.

plexing. The Americans broke down the bridges which he had built in his rear, and so swarmed in the woods that he could gain no just idea of their situation. His foraging parties and advanced posts were harassed; horses grew thin and weak; the hospital was cumbered with at least eight hundred sick and wounded men. One third part of the soldier's ration was retrenched. While the British army declined in number, Gates was constantly re-enforced. On the twenty-second Lincoln arrived, and took command of the right wing; he was followed by two thousand militia. The Indians melted away from Burgoyne, and by the zeal of Schuyler, contrary to the policy of Gates, a small band, chiefly of Oneidas, joined the American camp. In
1777. Oct. the evening of the fourth of October, Burgoyne called Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser to council, and proposed to them by a roundabout march to turn the left of the Americans. To do this, it was answered, the British must leave their boats and provisions for three days at the mercy of the Americans. Riedesel advised a swift retreat to Fort Edward; but Burgoyne still continued to wait for a co-operating army from below. On the seventh he agreed to make a grand reconnoissance, and, if the Americans could not be attacked, he would think of a retreat. At eleven o'clock on the morning of that day, seven hundred men of Fraser's command, three hundred of Breymann's, and five hundred of Riedesel's, were picked out for the service. The late hour was chosen, that in case of disaster night might intervene for their relief. They were led by Burgoyne, who took with him Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser. The fate of the army hung on the event, and not many more than fifteen hundred men could be spared without exposing the camp; but never was a body of that number so commanded, or composed of more thoroughly trained soldiers. They entered a field about half a mile from the Americans, where they formed a line, and sat down in double ranks, offering battle. Their artillery, consisting of eight brass pieces and two howitzers, was well posted; their front was open; the grenadiers under Ackland, stationed in the forest, protected the left; Fraser, with the light infantry and an

English regiment, formed the right, which was skirted by a wooded hill; the Brunswickers held the centre. While Fraser sent foragers into a wheat-field, Canadians, provincials, and Indians were to get upon the American rear.

From his camp, which contained ten or eleven thousand well-armed soldiers eager for battle, Gates resolved to send out a force sufficient to overwhelm his adversaries. By the advice of Morgan, a simultaneous attack was ordered to be made on both flanks. A little before three o'clock, the column of the American right, composed of Poor's brigade, followed by the New York militia under Ten Broeck, unmoved by the well-directed and well-served grape-shot from two twelve-pounders and four sixes, marched on to engage Ackland's grenadiers; while the men of Morgan were seen making a circuit, to reach the flank and rear of the British right, upon which the American light infantry under Dearborn descended impetuously from superior ground. In danger of being surrounded, Burgoyne ordered Fraser with the light infantry and part of the twenty-fourth regiment to form a second line in the rear, so as to secure the retreat of the army. While executing this order, Fraser received a ball from a sharpshooter, and, fatally wounded, was led back to the camp. Just then, within twenty minutes from the beginning of the action, the British grenadiers, suffering from the sharp fire of musketry in front and flank, wavered and fled, leaving Major Ackland, their commander, severely wounded. These movements exposed the Brunswickers on both flanks, and one regiment broke, turned, and fled. It rallied, but only to retreat in less disorder, driven by the Americans. Sir Francis Clarke, Burgoyne's first aid, sent to the rescue of the artillery, was mortally wounded before he could deliver his message; and the Americans took all the eight pieces. In the face of the hot pursuit, no second line could be formed. Burgoyne exposed himself fearlessly; a shot passed through his hat, and another tore his waistcoat; but he was compelled to give the word of command for all to retreat to the camp of Fraser, which lay to the right of head-quarters. As he entered, he betrayed his sense of danger, crying out: 1777. Oct.

"You must defend the post till the very last man!" The Americans pursued with fury; and, unwisely directed by Arnold, who had ridden upon the field as a volunteer, without orders, without command, without a staff, and beside himself, yet carrying some authority as the highest officer present in the action, they made an onset on the strongest part of the British line, and despite an abattis and other obstructions, despite musketry-fire and grape-shot, continued it for more than an hour, though in vain. Meantime, the brigade of Learned made a circuit and assaulted the quarters of the regiment of Breymann, which flanked the extreme right of the British camp, and was connected with Fraser's quarters by two stockade redoubts, defended by Canadian companies. These intermediate redoubts were stormed by a Massachusetts regiment headed by John Brooks, afterwards governor of that state, and were carried with little loss. Arnold, who had joined a group in this last assault, lost his horse and was himself badly wounded within the works. The regiment of Breymann was now exposed in front and rear. Its colonel, fighting gallantly, was mortally wounded; some of his troops fled; and the rest, about two hundred in number, surrendered. Colonel Speth, who led a small body of Germans to his support, was taken prisoner. The position of Breymann was the key to Burgoyne's camp; but the directions for its recovery could not be executed. Night set in, and darkness ended the battle.

1777. Oct.

During the fight, neither Gates nor Lincoln appeared on the field. In his report of the action, Gates named Arnold with Morgan and Dearborn; and congress rewarded his courage by giving him the rank which he had claimed. The action was the battle of husbandmen; in which men of the valley of Virginia, of New York, and of New England, fought together with one spirit for a common cause. At ten o'clock in the night, Burgoyne gave orders to retreat. His army was greatly outnumbered, their cattle starving, their hospitals cumbered with sick, wounded, and dying, and at daybreak he had only transferred his camp to the heights above the hospital. Light dawned, to show the hopelessness of his position.

All persons sorrowed over Fraser, so much love had he inspired. He questioned the surgeon eagerly as to his wound, and, when he found that he must go from wife and children, from fame and promotion and life, he cried out in his agony: "Damned ambition!" At sunset of the eighth, as his body, attended by the officers of his family, was borne by soldiers of his corps to the great redoubt above the Hudson, where he had asked to be buried, the three major-generals, Burgoyne, Phillips, and Riedesel, and none beside, followed as mourners; and, amidst the booming of the American artillery, the order for the burial of the dead was strictly observed in the twilight over his grave. Death in itself is not terrible; but he came to America for selfish advancement, and, with all his fidelity as a soldier, he died unconsoled. 1777. Oct.

In the following hours, Burgoyne, abandoning the wounded and sick in his hospital, continued his retreat; but, as he was still clogged with artillery and baggage, the night being dark, the narrow road worsened by rain, they made halt two miles short of Saratoga. In the night before the tenth, the British army, finding the passage of the Hudson too strongly guarded by the Americans, forded the Fishkill, and in a very bad position at Saratoga made their last encampment. On the tenth, Burgoyne sent out a party to reconnoitre the road on the west of the Hudson; but Stark, who after the battle of Bennington had been received at home as a conqueror, had returned with more than two thousand men of New Hampshire, and held the river at Fort Edward.

At daybreak of the eleventh, an American brigade, favored by a thick fog, broke up the British posts at the mouth of the Fishkill, and captured all their boats and all their provisions, except a short allowance for five days. On the twelfth, the British army was completely invested; nor was there a spot in their camp which was not exposed to cannon or rifle shot. On the thirteenth, Burgoyne, for the first time, called the commanders of the corps to council; and they were unanimous for treating on honorable terms. Had Gates been firm, they would have surrendered as pris-

oners of war. Burgoyne's counter proposals stipulated for a passage for the army from the port of Boston to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the war. Frightened by the expedition of Vaughan, Gates consented to the modification, and on the seventeenth the convention was signed. A body of Americans marched to the tune of Yankee Doodle into the lines of the British, while they marched out and in mute astonishment and sorrow laid down their arms with none of the American soldiery to witness the spectacle. Bread was then served to them, for they had none left, nor flour.

1777. Oct. Their number, including officers, was five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one. Beside these, there were eighteen hundred and fifty-six prisoners of war, including the sick and wounded, who had been abandoned. Of deserters there were three hundred; so that, including the killed, prisoners, and disabled at Hubbardton, Fort Ann, Bennington, Orisca, the outposts of Ticonderoga, and round Saratoga, the total loss of the British in this northern campaign was not far from ten thousand, counting officers as well as rank and file. The Americans acquired forty-two pieces of the best brass ordnance then known, beside large munitions of war, and more than forty-six hundred muskets.

So many of their rank and file were freeholders or freeholders' sons that they gave a character to the whole army. The negroes, of whom there were many in every regiment, served in the same companies with them, shared their mess, and partook of their spirit. Next to the generous care of Washington in detaching to their aid troops destined and needed against Howe, victory was due to the enthusiasm of the soldiers. When the generals who should have directed them remained in camp, their common zeal created a harmonious correspondence of movement, and baffled the high officers and veterans opposed to them.

Gates knew that public duty required him to send the best part of his continental troops as swiftly as possible to support the contest against Howe. His conduct now will test his character as a general and a patriot.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CONTEST FOR THE DELAWARE RIVER.

SEPTEMBER—NOVEMBER, 1777.

SOME of the Pennsylvanians would have had Washington shut himself up in Philadelphia. Except that it was the city in which congress had declared American independence, its possession was of no importance; for above it the rivers were not navigable, and it did not intercept the communication between the north and the south. The approach to it by water was still obstructed by a double set of chevaux de-frise, extending across the channel of the Delaware: one, seven miles from Philadelphia, just below the mouth of the Schuylkill, and protected by Fort Mercer at Red-bank on the New Jersey shore and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island; the other, five miles still nearer the bay, and overlooked by works at Billingsport. 1777. Sept.

At Philadelphia the river was commanded by an American flotilla composed of one frigate, smaller vessels, galleys, floating batteries, and other craft. On the twenty-seventh of September they approached the city to annoy the working parties: on the ebb of the tide, the frigate grounded, and its commander, fearing a fire from land, hastily surrendered. This disaster enabled the British to open communication with the Jersey shore. On the second of October a detachment was put across the Delaware from Chester by the boats of one of their frigates; the garrison at Billingsport, spiking their guns, fled, leaving the lower line of obstructions to be removed without molestation. Faint-heartedness spread along the river; the militia who were to have defended Red-bank disappeared, Oct. 2.

those of New Jersey held back; from the water-craft and even from the forts there were frequent desertions both of officers and privates. Washington must act, or despondency will prevail.

1777. Oct. The village of Germantown formed for two miles one continuous street. At its centre it was crossed at right angles by Howe's encampment, which extended on the right to a wood, and was guarded on its extreme left by Hessian yagers at the Schuylkill. The first battalion of light infantry and the queen's American rangers were advanced in front of the right wing; the second battalion supported the furthest pickets of the left at Mount Airy, about two miles from the camp; and at the head of the village, in an open field near a large stone house known as that of Chew, the fortieth regiment under the veteran Musgrave pitched its tents. Information of the intended attack reached Howe, but he received it with incredulity.

About noon on the third, Washington, at Matuchen Hills, announced to his army his purpose to move upon Germantown. He spoke to them of the successes of the northern army, and explained "that Howe, who lay at a distance of several miles from Cornwallis, had further weakened himself by sending two battalions to Billingsport. If they would be brave and patient, he might on the next day lead them to victory." He inspired them with his own hopeful courage. A defeat of the insulated British army must have been its ruin. His plan was to direct the chief attack upon its right, to which the approach was easy; and, for that purpose, to Greene, in whom of all his generals he most confided, he gave the command of his left wing, composed of the divisions of Greene and of Stephen and flanked by Macdougall's brigade. These formed about two thirds of all his effective force. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade and followed by Washington, with the brigades of Nash and Maxwell, under Lord Stirling, as the reserve, assumed the more difficult task of engaging the British left. To distract attention, the Maryland and New Jersey militia were to make a circuit and come upon the rear of the British right; while, on the opposite side,

Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to deal heavy blows on the Hessian yagers.

The different columns received orders to conduct their march of about fourteen miles so as to arrive near the enemy in time to rest, and to begin the attack on all quarters precisely at five o'clock. Accordingly, the right wing, after marching all night, halted two miles in front of the British outpost, and took refreshment. Then, screened by a fog and moving in silence, the advance party at the appointed hour surprised the British picket. The battalion of light infantry offered a gallant resistance; but when Wayne's men, whom Sullivan's division closely followed, rushed on with the terrible cry, "Have at the blood-hounds! Revenge! revenge!" the bugle sounded a retreat. The cannon woke Cornwallis in Philadelphia, who instantly ordered his British grenadiers and Hessians to the scene of action; Howe, in like manner startled from his bed, rode up just in time to see the battalion running away. "For shame, light infantry!" he cried in anger; "I never saw you retreat before. Form! form! it is only a scouting party." But the cutting grape-shot from three of the American cannon rattling about him showed the seriousness of the attack, and he rode off at full speed to prepare his camp for battle; while Musgrave, detaching a part of his regiment to support the fugitives, threw himself with six companies into Chew's house, which was built solidly of stone and stood at the roadside, and barricaded its lower windows and doors. 1777. Oct.

Greene should by this time have engaged the British right; but nothing was heard from any part of his wing. In consequence, as Sullivan and Wayne approached Chew's house together, Sullivan directed Wayne to pass to the left of it, while he advanced on its right. In this manner their two divisions were separated. The advance was slow, for it was made in line; while the troops wasted their ammunition by an incessant fire at every house and hedge which showed signs of resistance. Washington, with Maxwell's part of the reserve, summoned Musgrave to surrender; but the officer who carried the white flag was fired upon and killed; the brave Chevalier Mauduit Duplessis, who with John Laurens

of South Carolina forced and mounted the window on the ground-floor to set the house on fire, was not supported by men with combustibles, and, incredible as it may seem, the two retired slowly and safely under a fire from both stories of the house. The cannon were too light to breach the walls.

1777. Oct. Urged forward by his own anxiety and the zeal of the young officers of his staff, Washington left a single regiment to watch the house, and with the rest of the reserve advanced to the front of the battle and remained there to the last.

And where was Greene with two thirds of the attacking force confided to his command? From some cause which he never explained, he reached the British outpost three quarters of an hour behind time; then, at a great distance from the force which he was to have attacked, he formed his whole wing, and thus in line of battle attempted to advance two miles or more through marshes, thickets, and strong and numerous post-and-rail fences. Irretrievable disorder was the consequence; the divisions became mixed, and the line was broken. Macdougall never came into the fight; and Greene was left with only the brigades of Scott and Muhlenberg. These entered the village and attacked the British right, which had had ample time for preparation. They were outflanked, and after about fifteen minutes of heavy firing were driven back; and the regiment which had penetrated furthest was captured. Stephen with one of his brigades came up with the left of Wayne's division; Woodford, who commanded the other and was on the extreme right of the wing under Greene, went out of his way as marked out by his orders to Chew's house, which he found watched by a single regiment, halted there, as we know from Marshall, an eye-witness, with his whole brigade, and took no part in the battle except to order his light field-pieces to play upon its walls. This new and unexpected cannonade, which was contrary to the plan of the battle, was exactly in the rear of Wayne's division; they could not account for it, except by supposing that the British right had gained their rear; and, throwing off all control, they retreated in disorder. Armstrong with his militia on the extreme right

considered it his duty "rather to divert the foreigners than to come in contact with them;" so he did no more than "cannonade them from the heights on the Wissahiccon." Sullivan's men, against the order of Washington, had expended their ammunition by firing often without an object. The English battalions from Philadelphia, advancing on a run, were close at hand. In the fog, parties of Americans had repeatedly mistaken each other for British. At about half-past eight, Washington, who "in his anxiety exposed himself to the hottest fire," seeing that the day was lost, gave the word to retreat, and sent it to every division. Care was taken for the removal of every piece of artillery. "British officers of the first rank said that no retreat was ever conducted in better order;" and they and the German officers alike judged the attack to have been well planned. 1777. Oct.

In the official report of this engagement, the commander in chief stated with exactness the tardy arrival of Greene. Had the forces intrusted to that officer and the militia with Armstrong acted as efficiently as the troops with Washington, the morning might have been fatal to Howe's army. The renewal of an attack so soon after the defeat at the Brandywine, and its partial success, inspirited congress and the army. In Europe, it convinced Frederic of Prussia and the cabinet of the king of France that the independence of America was assured.

To stop the sale of provisions to the British army, congress subjected every person, within thirty miles of a British post, who should give them information or furnish them supplies, to the penalty of death on conviction by court-martial; and a party of militia under Potter watched the west of the Schuylkill so carefully that the enemy suffered from a scarcity of food and forage. Could Washington obtain a force sufficient to blockade Philadelphia by land and maintain the posts on the Delaware, there was hope of driving Howe to retreat. But Pennsylvania would not rise; the contest was on her soil, and there were in camp only twelve hundred of her militia.

Between the fourth and the eighth, the fleet of Lord

Howe anchored between Newcastle and Reedy Island. It was the middle of October before they could open a narrow and intricate channel through the lower obstruction in the river. The upper set of chevaux-de-frise was untouched; and the forts on Red-bank and on Mud Island, which protected it, were garrisoned by continental troops, the former under the command of Colonel Christopher Greene of Rhode Island, the latter under that of Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith of Maryland. Meantime, Sir William Howe, from the necessity of concentrating his force, ordered Clinton to abandon Fort Clinton on the Hudson, and to send him a re-enforcement of "full six thousand men." He removed his army from Germantown to Philadelphia, and raised a line of fortifications from the Schuylkill to the Delaware.

1777. Oct.

On the morning of the eighteenth, a messenger arrived in the American camp, bringing letters from Putnam and Clinton, prematurely but positively announcing the surrender of the army of Burgoyne. Washington received them with joy unspeakable and devout gratitude "for this signal stroke of Providence." "All will be well," he said, "in His own good time." The news circulated among the Americans in every direction, and quickly penetrated the camp of Sir William Howe. The difficulty of access to the upper chevaux-de-frise had rendered its reduction much more tedious than was conceived; under a feeling of exasperated impatience, he gave verbal orders to Colonel Donop, who had expressed a wish for a separate command, to carry Red-bank by assault if it could be easily done, and make short work of the affair. On the twenty-second, Donop with five regiments of Hessian grenadiers and infantry, four companies of yagers, a few mounted yagers, all the artillery of the five battalions, and two English howitzers, arrived at the fort. Making a reconnoissance with his artillery officers, he found that on three sides it could be approached through thick woods within four hundred yards. It was a pentagon, with a high earthy rampart, protected in front by an abattis. The battery of eight three-pounders and two howitzers was brought up on the right wing, and directed on the embra-

sures. At the front of each of the four battalions selected for the assault stood a captain with the carpenters and one hundred men bearing the fascines which had been hastily bound together. Mad after glory, Donop, at half-past four, summoned the garrison in arrogant language. A defiance being returned, he addressed a few words to his troops. Each colonel placed himself at the head of his division; and at a quarter before five, under the protection of a brisk cannonade from all their artillery, they ran forward and carried the abattis. On clearing it, they were embarrassed by pitfalls, and were exposed to a terrible fire of small arms and of grape-shot from a concealed gallery, while two galleys, which the bushes had hidden, raked their flanks with chain-shot. Yet the brave Hessians formed on the glacis, filled the ditch, and pressed on towards the rampart. But Donop, the officers of his staff, and more than half the other officers, were killed or wounded; the men who climbed the parapet were beaten down with lances and bayonets; and, as twilight was coming on, the assailants fell back under the protection of their reserve. Many of the wounded crawled away into the forest, but Donop and a few others were left behind. The party marched back during the night unpursued. 1777. Oct.

As the British ships-of-war which had attempted to take part in the attack fell down the river, the "Augusta," of sixty-four guns, and the "Merlin" frigate grounded. The next day the "Augusta" was set on fire by red-hot shot from the American galleys and floating batteries, and blown up before all her crew could escape; the "Merlin" was abandoned and set on fire. From the wrecks the Americans brought off two twenty-four pounders. "Thank God," reasoned John Adams, "the glory is not immediately due to the commander in chief, or idolatry and adulation would have been so excessive as to endanger our liberties."

The Hessians, by their own account, lost in the assault four hundred and two in killed and wounded, of whom twenty-six were officers. Two colonels gave up their lives. Donop, whose thigh was shattered, lingered for three days; and to Mauduit Duplessis, who watched over his death-bed,

he said: "It is finishing a noble career early; I die the victim of my ambition, and of the avarice of my sovereign." This was the moment chosen by Howe to complain of Lord George Germain, and to ask the king's leave to resign his command; and he added that there was no prospect of terminating the war without another campaign, nor then, unless large re-enforcements, such as he knew could not be furnished, should be sent from Europe.

On Burgoyne's surrender, it became the paramount duty of Gates to detach re-enforcements to Washington; but weeks passed, and even the corps of Morgan did not arrive. The commander in chief, therefore, near the end of
1777. Nov. October, despatched his able aid, Alexander Hamilton, with authority to demand them. This was followed by the strangest incidents of the war. Putnam for a while disregarded the orders borne by Hamilton. Gates, in his elation, detained a very large part of his army in idleness at Albany, under the pretext of an expedition against Ticonderoga, which he did not mean to attack, and which the British of themselves abandoned; he neglected to announce his victory to the commander in chief; and he sent directly to congress the tardy message: "With an army in health, vigor, and spirits, Major-general Gates now waits the commands of the honorable congress." Instead of chiding the insubordination, congress appointed him to regain the forts and passes on the Hudson River. Now Washington had himself recovered these forts and passes by pressing Howe so closely as to compel him to order their evacuation; yet congress forbade Washington to detach from the northern army more than twenty-five hundred men, including the corps of Morgan, without first consulting General Gates and the governor of New York. It was even moved that he should not detach any troops except after consultation with Gates and Clinton; and Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Gerry of Massachusetts, and Marchant of Rhode Island, voted for that restriction. Time was wasted by this interference. Besides, while the northern army had been borne onward to victory by the rising of the people, Washington encountered in Pennsylvania

disaffection, languor, and internal feuds. So the opportunity of driving Howe from Philadelphia before winter was lost.

By the tenth of November the British had completed their batteries on the reedy morass of Province Island, five hundred yards from the American fort on Mud Island, and began an incessant fire from four batteries of heavy artillery. Smith gave the opinion that the garrison could not repel a storming party; but Major Fleury, the French engineer, reported the place still defensible. On the eleventh, Smith, having received a slight hurt, passed immediately to Red-bank; the next in rank desired to be recalled; and early on the thirteenth the brave little garrison of two hundred and eighty-six fresh men and twenty artillerists was confided to Major Simeon Thayer of Rhode Island, who had distinguished himself in the expedition against Quebec, and who now volunteered to take the desperate command. Supported by his superior ability and the skill and cool courage of Fleury, the garrison held out gallantly during an incessant bombardment and cannonade. On the fifteenth, the wind proving fair, the "Vigilant," carrying sixteen twenty-four pounders, and the hulk of a large Indiaman with three twenty-four pounders, aided by the tide, were warped through an inner channel which the obstructions in the river had deepened, and anchored so near the American fort that they could send into it hand-grenades, and marksmen from the mast of the "Vigilant" could pick off men from its platform. Five large British ships-of-war, which drew near the chevaux-de-frise, kept off the American flotilla, and sometimes directed their fire at the fort on its unprotected side. The land batteries, now five in number, played from thirty pieces at short distances. The ramparts and block-houses on Mud Island were honeycombed, their cannon nearly silenced. A storming party was got ready; but, to avoid bloodshed, Sir William Howe, who on the fifteenth was present with his brother, gave orders to keep up the fire all night through. In the evening, Thayer sent all the garrison but forty men over to Red-bank, and after midnight followed with the rest. 1777. Nov.

When, on the sixteenth, the British troops entered the fort, they found nearly every one of its cannon stained with blood. Never were orders to defend a place to the last extremity more faithfully executed. Thayer was reported to Washington as an officer of the highest merit; Fleury won well-deserved promotion from congress.

Cornwallis was next sent by way of Chester to Billingsport, with a strong body of troops to clear the left bank of the Delaware. A division under Greene was promptly despatched across the river to give him battle. But Cornwallis was joined by five British battalions from New York, while the American re-enforcements from the northern army were still delayed. It therefore became necessary to evacuate Red-bank. Cornwallis, having levelled its ramparts, returned to Philadelphia, and Greene rejoined Washington; but not till Lafayette, who attended the expedition as a volunteer, had secured the applause of congress by routing a party of Hessians. For all the seeming success, many officers in the British camp expressed the opinion that the states could not be subjugated, and should be suffered to go free.

1777. Nov.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CONFEDERATION.

NOVEMBER 15, 1777.

WHILE the winter-quarters of the British in Philadelphia were rendered secure by the possession of the river Delaware, the congress which was scoffed at in the British house of lords as a "vagrant" horde resumed at Yorktown the work of confederation. Of the committee who, in June, 1776, had been appointed to prepare the plan, Samuel Adams alone remained a member; and even he was absent when, on the fifteenth of November, 1777, "articles of confederation and perpetual union" were adopted, to be submitted for approbation to the several states. 1777. Nov.

The present is always the lineal descendant of the past. A new form of political life never appears but as a growth out of its antecedents, just as in nature there is no animal life without a seed or a spore. In civil affairs, as much as in husbandry, seed-time goes before the harvest, and the harvest may be seen in the seed, the seed in the harvest. According to the American theory, the unity of the colonies had, before the declaration of independence, resided in the British king. The congress of the United States was the king's successor, and it inherited only such powers as the colonies themselves acknowledged to have belonged to the crown.

The vastness of America interfered with the instincts of local attachment. Affection could not twine itself round a continental domain of which the greatest part was a wilderness, associated with no recollections. Gadsden, of South Carolina, had advised all to be not Carolinians or New

Yorkers, but Americans; yet the sentiment of unity existed only in the germ. The confederacy was formed under the influence of political ideas which had been developed by a contest of centuries for individual and local liberties against an irresponsible central authority. Now that power had passed to the people, new institutions were required strong enough to protect the state, while they should leave untouched the liberties of the individual. But America, misled by what belonged to the past, took for her organizing principle the principle of resistance to power, which in all the thirteen colonies had been hardened into stubbornness by a succession of common jealousies and struggles.

During the sixteen months that followed the introduction of the plan for confederation prepared by Dickinson, the spirit of separation, fostered by uncontrolled indulgence, by opposing interests, by fears on the part of the south of the more homogeneous and compact population of the north-east, by the dissimilar impulses under which the different sections of the country had been colonized, and by a dread of interference with the peculiar institutions of each colony, visibly increased in congress, and every change in his draft, which of itself proposed only a league of states, darkened more and more the prospect of that energetic authority which is the first guarantee of liberty.

The possessions of the British crown had extended from the St. Mary's to the extreme north of the habitable continent, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi or even to the Pacific; the United States of America included within
1777. Nov. their jurisdiction so much of that territory as had belonged to any of the thirteen colonies; and, if Canada would so choose, they were ready to annex Canada.

In the republics of Greece, citizenship had in theory been confined to a body of kindred families, which formed an hereditary caste, a multitudinous aristocracy. Such a system could have no permanent vitality; and the Greek republics, as the Italian republics in after-ages, died out for want of citizens. America adopted at once the greatest result of modern civilization, the principle of the all-embracing unity of society. As the American territory was that

of the old thirteen colonies, so the free people residing upon it formed the free people of the United States. Subject and citizen were correlative terms, and subjects of the monarchy became citizens of the republic. He that had owed primary allegiance to the king of England now owed primary allegiance to united America; yet, as the republic was the sudden birth of a revolution, the moderation of congress did not name it treason for the former subjects of the king to adhere to his government; only it was held that whoever chose to remain on the soil, by residence accepted the protection of America, and in return owed it allegiance. This is the reason why, for twelve years, free inhabitants and citizens were in American state papers convertible terms, sometimes used one for the other, and sometimes, for the sake of perspicuity, redundantly joined together.

The king of England, according to the rule of modern civilization, claimed as his subjects all persons born within his dominions: in like manner, every one who first saw the light on the American soil was a natural-born American citizen; but the power of naturalization, which, under the king, each colony had claimed to regulate by its own laws, remained under the confederacy with the separate states. 1777. Nov.

The king had extended protection to every one of his lieges in every one of the thirteen colonies; now that congress was the successor of the king in America, the right to equal protection was continued to every free inhabitant in whatever state he might sojourn or dwell.

It had been held under the monarchy that each American colony was as independent of England as the electorate of Hanover; now, therefore, in the confederacy of "the United States of America," each state was to remain an independent sovereign, and the union was to be no more than an alliance. This theory decided the manner in which congress should vote. Pennsylvania and Virginia asked that, while each state might have at least one delegate, the rule should be one for every fifty thousand inhabitants; but the amendment was rejected by nine states against two,

Delaware being absent and North Carolina divided. Virginia would have allowed to each state one member of congress for every thirty thousand of its inhabitants, and in this she was supported by John Adams; but his colleagues cast the vote of Massachusetts against it, and Virginia was left alone, North Carolina as before losing its vote by being equally divided. Virginia next desired that the representation for each state should be in proportion to its contribution to the public treasury; here again she was supported by John Adams, but in the debate was opposed by every other state, including North Carolina and Massachusetts. At last, with only one state divided and no negative voice but that of Virginia, an equal vote in congress was acknowledged to belong to each sovereign state, though the number of delegates to give that vote might be not less than two nor more than seven for each state. The remedy for this inequality enhanced the evil and foreboded anarchy; while each state had one vote, "great and very interesting questions" could be carried only by the concurrence of nine states. If the advice of Samuel Adams had been listened to, the vote of nine states would not have prevailed, unless they represented a majority of the people of all the states. For the transaction of less important business, an affirmative vote of seven states was required. In other words, in the one case the assent of two thirds, in the other of a majority of all the thirteen states, was needed, the absence of any state having the force of a negative vote.

1777. Nov.

Principles of policy which in their origin may have been beneficent, when wrongly applied, become a curse. The king's power to levy taxes by parliament or by his prerogative had been denied, and no more than a power to make requisitions conceded: in like manner the general congress, as successor to the king, could not levy taxes, but only make requisitions for money on the several states. The king might establish post-offices for public convenience, not for revenue: in like manner congress might authorize no rates of postage except to defray the expense of transporting the mails. The colonies under the king had severally levied import and export duties; the same power was

allowed still to reside in each separate state, limited only by the proposed treaties with France and Spain.

Thus the new republic was left without any independent revenue, and the charges of the government, its issues of paper money, its loans, were to be ultimately defrayed by quotas assessed upon the separate states. The difference between the north and the south growing out of the institution of slavery decided the rule for the distribution of these quotas. By the draft of Dickinson, taxation was to be in proportion to the census of population, in which slaves were to be enumerated. On the thirteenth of October, 1777, it was moved that the sum to be paid by each state into the treasury should be ascertained by the value of all property within each state. This was promptly negatived, and was followed by a motion having for its object to exempt slaves from taxation altogether. On the following day, eleven states were present. The four of New England voted in the negative; Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas in the affirmative. Robert Morris of Pennsylvania against Roberdeau, and Duer of New York against Duane, voted with the south, and so the votes of their states were divided and lost. The decision rested on New Jersey, and she gave it for the complete exemption from taxation of all property in slaves. This is the first important division between slaveholding states and the states where slavery was of little account. The rule for apportioning the revenue, as finally adopted, was the respective value of land granted or surveyed, and the buildings and improvements thereon, without regard to personal property or numbers. This alone rendered the confederacy nugatory; for congress had not power to make the valuation. 1777. Nov.

In like manner the rules for navigation were to be established exclusively by each separate state, and the confederation did not take to itself power to countervail the restrictions of foreign governments, or to form agreements of reciprocity, or even to establish uniformity. These arrangements suited the opinions of the time; the legislature of New Jersey, vexed by the control of New York over the waters of New York Bay, alone proposed as an

amendment a grant of greater power over foreign commerce. Moreover, each state decided for itself what imports it would permit and what it would prohibit; so that the confederate congress for itself renounced for ever the power to sanction or to stop the slave-trade.

1777. Nov.

The king had possessed all the lands not alienated by royal grants. On the declaration of independence, the quit-rents were sequestered to the benefit of the proprietors, while each state assumed the ownership of the royal domain within its limits. A question was raised as to public lands which might be acquired or recovered by the war, especially the region north-west of the Ohio, which had been transferred to the province of Quebec by act of parliament; but that act formed one of the grievances of America; its validity was denied; and the states which by their charters extended indefinitely west, or west and north-west, refused to accept the United States as the umpire to settle their boundaries, except with regard to each other.

Jealousy of a standing army was one of the traditionary lessons of English liberty. The superiority of the civil over the military power was most deeply imprinted on the heart of the people. It was borne in mind that victorious legions revolutionized Rome; that Charles I. sought to overturn the institutions of England by an army; that by an army Charles II. was brought back without conditions; that by a standing army, which Americans themselves were to have been taxed to maintain, it had been proposed to abridge American liberties. In congress, this distrust of military power existed all the more for the confidence and undivided affection which the people bore to the American commander in chief, and has for its excuse that human nature was hardly supposed able to furnish an example of a military hero eminent as a statesman, the liberator of his country, and yet desirous after finishing his work to go into private life. We have seen how earnestly Washington endeavored to establish an army of the United States. His plan, which, at the time it was proposed, congress did not venture to reject, was now deliberately demolished. Congress thought it augured well for liberty that the states

were stretched along the Atlantic shore in a narrow line, ill suited to unity of military action; and, to prevent a homogeneous organization, it not only left to each of them the exclusive power over its militia, but the exclusive appointment of the regimental officers in its quota of land forces for the public service; so that there might be thirteen armies, rather than one. 1777. Nov.

As in England, so in America, this jealousy did not extend to maritime affairs; the separate states had no share in the appointment of officers in the navy, and the United States might even establish courts of admiralty, though with a jurisdiction limited to piracies and felonies on the high seas and to appeals in all cases of capture.

As the king in England, so the United States determined on peace and war, sent ambassadors to foreign powers, and entered into treaties and alliances; but, beside their general want of executive power, the grant to make treaties of commerce was nullified by the power reserved to the states over imports and exports, over shipping and revenue.

The right of coining money, the right of keeping up ships-of-war, land forces, forts, garrisons, were shared by congress with the respective states. No state, Massachusetts not more than South Carolina, would subordinate its law of treason to the will of congress. The formation of a class of national statesmen was impeded by the clause which forbade any man to sit in congress more than three years out of six; nor could the same member of congress be appointed its president more than one year in any term of three years. As there was scarcely the rudiment of a judiciary, so direct executive power was altogether wanting. The report of Dickinson provided for a council of state; but this was narrowed down to "a committee of states," to be composed of one delegate from each state, with no power whatever respecting important business, and no power of any kind except that with which congress, "by the consent of nine states," might invest them from time to time.

Each state retained its sovereignty, and all power not expressly delegated. Under the king of England, the use

of the veto in colonial legislation had been complained of. There was not even a thought of vesting congress with a veto on the legislation of states, or subjecting such legislation to the revision of a judicial tribunal. Each state, being esteemed independent and sovereign, had exclusive, full, and final powers in every matter relating to domestic police and government, to slavery and manumission, to the conditions of the elective franchise; and the restraints required by loyalty to the central government were left to be self-imposed. Incidental powers to carry into effect the powers granted to the United States were denied, and thus granted powers might be made of no avail.

1777. Nov.

To complete the security against central authority, the articles of confederation were not to be adopted except by the unanimous assent of each one of the legislatures of the thirteen separate states; and no amendment might be made without an equal unanimity. A government which had not power to levy a tax, or raise a soldier, or deal directly with an individual, or keep its engagements with foreign powers, or amend its constitution without the unanimous consent of its members, had not enough of vital force to live. It could not interest the human race, and the establishment of independence must be the signal for its dissolution. But a higher spirit moved over the darkness of that formless void. That which then flowered bore the seed of that which was to be. Notwithstanding the defects of the confederation, the congress of the United States, inspired by the highest wisdom of the eighteenth century, and seemingly without debate, embodied in their work four capital results, which Providence in its love for the human race could not let die.

The republics of Greece and Rome had been essentially no more than governments of cities. When Rome exchanged the narrowness of the ancient municipality for cosmopolitan expansion, the republic, from the false principle on which it was organized, became an empire. The middle ages had free towns and cantons, but no national republic. Congress had faith that one republican government could comprehend a continental territory, even though it should

extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the uttermost limit of Canada and include Newfoundland.

Having thus proclaimed that republicanism may equal the widest empire in its bounds, they settled the relation of the United States to the natural rights of their inhabitants with superior wisdom. Some of the states had, each according to its prevailing superstition or prejudice, narrowed the rights of classes of men. One state disfranchised Jews, another Catholics, another deniers of the Trinity, another men of a complexion different from white. The United States in congress assembled suffered the errors against humanity in one state to eliminate the errors against humanity in another. They rejected every disfranchisement and superadded none. The declaration of independence said, all men are created equal; the articles of confederation and perpetual union made no distinction of classes, and knew no caste but the caste of humanity. To them, free inhabitants were free citizens. 1777. Nov.

That which gave reality to the union was the article which secured to "the free inhabitants" of each of the states "all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states." Congress appeared anxiously to shun the term "people of the United States." It is nowhere found in the articles of confederation, and rarely and only accidentally in their votes; yet by this act they constituted the free inhabitants of the different states one people. When the articles of confederation reached South Carolina for confirmation, it was perceived that they secured equal rights of inter-citizenship in the several states to the free black inhabitant of any state. This concession was opposed in the legislature of South Carolina, and, after an elaborate speech by William Henry Drayton, the articles were returned to congress with a recommendation that inter-citizenship should be confined to the white man; but congress, by a vote of eight states against South Carolina and Georgia, one state being divided, refused to recede from the universal system on which American institutions were to be founded. The decision was not due to impassioned philanthropy: slavery at that day existed in every one of the

thirteen states; and, notwithstanding many men south as well as north revolted at the thought of continuing the institution, custom scarcely recognised the black man as an equal; yet congress, with a fixedness of purpose resting on a principle, would not swerve from its position. For, when it resolved upon independence and had to decide on whom a demand could be made to maintain that independence, it defined as members of a colony all persons abiding within it and deriving protection from its laws. Now, therefore, when inter-state rights were to be confided to the members of each state, it looked upon every freeman who owed primary allegiance to the state as a citizen of the state. The free black inhabitant owed allegiance, and was entitled to equal civil rights, and so was a citizen. Universal suffrage as the right of man was not as yet asserted in the constitution of any one of the states. Congress, while it left the regulation of the elective franchise to the judgment of each state, in the articles of confederation, in its votes and its treaties with other powers, reckoned all the free inhabitants, without distinction of ancestry, creed, or color, as subjects or citizens. But America, though the best representative of the social and political gains of the eighteenth century, was not the parent of the idea in modern civilization that man is a constituent member of the state of his birth, irrespective of his ancestry. It was the public law of Christendom. Had America done less, she would have been, not the leader of nations, but a laggard.

1777. Nov.

One other life-giving excellence distinguished the articles of confederation. The instrument was suffused with the idea of securing the largest liberty to individual man. In the ancient Greek republic, the state existed before the individual and absorbed the individual. Thought, religious opinion, worship, conscience, amusements, joys, sorrows, all activities, were regulated by the state; the individual lived only as subordinate to the state. A declaration of rights is a declaration of those liberties of the individual which the state cannot justly control. The Greek system of law knew nothing of such liberties; the Greek citizen never spoke of the rights of man; the individual was merged in the body

politic. At last a government founded on consent could be perfected, for the acknowledgment that conscience has its rights had broken the unity of despotic power, and confirmed the freedom of the individual. Because there was life in all the parts, there was the sure promise of a well-organized life in the whole. 1777. Nov.

Yet the young republic failed in its first effort at forming a general union. The smoke in the flame overpowered the light. "The articles of confederation endeavored to reconcile a partial sovereignty in the union with complete sovereignty in the states, to subvert a mathematical axiom by taking away a part and letting the whole remain." The polity then formed could hardly be called an organization, so little did the parts mutually correspond and concur to the same final actions. The executive power vested in the independent will of thirteen separate sovereign states was like many pairs of ganglia in one of the inferior articulata, of which part may press to go one way and part another. Yet through this chaotic mass the rudiment of a spinal cord may be traced. The system was imperfect, and was acknowledged to be imperfect. A better one could not then have been accepted; but with all its faults it contained the elements for the evolution of a more perfect union. America carried along with her the urn which held the ashes of the past, but she also had hope and creative power. The sentiment of nationality was forming. The framers of the confederacy would not admit into that instrument the name of the people of the United States, and described the states as so many sovereign and independent communities; yet already in the circular letter of November, 1777, to the states, asking their several subscriptions to the plan of confederacy, they avowed the purpose to secure to the inhabitants of all the states an "existence as a free people." The child that was then born was cradled between opposing powers of evil; if it will live, its infant strength must strangle the twin serpents of separatism and central despotism.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WINTER-QUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE.

NOVEMBER, 1777—APRIL, 1778.

WHEN at last Washington was joined by troops from the northern army, a clamor arose for the capture of
1777. Nov. Philadelphia. Protected by the Schuylkill and the Delaware, the city could be approached only from the north, and on that side a chain of fourteen redoubts extended from river to river. Moreover, the army by which it was occupied, having been re-enforced from New York by more than three thousand men, now exceeded nineteen thousand. Yet four American officers voted in council for an assault upon the lines of this greatly superior force; but the general, sustained by eleven, disregarded the murmurs of congress and rejected "the mad enterprise."

Ashamed of inaction, Sir William Howe announced to his government his intention to make a forward movement. Washington, with a quickness of eye that had been developed by his forest life as a surveyor, selected in the woods of Whitemarsh strong ground for an encampment, and there, within fourteen miles of Philadelphia, awaited the enemy, of whose movements he received exact and timely intelligence. On the severely cold night of
Dec. the fourth of December, the British, fourteen thousand strong, marched out to attack the American lines. Before daybreak on the fifth, their advance party halted on a ridge beyond Chestnut Hill, eleven miles from Philadelphia, and at seven their main body formed in one line, with a few regiments as reserves. The Americans occupied thickly wooded hills, with a morass and a brook in their front. Opposite the British left wing a breastwork

defended the only point where the brook could be easily forded. About noon, General Irvine, who led some Pennsylvania militia into a skirmish, was wounded and taken prisoner, and his party were dispersed. At night the British force rested on their arms, and the hills far and wide blazed with the innumerable fires of the two armies. Washington passed the hours in strengthening his position; and though, from sickness, fatigue, and want of clothing, he had at most but eleven thousand, according to Kalb who was present, but seven thousand really effective men, he wished for an engagement. Near the end of another day Howe marched back to Germantown, and on the next, as if intending a surprise, suddenly returned upon the American left, which he made preparations to assail. Washington rode through every brigade, delivering in person his orders on the manner of receiving their enemy, exhorting to a reliance on the bayonet; and his words, and still more his example, inspired them with his own fortitude. All day long, and until eight in the evening, Howe kept up his reconnoitring, but found the American position everywhere strong by nature and by art. Nothing occurred but a sharp action on Edge Hill, between light troops under Gist and Morgan's riflemen and a British party led by General Grey. The latter lost eighty-nine in killed and wounded; the Americans, twenty-seven, among them the brave Major Morris of New Jersey. On the eighth, just after noon, the British suddenly filed off, and marched by the shortest road to Philadelphia. Their loss in the expedition exceeded one hundred. Thus the campaign closed. Howe had gone out with superior numbers and the avowed intention of bringing on a battle, and had so respected his adversary that he would not engage him without some advantage of ground. Henceforward he passed the winter behind his intrenchments, making only excursions for food or forage; and Washington had no choice but to seek winter-quarters for his suffering soldiers. 1777. Dec.

Military affairs had thus far been superintended by congress, through a committee of its own members. After some prelude in July, 1777, it was settled in the following

October to institute an executive board of war of five persons not members of congress.

1777. Conway, a French officer of Irish descent, whom Greene and others described as "worthless," had long been eager for higher rank. In a timely letter to Richard Henry Lee, a friend to Conway, Washington wrote: "His merits exist more in his own imagination than in reality; it is a maxim with him not to want any thing which is to be obtained by importunity;" his promotion would be "a real act of injustice," likely to "incur a train of irremediable evils. To sum up the whole, I have been a slave to the service; I have undergone more than most men are aware of to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way." These words might be interpreted as a threat of resignation in the event of Conway's promotion. Conway breathed out his discontent to Gates, writing in substance: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." The correspondents of Gates did not scruple in their letters to speak of the commander in chief with bitterness or contempt. "This army," wrote Reed, "notwithstanding the efforts of our amiable chief, has as yet gathered no laurels. I perfectly agree with that sentiment which leads to request your assistance." On the sixth of November, Wilkinson, the principal aid of Gates, a babbling and unsteady sycophant, praised by his chief for military genius, was made a brigadier. On the seventh, Mifflin, leaving his office of quartermaster-general, of which he had neglected the duties, yet retaining the rank of major-general, was elected to the board of war. The injurious words of Conway having through Wilkinson been reported to Washington, on the ninth he communicated his knowledge of them to Conway, and to him alone. Conway in an interview justified them, made no apology, and after the interview reported his defiance of Washington to Mifflin. On the tenth, Sullivan, second in rank in the army, knowing the opinion of his brother officers and of his chief, and that on a discussion at a council of war about appointing an in-

spector-general Conway's pretensions met with no favor, wrote to a member of congress: "No man can behave better in action than General Conway; his regulations in his brigade are much better than any in the army; his knowledge of military matters far exceeds any officer we have. If the office of inspector-general with the rank of major-general was given him, our army would soon cut a different figure from what they now do." 1777. Nov. On the same day, Wayne expressed his purpose "to follow the line pointed out by the conduct of Lee, Gates, and Mifflin." On the eleventh, Conway, foreseeing that Gates was to preside at the board of war, offered to form for him a plan for the instruction of the army; and, on the fifteenth, to advance his intrigue, he tendered his resignation to congress. On the seventeenth, Lovell, of Massachusetts, wrote to Gates, threatening Washington "with the mighty torrent of public clamor and vengeance," and subjoined: "How different your conduct and your fortune; this army will be totally lost unless you come down and collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner." On the twenty-first, Wayne, forgetting the disaster that had attended his own rash confidence, disparaged Washington as having more than once slighted the favors of fortune. On the twenty-fourth, congress received the resignation of Conway, and referred it to the board of war, of which Mifflin at that time was the head. On the twenty-seventh, they filled the places in that board, and appointed Gates its president. On the same day, Lovell wrote to Gates: "We want you in different places; we want you most near Germantown. Good God, what a situation we are in! how different from what might have been justly expected!" and he represented Washington as a general who collected astonishing numbers of men to wear out stockings, shoes, and breeches, and "Fabiused affairs into a very disagreeable posture." On the twenty-eighth, congress by a unanimous resolution declared themselves in favor of carrying on a winter's campaign with vigor and success, and sent three of their members with Washington's concurrence to direct every measure which circumstances might require. On the same day, Mifflin, explaining to

Gates how Conway had braved the commander in chief, volunteered his own opinion that the extract from Conway's letter was a "collection of just sentiments." Gates, on receiving the letter, wrote to Conway: "You acted with all the dignity of a virtuous soldier." He wished "so very valuable and polite an officer might remain in the service." To congress he complained of the betrayal of his correspondence to Washington, with whom he came to an open rupture. On the thirteenth of December, congress, following Mifflin's report, appointed Conway inspector-general, promoted him to be a major-general, made his office independent of the commander in chief, and referred him to the board of war for the regulations which he was to introduce. Conway, made more ambitious and more dangerous by his promotion, labored hard to take from Washington the affection and confidence of Lafayette, and even strove to induce the heroic young man to abandon the country. Some of those engaged in the cabal, "which had its supporters exclusively in the north," wished to provoke Washington to the resignation which he seemed to have threatened.

1777. Dec. This happened just as Washington by his skill at Whitemarsh had closed the campaign with honor. The condition of his troops required repose. The problem which he must solve was to keep together through the cold winter an army without tents, and to confine the British to the environs of Philadelphia. There was no town which would serve the purpose. Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, but twenty-one miles from Philadelphia, admitted of defence against the artillery of those days, and had more than one route convenient for escape into the interior. The ground lay between two ridges of hills, and was covered by a thick forest. From his life in the woods, Washington could see in the trees a town of log cabins, built in regular streets, and affording shelter enough to save the army from dispersion.

As his men moved towards the spot selected for their winter resting-place, they had not clothes to cover their nakedness, nor blankets to lie on, nor tents to sleep under. For the want of shoes their marches through frost and

snow might be traced by the blood from their feet, and they were almost as often without provisions as with them. On the nineteenth they arrived at Valley Forge, within a day's march of Howe's army, with no covering till they could build houses for themselves. The order for their erection was received by officers and men as impossible of execution; and they were still more astonished at the ease with which, as the work of their Christmas holidays, they changed the forest into huts thatched with boughs in the order of a regular encampment. Washington's unsleeping vigilance and thorough system for receiving intelligence secured them against surprise; love of country and attachment to their general sustained them under their unparalleled hardships; with any other leader, the army would have dissolved and vanished. He was followed to Valley Forge by letters from congress transmitting the remonstrance of the council and assembly of Pennsylvania against his going into winter-quarters. To this senseless reproof, Washington on the twenty-third, after laying deserved blame upon Mifflin for neglect of duty as quartermaster-general, replied: "For the want of a two days' supply of provisions, an opportunity scarcely ever offered of taking an advantage of the enemy that has not been either totally obstructed or greatly impeded. Men are confined to hospitals, or in farmers' houses for want of shoes. We have this day no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked. Our whole strength in continental troops amounts to no more than eight thousand two hundred in camp fit for duty. Since the fourth instant, our numbers fit for duty from hardships and exposures have decreased nearly two thousand men. Numbers still are obliged to sit all night by fires. Gentlemen reprobate the going into winter-quarters as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks or stones. I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. How-

1777. Dec.

ever, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul I pity those miseries which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

While the shivering soldiers were shaping the logs for their cabins, the clamor of the Pennsylvanians continued; and, the day after Christmas, Sullivan, who held with both sides, gave his written advice to Washington to yield and attack Howe in Philadelphia, "risking every consequence in an action." The press was called into activity. On the last day of the year, an anonymous writer in the "New Jersey Gazette," at Trenton, supposed to be Benjamin Rush, began a series of articles under the name of a French officer, to set forth the unrivalled glory of Gates, who had conquered veterans with militia, pointing out plainly Washington's successor. But the more subtle members of the cabal never intended the advancement of Gates; the highest place must have been given to the much talked of Lee, then a prisoner with the English, to whom it would have been his first care to deliver up his own friends and all America.

1778. Jan. The year 1778 opened gloomily at Valley Forge. To the touching account of the condition of the army, congress, which had not provided one magazine for winter, made no response except a promise to the soldiers of one month's extra pay, and a renewal of authority to take the articles necessary for their comfortable subsistence. Washington was averse to the exercise of military power, not only from reluctance to give distress, but to avoid increasing the prevalent jealousy and suspicion. On the fifth of January he renewed his remonstrances with respect and firmness: "The letter from the committee of congress and board of war does not mention the regulations adopted for removing the difficulties and failures in the commissary line. I trust they will be vigorous, or the army cannot exist. It will never answer to procure supplies of clothing or provision by coercive measures. The small seizures made of the former a few days ago, when that or to dissolve was the alternative, excited the greatest uneasiness even among our warmest friends. Such procedures may give a momentary

relief, but, if repeated, will prove of the most pernicious consequence. Besides spreading disaffection, jealousy, and fear among the people, they never fail, even in the most veteran troops under the most rigid and exact discipline, to raise in the soldiery a disposition to plunder, difficult to suppress, and not only ruinous to the inhabitants, but, in many instances, to armies themselves. I regret the occasion that compelled us to the measure the other day, and shall consider it among the greatest of our misfortunes if we should be under the necessity of practising it again." Still, congress did no more than on the tenth and twelfth of January appoint Gates and Mifflin, with four or five others, to repair to head-quarters and concert reforms.

While those who wished the general out of the way urged him to some rash enterprise, or, to feel the public pulse, sent abroad rumors that he was about to resign, Benjamin Rush in a letter to Patrick Henry represented the army of Washington as having no general at their head, and went on to say: "A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public, in order to awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country." This communication, to which Rush dared not sign his name, Patrick Henry received with scorn, and noticed only by sending it to Washington. An anonymous paper of the like stamp, transmitted to the president of congress, took the same direction. 1778. Jan.

Meantime, the council and assembly of Pennsylvania renewed to congress their wish that Philadelphia might be recovered and the British driven away. Congress hailed the letter as proof of a rising spirit, and directed the committee appointed to go to camp to consult on the desired attack with the government of Pennsylvania and with General Washington.

Nor was this all. The board of war was ambitious of the fame of great activity, and also wished to detach Lafayette, the representative of France, from the general in chief, by dazzling him with ideas of glory, and a brilliant command that might be dear to him as a Frenchman. In

concert with Conway, but without consulting Washington, they induced congress to sanction a winter expedition against Canada, under Lafayette, who was not yet twenty-one years old, with Conway for his second in command, and with Stark. At a banquet given in his honor by Gates at Yorktown, he braved the intriguers, and made them all, crimsoning with blushes, drink his toast to the health of their general. Assured by Gates that he would have a force of three thousand men, and that Stark would have already destroyed the shipping at St. John's, Lafayette, who in his youth and inexperience could not put aside the proffered honor, repaired to Albany; but not until he obtained from congress Kalb as his second, and Washington as his direct superior. There the three major-generals of the expedition met, and were attended or followed by twenty French officers. Stark wrote for orders. The available force for the conquest, counting a regiment which Gates detached from the army of Washington, did not exceed a thousand. For these there was no store of provision, nor clothing suited to the climate of Canada, nor means of transportation. Two years' service in the northern department cannot leave to Gates the plea of ignorance; his plan showed his utter administrative incapacity; it accidentally relieved the country of Conway, who, writing petulantly to congress, found his resignation, which he had meant only as a complaint, irrevocably accepted. Lafayette and Kalb were recalled.

1778. Jan.

Slights and selfish cabals could wound the sensibility, but not affect the conduct of Washington. The strokes of ill-fortune in his campaigns he had met with equanimity and fortitude; but he sought the esteem of his fellow-men as his only reward, and now unjust censure gave him the most exquisite pain. More was expected from him than was possible to be performed. Moreover, his detractors took an unfair advantage; for he was obliged to conceal the weakness of his army from public view, and thereby submit to calumny. To William Gordon, who was seeking materials for a history of the war, he wrote freely: "Neither interested nor ambitious views led me into the service. I

did not solicit the command, but accepted it after much entreaty, with all that diffidence which a conscious want of ability and experience equal to the discharge of so important a trust must naturally excite in a mind not quite devoid of thought; and, after I did engage, pursued the great line of my duty and the object in view, as far as my judgment could direct, as pointedly as the needle to the pole." "No person ever heard me drop an expression that had a tendency to resignation. The same principles that led me to embark in the opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain operate with additional force at this day; nor is it my desire to withdraw my services, while they are considered of importance to the present contest. 1778. There is not an officer in the service of the United States that would return to the sweets of domestic life with more heartfelt joy than I should, but I mean not to shrink in the cause."

In his remonstrances with congress he wrote with plainness, but with moderation. His calm dignity alike irritated and overawed his adversaries; and nothing could shake the confidence of the people, or divide the affections of any part of the army, or permanently distract the majority of congress. Those who had been most ready to cavil at him soon wished their rash words benevolently interpreted or forgotten. Gates denied the charge of being in a league to supersede Washington as a wicked, false, diabolical calumny of incendiaries, and would not believe that any such plot existed; Mifflin exonerated himself in more equivocal language; and both retired from the committee that was to repair to head-quarters. The French minister loudly expressed to the officers from his country his disapprobation of their taking part in any cabal whatever. In the following July, Conway, thinking himself mortally wounded in a duel, wrote to Washington: "My career will soon be over; therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these states, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." The committee, which towards the end of January was finally

sent to consult with Washington, was composed exclusively of members of congress; and the majority of them, especially Charles Carroll of Maryland, were his friends. But, in the procrastination of active measures of relief, the departments of the quartermaster and commissary remained like clocks with so many checks that they cannot go. Even so late as the eleventh of February, Dana, one of the committee, reported that men died for the want of straw or materials to raise them from the cold, wet earth. In numerous and crowded hospitals, the sick could not be properly cared for. Inoculation was delayed for want of straw and other necessaries. Almost every species of camp-transportation was performed by men, who, without a murmur, yoked themselves to little carriages of their own making, or loaded their fuel and provisions on their backs. Sometimes fuel was wanting, when for want of shoes and stockings they could not walk through the snow to cut it in the neighboring woods. Some brigades had been four days without meat. For days together the army was without bread. Desertions were frequent. There was danger that the troops would perish from famine or disperse in search of food.

All this time the British soldiers in Philadelphia were well provided for, the officers quartered upon the
1778. inhabitants. The days were spent in pastime, the nights in entertainments. By a proportionate tax on the pay and allowances of each officer, a house was opened for daily resort and for weekly balls, with a gaming-table which had assiduous votaries, and a room devoted to the game of chess. Thrice a week, plays were enacted by amateur performers. The curtain painted by André was greatly admired. The officers, among whom all ranks of the British aristocracy were represented, lived in open licentiousness. At a grand review, a beautiful English girl, mistress of a colonel, and dressed in the colors of his regiment, drove down the line in her open carriage with great ostentation. The pursuit of pleasure was so eager, and the self-indulgent Howe had been so frequently baffled, that, to the wonder of all observers, the disquiet of an attack in winter was not

added to the trials of the army at Valley Forge, even though at one time it was reduced to five thousand men.

During the winter, the members present in congress were sometimes only nine, rarely seventeen; of former members, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, John Rutledge, Jay, and others, were employed elsewhere, and John Adams had recently been elected to succeed Deane as commissioner in France. The want of power explains and excuses the continuous inefficiency of congress. It proposed in January to borrow ten millions of dollars, but it had no credit. So in January, February, and March, two millions of paper money were ordered to be issued, and in April six and a half millions more. These emissions were rapidly followed by corresponding depreciations. When the currency lost its value, congress would have had the army serve on from disinterested patriotism; but Washington pointed out the quality in human nature which does not permit practical affairs to be conducted through a succession of years by a great variety of persons without regard to just claims and equitable interests; and, after months of resistance, officers who should serve to the end of the war were promised half-pay for seven years, privates a sum of eighty dollars. 1778.

The opportunity of keeping up an army by voluntary enlistments having been thrown away by the jealousy of congress, Washington, in February, in a particular manner laid before the congressional committee of arrangement, then with the army at Valley Forge, a plan of an annual draft as the surest and most certain, if not the only, means left for conducting the war "on a proper and respectable ground." Towards the end of the month, congress partially adopted the advice, but changed its character to that of a transient expedient. It directed the continental battalions of all the states, except South Carolina and Georgia, to be completed by drafts from their militia, but limited the term of service to nine months. The execution of the measure was unequal, for it depended on the good-will of the several states; but the scattered villages paraded their militia for the draft with sufficient regularity to save the army from

sent to consult with W[illegible] Rhode Island, proposed of members of cong[illegible] state, on condition of cially Charles Carroll [illegible] war. The scheme, ap- in the procrastinatio[illegible] referred to Cooke, the partments of the qu[illegible]. Every able-bodied like clocks with so m[illegible] by law liberty to enlist in so late as the eleve[illegible] muster, he became free mittee, reported th[illegible] encouragements given by materials to rai[illegible] state made some compensa- numerous and [illegible] properly cared f[illegible] congress admitted no effec- straw and other [illegible] officers of their own appoint- transportation [illegible] delaying agent to a settle- mur, yoked th[illegible] the legislatures of the several making, or h[illegible] recovery of debts due to the Sometimes fo[illegible] invited the supreme executive stockings th[illegible] behavior of all civil and mili- in the neigh[illegible] States in the execution of their days with[illegible] out bread[illegible] staff of the army was shaped by that the [illegible] number of congress, and of the com- search of [illegible] to the camp. Notwithstanding All the [illegible] country, the system was founded on the [illegible] ments, especially for the head of the 1778. [illegible] ment; and for that head Greene was [illegible] family connections of Reed as his as- the pay[illegible] was to be with the army; the other for d[illegible] was superfluous, near congress; and, by which [illegible] themselves, the emoluments in the gain[illegible] were to be divided equally between tea[illegible] subordinate appointments were to be made adm[illegible] general himself, and their emoluments aris[illegible] be derived from commissions. The system At [illegible] and carried through congress independently colo[illegible] who, though repeatedly solicited, would d[illegible] sanction it by his approval. Greene was [illegible] his demands to retain the command of a di- [illegible] that point Washington was inflexible. After [illegible] south, the system of centralization was

extended to the commissary department. To increase his profits, Greene did not scruple to enter into a most secret partnership with a member of the commissary department, having a third partner as the only one known to the public. When he was censured for his desire of lucre from his office as quartermaster-general, he offered the excuse that, as he made a sacrifice of his command of a division and so of his chances of glory in the field, he had a right to look for compensation in larger emoluments.

The place of inspector-general fell to Baron Steu- 1778.
ben, a Prussian officer, then forty-seven years of age, who had served during the seven years' war, and now adopted America for his country. The high rank which he assumed without right but without question, the good opinion of Vergennes and Saint-Germain, the recommendation of Franklin, the halo of having served under the great Frederic, and his real merit, secured for him the place of a major-general, which he claimed; and on the fifth of February he was welcomed to Valley Forge. Setting an example to the officers by drilling squads of men, he wrought a reform in the use of the musket and in manœuvre.

Yet there remained a deeply seated conflict of opinion between congress and the commander in chief on questions of principle and policy. Washington would from the first have had men enlisted for the war; congress, from jealousy of standing armies, had insisted upon short enlistments. Washington was anxious to exchange prisoners; congress bore in mind that each British prisoner would resume his place in the army, while the American prisoner, from the system of short enlistments, would return home. Washington wished the exchange to be conducted on one uniform rule; congress, repeatedly checking him by sudden interference, required a respect to the law of treason of each separate state. Washington would have one continental army; congress, an army of thirteen sovereignties. Congress was satisfied with the amount of its power as a helpless committee; Washington wished a government of organized vigor. Congress guarded separate independence; the patriotism of Washington took a wider range, and in

return the concentrated public affections, radiating from every part of the United States, met in him. All this merit and this popularity, and the undivided attachment of the army, quickened the jealousy of congress, and made them more sensible of their own relative weakness. They could not have defended themselves against the mutiny of a single regiment. They felt that their perfect control over the general sprung from his own nature, and that nature could not be fully judged of before the end. Nor was it then known that the safety of the country against military usurpation lay in the character and circumstances of the American people, which had life in all its parts, and therefore a common life that was indestructible.

1778. To allay the jealousy which congress entertained and some of its members labored to establish, Washington, on the twenty-first of April, wrote to one of its delegates: "Under proper limitations it is certainly true that standing armies are dangerous to a state. The prejudices of other countries have only gone to them in time of peace, and from their being hirelings. It is our policy to be prejudiced against them in time of war, though they are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens, and in most cases property totally unconnected with the military line. The jealousy, impolitic in the extreme, can answer not a single good purpose. It is unjust, because no order of men in the thirteen states has paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of congress than the army; for, without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. Their submitting without a murmur is a proof of patience and obedience which in my opinion can scarce be paralleled. There may have been some remonstrances or applications to congress in the style of complaint from the army, and slaves indeed should we be, if this privilege were denied; but these will not authorize nor even excuse a jealousy that they are therefore aiming at unreasonable powers, or making strides subversive of civil authority.

There should be none of these distinctions. We should all, congress and army, be considered as one people, embarked in one cause, in one interest, acting on the same principle and to the same end." In framing an oath of fidelity for all civil and military officers, congress, much as it avoided the expression, made them swear that the "people of the United States" owed no allegiance to the king of Great Britain. The soldiers serving under one common flag, to establish one common independence, and, though in want of food, of shoes, of clothes, of straw for bedding, of regular pay, of pay in a currency of fixed value, never suffering their just discontent to get the better of their patriotism, still more clearly foreshadowed a great nationality. The unity of the country was formally proclaimed in its relations to the rest of the world. 1778.

The troops of Burgoyne remained in the environs of Boston. In violation of the word of honor of the officers, much public property had been carried off by them from Saratoga. As if preparing an excuse for a total disengagement from his obligations, Burgoyne, complaining without reason of the quarters provided for his officers, deliberately wrote and insisted that the United States had violated the public faith, and refused to congress descriptive lists of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who were not to serve in America during the war. On these grounds, congress suspended the embarkation of the troops under his command till it should receive notice of a ratification of the convention by the court of Great Britain. Burgoyne sailed for England on his parole.

To counteract the arts of the British emissaries among the Indians on the borders of Virginia and the Carolinas, Colonel Nathaniel Gist was commissioned to take into the public service two hundred of the red men and fifty of the white inhabitants of the neighboring counties. Care was taken to preserve the friendship of the Oneidas.

The American militia of the sea were restlessly active. In the night of the twenty-seventh of January, a privateer took the fort of New Providence, made prize of a British vessel of war of sixteen guns, which had gone in for repairs,



and recaptured five American vessels. On the seventh of March, Biddle, in the "Randolph," a United States frigate of thirty-six guns on a cruise from Charleston, falling
1778. in with the "Yarmouth," a British ship of sixty-four guns, hoisted the stars and stripes, fired a broadside, and continued the engagement till his ship went down.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE UNITED STATES AND GEORGE III.

1777—1778.

The king of England succeeded but poorly in his negotiations for subsidiary troops. The crazy prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, who ruled over but three hundred square miles with twenty thousand inhabitants, after unceasing importunities, concluded a bargain for twelve hundred and twenty-eight men, to be delivered at his own risk at the place of embarkation. Death was the penalty for the attempt to desert; yet, as these regiments passed near the frontier of Prussia, there was a loss of three hundred and thirty-three in ten days, and the number finally delivered was less than half of what was promised. When the men of Anhalt-Zerbst arrived at their destination in Quebec, Carleton the governor, having no orders to receive them, showed his spite against Germain by not suffering them to disembark till a messenger could go to England and return. 1777.

To make good the loss of Hessians, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel impressed men wherever he could do so with impunity. The heartless meanness of the Brunswick princes would pass belief, if it was not officially authenticated. These professed fathers of their people begged that the wretched captives of Saratoga might not find their way back to Brunswick, where they would disgust everybody with the war, and spoil the traffic in soldiers by their complaints, but be sent to the British West Indies, or anywhere rather than to their own homes. The princes who first engaged in the trade in soldiers were jealous of competitors, and dropped hints that the states of Würtemberg, where

Schiller ran the risk of being assistant-surgeon to a regiment of mercenaries, would never suffer a contract by their duke to be consummated; that Protestant England ought not to employ Catholic troops like those of the elector palatine.

Had officers or men sent over to America uttered complaints, they would have been shot for mutiny; Mirabeau, then a fugitive in Holland, lifted up the voice of the civilization of his day against the trade, and spoke to the peoples of Germany and the soldiers themselves: "What new madness is this? Alas, miserable men, you burn down not the camp of an enemy, but your own hopes! Germans! what brand do you suffer to be put upon your forehead? You war against a people who have never wronged you, who fight for a righteous cause, and set you the noblest pattern. They break their chains. Imitate their example. Have you not the same claim to honor and right as your princes? Yes, without doubt. Men stand higher than princes. Of all rulers, conscience is the highest. You, peoples that are cheated, humbled, and sold, fly to America, but there embrace your brothers. In the spacious places of refuge which they open to suffering humanity, learn to be free and happy, to apply social institutions to the advantage of every member of society." Against this tocsin of revolution the landgrave of Hesse defended himself on principles of feudal law and legitimacy; and Mirabeau rejoined: "When power breaks the compact which secured and limited its rights, then resistance becomes a duty. To recover freedom, insurrection becomes just. There is no crime like the crime against the freedom of the peoples."

1777. Nov.

When on the twentieth of November the king of England opened the session of parliament, only three systems were proposed between which the choice lay. The king insisted on a continuation of the war without regard to the waste of life or treasure, till the former colonies should be reduced to subordination. Chatham said: "France has insulted you, and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect. My lords! you cannot conquer America. In three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. You

may swell every expense, accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow, traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince: your efforts are for ever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable resentment. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms; never, never, never." And he passed on to condemn the alliance with "the horrible hell-hounds of savage war." His advice, freed from his rhetoric, was to conciliate America by a change of ministry, and to chastise France. The third plan, which was that of the Rockingham party, was expressed by the Duke of Richmond: "I would sooner give up every claim to America than continue an unjust and cruel civil war." A few days later, Lord Chatham inveighed against a sermon which Markham, the archbishop of York, had preached and published, reflecting on the "ideas of savage liberty" in America, and denounced his teachings as "the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverell."

Returning from the fatiguing debate of the second of December on the state of the nation, Lord North received the news of the total loss of Burgoyne's army. He was so agitated that he could neither eat nor sleep, and the next day at the levee his distress was visible to the foreign ministers. Concession after defeat was humiliating; but there must be prompt action, or France would interfere. In a debate of the eleventh, the Duke of Richmond, from the impossibility of conquest, argued for "a peace on the terms of independence, and an alliance or federal union." Burke in the commons was for an agreement with the Americans at any rate. "The ministers know as little how to make peace as war," said Fox; and privately among his friends, openly in the house of commons, he demanded a settlement with the Americans on their own terms of independence. Eliot, afterwards Lord Minto, and Gibbon, agreed in the speculative opinion that, after the substance of power was lost, the name of independence might be granted to the Americans. On that basis the desire of peace was uni-

1777. Dec.

versal. It was the king who persuaded his minister to forego the opportunity which never could recur, and against his own conviction, without opening to America any hope of pacification, to adjourn the parliament to the twentieth of January. Those who were near Lord North in his old age never heard him murmur at his having become blind; "but in the solitude of sleepless nights he would sometimes fall into very low spirits, and deeply reproach himself for having at the earnest desire of the king remained in administration after he thought that peace ought to have been made with America."

1777. The account of Burgoyne's surrender, which was brought to France by a swift-sailing ship from Boston, threw Turgot and all Paris into transports of joy. None doubted the ability of the states to maintain their independence. On the twelfth of December, their commissioners had an interview with Vergennes. "Nothing," said he, "has struck me so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army. To bring troops raised within the year to this, promises every thing. The court of France, in the treaty which is to be entered into, intend to take no advantage of your present situation. Once made, it should be durable; and therefore it should contain no condition of which the Americans may afterwards repent, but such only as will last as long as human institutions shall endure, so that mutual amity may subsist for ever. Entering into a treaty will be an avowal of your independence. Spain must be consulted, and Spain will not be satisfied with an undetermined boundary on the west. Some of the states are supposed to run to the South Sea, which might interfere with her claim to California." It was answered that the last treaty of peace adopted the Mississippi as a boundary. "And what share do you intend to give us in the fisheries?" said Vergennes; for in the original draft of a treaty the United States had proposed to take to themselves Cape Breton and the whole of the island of Newfoundland. Explanations were made by the American commissioners that their later instructions removed all causes of disagreement on that subject.

The return of the courier to Spain was not waited for. On the seventeenth, Gerard, one of the secretaries of Vergennes, informed Franklin and Deane, by the king's order, that the king in council had determined not only to acknowledge the United States, but to support their cause; and, perhaps exceeding his authority, he added, in case England should declare war on France on account of this recognition, he would not insist that the Americans should not make a separate peace, but only that they should maintain their independence. The American commissioners answered: "We perceive and admire the king's magnanimity and wisdom. He will find us faithful and firm allies. We wish with his majesty that the amity between the two nations may last for ever;" and both parties agreed that good relations could continue between a monarchy and a republic, between a Catholic monarchy and a Protestant republic. The French king promised in January three millions of livres; as much more, it was said, would be remitted by Spain from Havana. The vessels laden with supplies for the United States should be convoyed by a king's ship out of the channel. But the Spanish government, which wished to avoid a rupture with England, took alarm, and receded from its intention.

In January, 1778, Lord Amherst, as military adviser, gave the opinion that nothing less than an additional army of forty thousand men would be sufficient to carry on offensive war in North America; but the king would not suffer Lord North to flinch, writing sometimes chidingly that there could not be "a man either bold or mad enough to presume to treat for the mother country on a basis of independence;" sometimes appealing to the minister's "personal affection for him and sense of honor;" and, in the event of a war with France, suggesting that "it might be wise to draw the troops from the revolted provinces, and to make war on the French and Spanish islands." To Lord Chatham might be offered any thing but substantial power, for "his name, which was always his greatest merit, would hurt Lord Rockingham's party." And at court the king lavished civilities on George Grenville and others *who were connected with* Lord Chatham. 1778. Jan.

Correct reports from Versailles reached Leopold of Tuscany and Joseph of Austria. "The women," so predicted the latter to his brother before the end of January, "the women and the enthusiasm of the moment, making the ministers afraid of losing their places, will determine them for making war on the English; and they could commit no greater folly." While "the two greatest countries in Europe were fairly running a race for the favor of the Americans, the question of a French alliance with them was discussed by Vergennes with the Marquis D'Ossun as the best adviser with regard to Spain, and the plan of action was digested by them. Then these two met the king at the apartment of Maurepas, who was ill with the gout; and there the whole subject was debated and finally settled. Maurepas, at heart opposed to the war, loved his ease, and loved popularity too well to escape the sway of external opinion; and Louis XVI. sacrificed his own inclination and his own feeling of justice to policy of state and the opinion of his advisers. So, on the sixth of February, a treaty of amity and commerce, and also an eventual defensive treaty of alliance, was concluded between the king of France and the United States. They were founded on principles of equality and reciprocity, and for the most part were in conformity to the proposals of congress. In commerce each party was to be placed on the footing of the most favored nation. The king of France promised his good offices with the princes and powers of Barbary. As to the fisheries, each party reserved to itself the exclusive possession of its own. Accepting the French interpretation of the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris, the United States acknowledged the right of French subjects to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and their exclusive right to half the coast of that island for drying-places. On the question of ownership in the event of the conquest of Newfoundland, the treaty was silent. The American proposal, that free ships give freedom to goods and to persons except to soldiers in actual service of an enemy, was adopted. Careful lists were made out of contraband merchandises, and of those not contraband. The absolute and unlimited

1778. Feb.

independence of the United States was described as the essential end of the defensive alliance; and the two parties mutually engaged not to lay down their arms until it should be assured by the treaties terminating the war. Moreover, the United States guaranteed to France the possessions then held by France in America, as well as those which it might acquire by a future treaty of peace; and, in like manner, the king of France guaranteed to the United States their present possessions, and their acquisitions during the war from the dominions of Great Britain in North America. A separate and secret act reserved to the king of Spain the power of acceding to the treaties. 1778. Feb.

Within forty-two hours of the signature of these treaties of commerce and alliance, the ministry received the news by a special messenger from their spy in Paris; but it was not divulged; the floating rumors which crossed the channel could not arrest the senseless bickerings of parties, or the favorite amusement of badgering the friends of Rockingham about the declaratory act. On the eleventh, Hillsborough called out to the Duke of Richmond: "In what manner does he mean that England shall crouch to the vipers and rebels in America? By giving up the sacred right of taxation? or by yielding to America with respect to her absurd pretensions about her charters? or by declaring the thirteen provinces independent?" Richmond answered: "I never liked the declaratory act; I voted for it with regret to obtain the repeal of the stamp act; I wish we could have done without it; I looked upon it as a piece of waste paper that no minister would ever have the madness to revive; I will, with pleasure, be the first to repeal it, or to give it up." In this mood Richmond sought harmony with Chatham. On the same day, in the house of commons, young George Grenville attacked the administration in the harshest terms, and pointed out Lord Chatham as the proper person to treat with America. The very sincere and glowing words of eulogy spoken by the son of the
of the stamp-tax were pleasing to Lord Chatham in
last days.

e British government stumbled in the dark,

Franklin placed the public opinion of philosophical France conspicuously on the side of America. No man of that century so imbodied the idea of toleration as Voltaire; for fame he was unequalled among living men of letters; for great age he was venerable; he, more than Louis XVI., more than the cabinet of the king, represented France of that day; and now he was come up to Paris, bent with years, to receive before his death the homage of its people. Wide indeed was the difference between him and America. "I have done more in my day than Luther or Calvin," was his boast; and America, which was reverently Protestant, and through Protestantism established not the toleration, but the equality of all churches and opinions, did not count him among her teachers. He had given out that, if there was not a God, it would be necessary to invent him; while America held that any god of man's invention is an idol; that God must be worshipped in truth as well as in spirit. But for the moment America and Voltaire were on one side; and, before he had been a week in Paris, Franklin claimed leave to wait upon him. We have Voltaire's account of the interview. Franklin bade his grandson demand the benediction of the more than octogenarian, and in the presence of twenty persons he gave it in these words: "GOD AND LIBERTY!" Everywhere Voltaire appeared as the friend of America. Being in company where the young wife of Lafayette was present, he asked that she might be brought to him, kissed her hand, and spoke to her the praises of her husband and of the cause which he served.

1778. Feb.

Almost simultaneously, Lord North, on the seventeenth of February, made known to the house of commons the extent of his conciliatory propositions. Of the two bills, one declared the intention of the parliament of Great Britain not to exercise the right of imposing taxes within the colonies of North America, the other authorized commissioners to be sent to the United States. In a speech of two hours, Lord North avowed that he had never had a policy of his own. He had never proposed any tax on America; he had found the tea-tax imposed, and, while he declined to repeal

it, he never devised means to enforce it; the commissioners would have power to treat with congress, with provincial assemblies, or with Washington; to order a truce; to suspend all laws; to grant pardons and rewards; to restore the form of constitution as it stood before the troubles. "A dull, melancholy silence for some time succeeded to the speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part from any party or man in the house. Astonishment, dejection, and fear overclouded the assembly." After the house of commons had given leave to bring in the bills, Hartley, acting on an understanding with Lord North, enclosed copies of them to Franklin. Franklin, with the knowledge of Vergennes, answered: "If peace, by a treaty with America, upon equal terms, were really desired, your commissioners need not go there for it. Seriously, if wise and honest men, such as Sir George Saville, the bishop of St. Asaph, and yourself, were to come over here immediately with powers to treat, you might not only obtain peace with America, but prevent a war with France."

The conciliatory bills, which with slight modifications became statutes by nearly unanimous consent, confirmed the ministry in power. The king of France deemed it required by his dignity to make a formal declaration to Great Britain of his treaties with the United States. British ships-of-war had captured many French ships, but the ministry had neither communicated the instructions under which their officers acted, nor given heed to the reclamations of the French government. This dictated the form of the rescript which on the thirteenth of March was left by the French ambassador with the British secretary of state. It announced that "the United States of North America are in full possession of independence, which they had declared on the fourth of July, 1776; that, to consolidate the connection between the two nations, their respective plenipotentiaries had signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, but without any exclusive advantages in favor of the French nation." And it added: "The king is determined to protect the lawful commerce of his subjects,

1778. March.

and for that purpose has taken measures in concert with the United States of North America."

This declaration was held to establish a state of war between England and France. The British ambassador was immediately recalled from Paris, and the recall notified to the French ambassador. Lord North became despondent, and professed a desire to make way for Lord Chatham. The king on the fifteenth answered: "I am willing to accept through you any person that will come avowedly to the support of your administration. On a clear explanation that Lord Chatham is to step forth to support you, I will receive him with open arms. Having said this, I will only add, to put before your eyes my most inmost thoughts, that no advantage to my country nor personal danger to myself can make me address myself to Lord Chatham, or to any other branch of opposition. Honestly, I would rather lose the crown I now wear than bear the ignominy of possessing it under their shackles. You have now full power to act, but I don't expect Lord Chatham and his crew will come to your assistance." Fox would have consented to a coalition, had it been agreeable to his friends. Shelburne, on being consulted, answered instantly: "Lord Chatham must be the dictator. I know that Lord Chatham thinks any change insufficient which does not comprehend a great law arrangement and annihilate every party in the kingdom." When this reply was reported to the king, he broke out with violence: "Lord Chatham, that perfidious man, as dictator! I solemnly declare that nothing shall bring me to treat personally with Lord Chatham. Experience makes me resolve to run any personal risk rather than submit to a set of men who certainly would make me a slave for the remainder of my days."

1778. March. After a night's rest, the king wrote with still more energy: "My dear lord, no consideration in life shall make me stoop to opposition. Whilst any ten men in the kingdom will stand by me, I will not give myself up into bondage. My dear lord, I will rather risk my crown than do what I think personally disgraceful. If the nation will not stand by me, they shall have another king; for I never

will put my hand to what will make me miserable to the last day of my life."

On the seventeenth the king communicated to parliament the rescript of the French ambassador. In the commons, Conway said: "What have we to do but to take up the idea that Franklin has thrown out with fairness and manliness?" Among the lords, Rockingham advised to break the alliance between France and the United States by acknowledging American independence. Richmond still hoped to avoid a war. Lord Shelburne dwelt on the greatness of the affront offered by France, and the impossibility of not resenting it. Yet Shelburne would not listen to an overture in private from the ministers. "Without Lord Chatham," he said, "any new arrangement would be inefficient; with Lord Chatham, nothing could be done but by an entire new cabinet and a change in the chief departments of the law." On the report of this language, the king wrote his last word to Lord North: "Rather than be shackled by these desperate men, I will see any form of government introduced into this island, and lose my crown rather than wear it as a disgrace." 1778. Mar. 17.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE.

1778.

THE twentieth of March was the day appointed for the presentation of the American commissioners to the king of France in the palace built by Louis XIV. at Versailles. The world thought only of Franklin; but he was accompanied by his two colleagues and by the unreceived ministers to Prussia and Tuscany. These four glittered in lace and powder; the patriarch was dressed in the plain gala coat of Manchester velvet which he had used at the levee of George III., — the same which, according to the custom of that age, he had worn, as it proved for the last time in England, when as agent of Massachusetts he had appeared before the privy council, — with white stockings, as was the use in England, spectacles on his nose, a round white hat under his arm, and his thin gray hair in its natural state. The crowd through which they passed received them with long-continued applause. The king, without any unusual courtesy, said to them: "I wish congress to be assured of my friendship." After the ceremony, they paid a visit to the young wife of Lafayette, and dined with the secretary for foreign affairs. Two days later, they were introduced to the still youthful Marie Antoinette, who yielded willingly to generous impulses in behalf of republicans, and by her sympathy made the cause of America a fashion at the French court. The king felt all the while as if he were wronging the cause of monarchy by his acknowledgment of rebels, and engaged in the American revolution against his own will, in obedience to the advice of Maurepas and the opinion of some members of his cabinet

1778. March.

on his duty to France. Personally he was irritated, and did not disguise his vexation. The praises lavished on Franklin by those around the queen fretted him to peevishness, and he mocked what seemed to him the pretentious enthusiasm of the Countess Diana de Polignac by the coarsest jest. 1778. March.

The pique of the king was not due to any defect in Franklin. He was a man of the soundest understanding, never disturbed by recollections or fears, with none of the capricious anxieties of diseased minds or the susceptibilities of disturbed self-love. Free from the illusions of poetic natures, he loved truth for its own sake, and looked upon things just as they were. As a consequence, he had no eloquence but that of clearness. He computed that the inheritor of a noble title in the ninth generation represents at most but the five hundred and twelfth part of the ancestor; nor was he awed by a crosier or dazzled by a crown. He knew the moral world to be subjected to laws like the natural world; in conducting affairs, he remembered the necessary relation of cause to effect, aiming only at what was possible; and with a tranquil mind he signed the treaty with France, just as with calm observation he had contemplated the dangers of his country. In regard to money he was frugal, that he might be independent, and that he might be generous. He owed good health to his exemplary temperance. Habitually gay, employment was his resource against weariness and sorrow, and contentment came from his superiority to ambition, interest, or vanity. There was about him more of moral greatness than appeared on the surface; and, while he made no boast of unselfish benevolence, there never lived a man who would have more surely met martyrdom in the course of duty.

The official conduct of Franklin and his intercourse with persons of highest rank were marked by the most delicate propriety as well as by perfect self-respect. His charm was simplicity, which gave grace to his style and ease to his manners. No life-long courtier could have been more free from vulgarity; no diplomatist more true to his position as minister of a republic; no laborer more consistent with his

former life as a working-man; and thus he won respect and love from all. When a celebrated cause was to be heard before the parliament of Paris, the throng which filled the house and its approaches opened a way on his appearance, and he passed to the seat reserved for him amidst the acclamations of the people. At the opera, at the theatres, similar honors were paid him. It is John Adams who said: "Not Leibnitz or Newton, not Frederic or Voltaire, had a more universal reputation; and his character was more beloved and esteemed than that of them all." Throughout Europe, there was scarcely a citizen or a peasant of any culture who was not familiar with his name, and who did not consider him as a friend to all men. At the academy, D'Alembert addressed him as the man who had wrenched the thunderbolt from the cloud, the sceptre from tyrants; and both these ideas were of a nature to pass easily into the common mind. From the part which he had taken in the emancipation of America, imagination transfigured him as the man who had separated the colonies from Great Britain, had framed their best constitutions of government, and by counsel and example would show how to abolish all political evil throughout the world. Malesherbes spoke of the excellence of the institutions that permitted a printer, the son of a tallow-chandler, to act a great part in public affairs; and, if Malesherbes reasoned so, how much more the workmen of Paris and the people. Thus Franklin was the venerable impersonation of democracy, yet so calmly decorous, so free from a disposition to quarrel with the convictions of others, that, while he was the delight of free-thinking philosophers, he escaped the hatred of the clergy, and his presence excited no jealousy in the old nobility, though sometimes a woman of rank might find fault with his hands and skin, which toil had embrowned. Yet he understood the movement of the French of his day. He remarked to those in Paris who learned of him the secret of statesmanship: "He who shall introduce into public affairs the principles of primi-
1778. March. tive Christianity will change the face of the world;" and we know from Condorcet that while in France he said in a public company: "You perceive liberty estab-

lish herself and flourish almost under your eyes; I dare to predict that by and by you will be anxious to taste her blessings." In this way he conciliated the most opposite natures, yet not for himself. Whatever favor he met in society, whatever honor he received from the academy, whatever authority he gained as a man of science, whatever distinction came to him through the good-will of the people, whatever fame he acquired throughout Europe, he turned all to account for the good of his country. Surrounded by colleagues, some of whom were jealous of his superiority, and for no service whatever were greedy of the public money, he threw their angry demands into the fire. Arthur Lee intrigued to supplant him with persevering malignity; the weak and incompetent Izard brought against him charges which bear the strangeness of frenzy; but he met their hostility by patient indifference. Never detracting from the merit of any one, he did not disdain glory, and he knew how to pardon envy. Great as were the injuries which he received in England, he used towards that power undeviating frankness and fairness, and never from resentment lost an opportunity of promoting peace.

In England, Rockingham, Richmond, Burke, Fox, Conway, respected Franklin, and desired to meet his offers. So, too, did Lord North, though he had not courage to be true to his convictions. On the other side stood foremost and firmest the king, and Chatham arrayed himself against American independence. Richmond, as a friend to liberty, made frank advances to Chatham, sending him the draft of an address which he was to move in the house of lords, and entreating of him reunion, mutual confidence, and support. Chatham rejected his overture, and avowed the purpose of opposing his motion. 1778. April.

Accordingly, on Tuesday the seventh of April, against earnest requests, Lord Chatham, wrapped up in flannel to the knees, pale and wasted away, his eyes still retaining their fire, came into the house of lords, leaning upon his son William Pitt and his son-in-law Lord Mahon. The peers stood up out of respect as he hobbled to his bench. The Duke of Richmond proposed and spoke elab- April 7.

orately in favor of an address to the king, which in substance recommended the recognition of the independent sovereignty of the thirteen revolted provinces and a change of administration. Chatham, who alone of British statesmen had a right to invite America to resume her old connection, rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches and supported under each arm by a friend. His figure was marked with dignity, and he seemed a being superior to those around him. Raising one hand from his crutch, and casting his eyes towards heaven, he said: "I thank God that, old and infirm, and with more than one foot in the grave, I have been able to come this day to stand up in the cause of my country, perhaps never again to enter the walls of this house." Stillness prevailed. His voice, at first low and feeble, rose and became harmonious; but his speech faltered, his sentences were broken, his words no more than flashes through darkness, shreds of sublime but unconnected eloquence. He recalled his prophecies of the evils which were to follow such American measures as had been adopted, adding at the end of each: "and so it proved." He could not act with Lord Rockingham and his friends, because they persisted in unretracted error. With the loftiest pride he laughed to scorn the idea of an invasion of England by Spain or by France or by both. "If peace cannot be preserved with honor, why is not war declared without hesitation? This kingdom has still resources to maintain its just rights. Any state is better than despair. My lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." The Duke of Richmond answered with respect for the name of Chatham, so dear to Englishmen; but he resolutely maintained the wisdom of avoiding a war in which France and Spain would have America for their ally. Lord Chatham would have replied; but, after two or three unsuccessful efforts to rise, he fell backwards, and seemed in the agonies of death. Every one of the peers pressed round him, save only the Earl of Mansfield, who sat unmoved. The senseless sufferer was borne from

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the house with tender solicitude to the bed from which he never was to rise.

The king wrote at once to Lord North: "May not the political exit of Lord Chatham incline you to continue at the head of my affairs?" The world was saddened by the loss of so great a man. The elder Pitt never seemed more thoroughly the spokesman of the commoners of England than in these last months of his public career. He came to parliament with an all-impassioned love of liberty, the proudest sentiment of nationality, and his old disdain of the house of Bourbon; and the sorrows of his country were as massive clouds about his brilliant pathway to the grave. His eloquence in the early part of the session seemed to some of his hearers to surpass all that they had ever heard of the orators of Greece or Rome. In his last days, he was still dreaming of an ideal England with a parliament of the people; and, with a haughtiness all the more marvellous from his age, decrepitude, and insulation, he confronted alone all branches of the nobility, who had lost a continent in the vain hope of saving themselves a shilling in the pound of the land-tax, and declared that there could be no good government but under an administration that should crush to atoms the political influence of all parties of the aristocracy, and interpret law in favor of liberty. He died like a hero struck down on the field of battle after the day was lost, still in heart, though not in place, the great commoner. With logical consistency, the house of lords refused to attend his funeral. 1778. April.

By this time the news of the French alliance with the United States had spread through Europe. It was received at St. Petersburg with lively satisfaction. In England, the king, the ministry, parliament, the British nation, all were unwilling to speak the word independence, wishing at least to retain some preference by compact. France in her treaty of commerce asked no favor, considering equality as the only basis for a permanent friendship. Custom, mutual confidence, sameness of language and of civil law, the habit of using English manufactures, their cheapness and merit, of themselves *secured* to England almost a

monopoly of American commerce for a generation, and yet she stickled for the formal concession of some special commercial advantages. Deluded by the long usage of monopoly, she would not see that equality was all she needed. Once more Hartley, as an informal agent from Lord North, repaired to Paris to seek of Franklin an offer of some alliance, or at least of some favor in trade. Franklin answered him as he answered other emissaries, that as to independence the Americans enjoyed it already; its acknowledgment would secure to Britain equal but not superior advantages in commerce. Fox was satisfied with this offer; and on the tenth, when it was moved in the house of commons to enlarge the powers of the commissioners, he held up to view that greater benefits to trade would follow from friendly relations with independent America than from nominal dependence.

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Fox was in the right, but was not heeded. Had Chatham lived and obtained power, the course of events would not have been changed. Jackson, the former colleague of Franklin and secretary of Grenville, refused to be of the commission for peace, because he saw that it was a delusion accorded by the king to quiet Lord North, and to unite the nation against the Americans. Long before the commissioners arrived, the United States had taken its part. On the twenty-first of April, Washington gave his opinion to a member of congress: "Nothing short of independence can possibly do. A peace on any other terms would be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten. Our fidelity as a people, our character as men, are opposed to a coalition with them as subjects." Upon the twenty-second, a day of general public fasting and humiliation, with prayers to Almighty God to strengthen and perpetuate the union, in their house of worship congress resolved "to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the states."

"Lord North is two years too late with his political manœuvre," responded George Clinton, then governor of New York. Jay met not a single American "willing to accept peace under Lord North's terms." "No offers," wrote Robert Morris, "ought to have a hearing of one moment, unless preceded by acknowledgment of our independence, because we can never be a happy people under their domination. Great Britain would still enjoy the greatest share and most valuable parts of our trade." 1778. April.

Since Britain would grant no peace, on the tenth the French king despatched from Toulon a fleet, bearing Gerard as his minister to the congress of the United States, that the alliance between France and America might be riveted. On the twenty-ninth, when, in the presence of Franklin and his newly arrived colleague John Adams, Voltaire was solemnly received by the French academy, philosophic France gave the right hand of fellowship to America as its child by adoption. The numerous assembly demanded a visible sign of the union of the intellect of the two continents; and, in the presence of all that was most distinguished in letters and philosophy, Franklin and Voltaire kissed one another, in recognition that the war for American independence was a war for freedom of mind.

Many causes combined to procure the alliance of France and the American republic; but the force which brought all influences harmoniously together, overruling the timorous levity of Maurepas and the dull reluctance of Louis XVI., was the movement of intellectual freedom. We are arrived at the largest generalization thus far in the history of America.

The spirit of free inquiry penetrated the Catholic world as it penetrated the Protestant world. Each of their methods of reform recognised that every man shares in the eternal reason, and in each the renovation proceeded from within the soul. Luther, as he climbed on his knees the marble steps of a church at Rome, heard a voice within him cry out, "Justification is by faith alone;" and to all the people he vindicated man's individuality from the point of view of religion. The most stupendous thought that was

ever conceived by man, such as had never been dared by Socrates or the academy, by Aristotle or the stoics, took possession of Descartes on a November night in his meditations on the banks of the Danube. His mind separated itself from every thing beside, and in the consciousness of its freedom stood over against all tradition, all received opinion, all knowledge, all existence except itself, thus asserting the principle of individuality as the key-note of all coming philosophy and political institutions. Nothing was to be received by a man as truth which did not convince
1778. his own reason. Luther opened a new world in which every man was his own priest, his own intercessor; Descartes opened a new world in which every man was his own philosopher, his own judge of truth.

A practical difference marked the kindred systems: the one was the method of continuity and gradual reform; the other of an instantaneous, complete, and thoroughly radical revolution. The principle of Luther waked up a superstitious world, "asleep in lap of legends old," but did not renounce all external authority. It used drags and anchors to check too rapid a progress, and to secure its moorings. So it escaped premature conflicts. By the principle of Descartes, the individual man at once and altogether stood aloof from king, church, universities, public opinion, traditional science, all external authority and all other beings, and, turning every intruder out of the inner temple of the mind, kept guard at its portal to bar the entry to every belief that had not first obtained a passport from himself. No one ever applied the theory of Descartes with rigid inflexibility; a man can as little move without the weight of the superincumbent atmosphere as escape altogether the opinions of the age in which he sees the light; but the theory was there, and it rescued philosophy from bondage to monkish theology, forbade to the church all inquisition into private opinion, and gave to reason, and not to civil magistrates, the maintenance of truth. The nations that learned their lessons of liberty from Luther and Calvin went forward in their natural development, and suffered their institutions to grow and to shape themselves according to

the increasing public intelligence. The nations that learned their lessons of liberty from Descartes were led to question every thing, and by creative power renew society through the destruction of the past. The spirit of liberty in all Protestant countries was marked by moderation. The German Lessing, the antitype of Luther, said to his countrymen: "Don't put out the candles till day breaks." Out of Calvinistic Protestantism rose in that day four great teachers of four great nationalities, America, Great Britain, Germany, and France. Edwards, Reid, Kant, and Rousseau were all imbued with religiosity, and all except 1778.
the last, who spoiled his doctrine by dreamy indolence, were expositors of the active powers of man. All these in political science, Kant most exactly of all, were the counterpart of America, which was conducting a revolution on the highest principles of freedom with such circumspection that it seemed to be only a war against innovation. On the other hand, free thought in France, as pure in its source as free thought in America, became speculative and skeptical and impassioned. This modern Prometheus, as it broke its chains, started up with a sentiment of revenge against the ecclesiastical terrorism which for centuries had sequestered the rights of mind. Inquiry took up with zeal every question in science, politics, and morals. Free thought paid homage to the "majesty of nature;" investigated the origin of species; analyzed the air we breathe; pursued the discoveries of Columbus and Copernicus; mapped the skies; explored the oceans and measured the earth; revived ancient learning; revelled in the philosophy of Greece, which, untrammelled by national theology, went forth to seek the reason of things; nursed the republican sentiment by study of the history of Athens and Rome; spoke words for liberty on the stage; and adapted the round of learning to the common understanding. Now it translated and scattered abroad the writings of Americans and the new American constitutions; and the proud intellect of France was in a maze, Turgot and Condorcet melted with admiration and sympathy as they read the organic laws in which the unpretending husbandmen of a new continent had introduced into the

world of real life the ideas that for them dwelt only in hope. All influences that favored freedom of mind conspired together. Anti-prelatical Puritanism was embraced
1778. by anti-prelatical skepticism. The exile Calvin was welcomed home as he returned by way of New England and the states where Huguenots and Presbyterians prevailed. The lineage of Calvin and the lineage of Descartes met together. One great current of vigorous living opinion, which there was no power in France capable of resisting, swept through society, driving all the clouds in the sky in one direction. Ministers and king and nation were hurried along together.

The wave of free thought broke as it rolled against the Pyrenees. The Bourbon of France was compelled into an alliance with America; the Bourbon of Spain, disturbed only by the remonstrances of De Aranda, his ambassador in Paris, was left to pursue a strictly national policy. The Spanish people did not share the passion and enthusiasm of the French, for they had not had the training of the French. In France, there was no inquisition; in Spain, the king would have submitted his own son to its tribunal. For the French soldier Descartes, the emancipator of thought, Spain had the soldier Loyola to organize repression; for the proud Corneille, so full of republican fire, Spain had the monkish Calderon. There no poet like Molière unfrocked hypocrisy. Not only had Spain no Calvin, no Voltaire, no Rousseau; she had no Pascal to mock at casuistry; no prelate to instruct her princes in the rights of the people like Fénelon, or defend her church against Rome, or teach the equality of all men before God like Bossuet; no controversies through the press like those with the Huguenots; no edict of toleration like that of Nantes. A richly endowed church always leans to Arminianism and justification by works; and it was so in Spain, where the spiritual instincts of man, which are the life of freedom, had been trodden under foot, and alms-giving to professed mendicants usurped the place of charity. Natural science in its progress gently strips from religion the follies of superstition, and purifies and spiritualizes faith; in Spain it was dreaded as of kin to the

Islam; and, as the material world was driven from its rightful place among the objects of study, it avenged itself by overlaying religion. The idea was lost in the symbol; to the wooden or metal cross was imputed the worth of inward piety; religious feeling was cherished by magnificent ceremonies to delight the senses; penitence in this world made atonement by using the hair shirt, the scourge, and maceration; the immortal soul was thought to be purged by material flames; the merciless inquisition kept spies over opinion in every house by the confessional, and quelled unbelief by the dungeon, the torture, and the stake. Free thought was rooted out in the struggle for homogeneousness. Nothing was left in Spain that could tolerate Protestantism, least of all the stern Protestantism of America; nothing congenial to free thought, least of all to free thought as it was in France.

France was alive with the restless spirit of inquiry; the country beyond the Pyrenees was still benumbed by superstition and priestcraft and tyranny over mind, and the church through its organization maintained a stagnant calm. As there was no union between the French mind and the Spanish mind, between the French people and the Spanish people, the union of the governments was simply the result of the family compact, which the engagement between France and the United States without the assent of Spain violated and annulled. Moreover, the self-love of the Catholic king was touched, that his nephew should have formed a treaty with America without waiting for his advice. Besides, the independence of colonies was an example that might divest his crown of its possessions in both parts of America; and the danger was greatly enhanced by the establishment of republicanism on the borders of his transatlantic provinces, where he dreaded it as more surely fatal than all the power of Great Britain. 1778.

The king of France, while he declared his wish to make no conquest whatever in the war, held out to the king of Spain, with the consent of the United States, the acquisition of Florida; but Florida had not power to allure Charles III., or his ministry, which was a truly Spanish

ministry and wished to pursue a truly Spanish policy. There was indeed one word which, if pronounced, would be a spell potent enough to alter their decision; a word that calls the blood into the cheek of a Spaniard as a brand of inferiority on his nation. That word was Gibraltar.

Meantime, the king of Spain declared that he would
1778. not then, nor in the future, enter into the quarrel of France and England; that he wished to close his life in tranquillity, and valued peace too highly to sacrifice it to the interests or opinions of another.

So the flags of France and the United States went together into the field against Great Britain, unsupported by any other government, yet with the good wishes of all the peoples of Europe. The benefit then conferred on the United States was priceless. In return, the revolution in America came opportunely for France. During the last years of Louis XIV. and the reign of Louis XV., she lost her creative power and stumbled about in the regions of skepticism. She aspired to deny, and knew only how to deny; yet that France which its own clergy calumniated as a nation of atheists was the lineal successor of the France which raised cathedrals on each side of the channel, the France which took up the banner of the very God indwelling in man against paganized Christianity and against Islam, the France which maintained Gallican liberties against papal Rome, the France which after its fashion delivered thought from bondage to the church. To that same France, America brought new life and hope; she superseded skepticism by a wise and prudent enthusiasm in action, and bade the nation that became her ally lift up its heart from the barrenness of doubt to the highest affirmation of God and liberty, to freedom in union with the good, the beautiful, and the true.

CHAPTER XXX.

EUROPE AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

1778.

The alliance of France with the United States brought the American question into the heart of Europe, where it called new political aspirations into activity, waked the hope of free trade between all the continents, and arraigned the British ministry at the judgment-seat of the civilized world. England could recover influence in the direction of external affairs only by a peace with her colonies. American independence was to be decided not by arms alone, but equally by the policy and the sympathies of foreign princes and nations. 1778.

Both the great belligerents were involved in contradictions at home. The government of England, in seeking to suppress in her dependencies English rights by English arms, made war on the life of her own life. Inasmuch as the party of freedom and justice, which is, indeed, one for all mankind, was at least seen to be one and the same for the whole English race, it appeared more and more clearly that the total subjugation of America would be the prelude to the repression of liberty in the British isles.

In point of commercial wealth, industry, and adventurous enterprise, England at the time had no equal; in pride of nationality, no rival but France: yet her movements were marked by languor. There was no man in the cabinet who could speak words of power to call out her moral resources, and harmonize the various branches of the public service. The country, which in the seven years' war had been wrought by the elder Pitt to deeds of magnanimity, found in the ministry no representative. Public spirit had been quelled, and a disposition fostered to value personal interest

above the general good. Even impending foreign war could not hush the turbulence of partisans. The administration, having no guiding principle, held its majority in the house of commons only on sufferance, its own officials only by its control of patronage. Insubordination showed itself in the fleet and in the army, and most among the officers. England had not known so bad a govern-
1778. ment since the reign of James II. It was neither beloved nor respected, and truly stood neither for the people nor for any party of the aristocracy; neither for the spirit of the time, nor for the past age, nor for that which was coming. It was a conglomerate of inferior and heterogeneous materials, totally unfit to conduct the policy of a mighty empire, endured only during an interim.

The period in British history was one of great and increasing intellectual vigor. It was distinguished in philosophy by Hume and Reid and Price and Adam Smith; in painting by Reynolds; in poetry and various learning by Gray and Goldsmith, Johnson and Cowper; in legislative eloquence by Chatham, Burke, and Fox; in history by Gibbon; in the useful arts by Brindley, Watt, and Arkwright. That the nation, in a state of high and advancing culture, should have been governed by a sordid ministry, so inferior to itself as that of Lord North, was not due to the corruption of parliament alone; for there was always in the house of commons an independent fraction. It cannot be fully explained without considering the chaotic state of political parties.

The conflict between England and her American colonies sprang necessarily out of the development of British institutions. The supreme right of parliament as the rep-sentative of English nationality, and bound to resist and erthrow the personal government of the Stuarts, was the tch-word of the Revolution of 1688, which had been dear America as the death-blow to monarchical absolutism oughout the English dominions, and as the harbinger of stitutional liberty for the civilized world. Parliament in asserted its paramount authority over the crown, when s own enactment it transferred the succession to the

house of Hanover. These revolutions could not have been achieved except through a categorical principle that would endure no questioning of its rightfulness. Such a principle could not submit to modifications, until it had accomplished its work; and, as it was imbedded with the love of liberty in the mass of the English nation, it had moved and acted with the strength and majesty of a national conviction. 1778.

In the process of years, the assertion of the supreme power of parliament soon assumed an exaggerated form, and was claimed to extend, without limit, over Ireland and over the colonies; so that the theory which had first been used to rescue and secure the liberties of England became an instrument of despotism. Meantime, both branches of parliament were but representatives of the same favored class; and the kings awakened no counterpoising sentiment of loyalty so long as the house of Hanover, the creature of parliament, was represented by princes of foreign birth, ignorant of the laws and the language of the land.

In this manner the government was conducted for a half century by the aristocracy, which, keeping in memory the days of Cromwell and of James II., were led into the persuasion that the party of liberty, to use the words of Rockingham, was that which "fought up against the king and against the people."

But by the side of the theory of absolute power concentred in parliament, which had twice been the sheet-anchor of the English constitution, there existed the older respect for the rights of the individual and the liberties of organized communities. These two elements of British political life were brought into collision by the American revolution, which had its provocation in the theory of the omnipotence of parliament, and its justification in the eyes of Englishmen in the principle of vital liberty diffused through all the parts of the commonwealth. The two ideas struggled for the ascendency in the mind of the British nation and in its legislature. They both are so embalmed in the undying eloquence of Burke as to have led to the most opposite estimates of his political character. They both appear in

startling distinctness in the speeches and conduct of Fox, who put all at hazard on the omnipotence of parliament, and yet excelled in the clear statement of the attitude of America. Both lay in irreconciled confusion in the politics of Rockingham, whose administration signalized itself by enacting the right of the king, lords, and commons of Britain to bind America in all cases whatsoever, and humanely refused to enforce the pretension. The aristocratic party of liberty, organized on the principle of the absolute power of parliament, in order to defeat effectually and for all time the designs of the king against parliamentary usages and rights, had done its work and outlived its usefulness. In opposition to the continued rule of an aristocratic connection with the device of omnipotence over king and
1778. people, there rose up around the pure and venerable form of Chatham a new liberal party, willing to use the prerogative of the king to moderate the rule of the aristocracy in favor of the people.

The new party aimed at a double modification of the unrestricted sovereignty of parliament. The elder Pitt ever insisted, and his friends continued to maintain, that the commons of Great Britain had no right to impose taxes on unrepresented colonies. This was the first step in the renovation of English liberty. The next was to recognise that parliament, as then composed, did not adequately represent the nation; and statesmen of the connection of Rockingham desperately resisted both these cardinal principles of reform. This unyielding division among the opponents of Lord North prolonged his administration.

Besides, many men of honest intentions, neither wishing English liberties impaired, nor yet to consent to the idence of the colonies, kept their minds in a state of e; and this reluctance to decide led them to bear a ager the ministry which alone professed ability to the insurrection: for better men would not conake their places coupled with the condition of conheir policy. Once in a moment of petulance, Lord ermain resigned; and the king, who wished to be a, regarded his defection as a most favorable event.

But he was from necessity continued in his office, because no one else could be found willing to accept it.

In the great kingdom on the other side of the channel, antagonistic forces were likewise in action. As the representative of popular power, France had in reserve one great advantage over England in her numerous independent peasantry. Brought up in ignorance and seclusion, they knew not how to question any thing that was taught by the church or commanded by the monarch; but, 1778. however they might for the present suffer from grievous and unredressed oppression, they constituted the safeguard of order as well as of nationality.

It was in the capital and among the cultivated classes of society, in coffee-houses and saloons, that the cry rose for reform or revolution. The French king was absolute; yet the teachings of Montesquieu and the example of England raised in men of generous natures an uncontrollable desire for free institutions; while speculative fault-finders, knowing nothing of the self-restraint which is taught by responsibility in the exercise of office, indulged in ideal anticipations, which were colored by an exasperating remembrance of griefs and wrongs. France was the eldest daughter of the Roman church, with a king who was a sincere though not a bigoted Roman Catholic; and its philosophers carried their impassioned war against the church to the utmost verge of skepticism and unbelief, while a suspicion that forms of religion were used as a mere instrument of government began to find its way into the minds of the discontented laboring classes in the cities. But, apart from all inferior influences, the power of generalization, in which the French nation excels all others, imparts from time to time an idealistic character to its policy. The Parisians felt the reverses of the Americans as if they had been their own; and in November, 1776, an approaching rupture with England was the subject of all conversations.

The American struggle was avowedly a war in defence of the common rights of mankind. The Prince de Montbarey, who owed his place as minister of war to the favor of Maurepas and female influence, and who cherished the pre-

judices of his order without being aware of his own mediocrity, professed to despise the people of the United States as formed from emigrants for the most part without character and without fortune, ambitious and fanatical, and likely to attract to their support "all the rogues and the worthless from the four parts of the globe." He had warned Lafayette against leaving his wife and wasting his fortune to play the part of Don Quixote in their behalf, and had raised in the council his feeble voice against the alliance of France with the insurgents. He regarded a victory over England as of no advantage commensurate with the dangerous example of sustaining a revolt against established
1778. authority. Besides, war would accumulate disorder in the public finances, retard useful works for the happiness of France, and justify reprisals by Great Britain on the colonies of the Bourbon princes.

It was against the interior sentiment of the king, the doubts of Maurepas, and the vivid remonstrances of the minister of war, that the lingering influence of the policy of the balance of power, the mercantile aspirations of France, its spirit of philosophic freedom, its traditional antagonism to England as aiming at the universal monarchy of commerce and the seas, quickened by an eagerness to forestall a seemingly imminent reconciliation with the colonies, forced the French alliance with America.

Just thirty-eight years before, when Maurepas was in the vigor of manhood, he had been famed for his aversion to England, and for founding his glory on the restoration of the French navy. In the administration of Cardinal Fleury, he was thought to have had the mind of the widest range; and it was in those days predicted of him that he would lead France to accomplish great results, if he should ever become the director of the government. At length he was raised to be first minister by a king who looked up to him with simple-minded deference and implicit trust. The tenor of his mind was unchanged; but he was so enfeebled by long exclusion from public affairs and the heavy burden of years and infirmities that no daring design could lure him from the love of quiet. By habit he put aside all business

which admitted of delay, and shunned every effort of heroic enterprise. When the question of the alliance with America became urgent, he shrunk from proposing new taxes, which the lately restored parliaments might refuse to register; and he gladly accepted the guarantee of Necker, that all war expenditures could be met by the use of credit, varied financial operations, and reforms. It was only after the assurance of a sufficient supply of money from loans, of which the repayment would not disturb the remnant of his life, that he no longer attempted to stem the prevailing opinion of Paris in favor of America. The same fondness for ease, after hostilities were begun, led him to protect Necker from the many enemies who, from hatred of his reforms, joined the clamor against him as a foreigner and a Calvinist.

The strength of the cabinet lay in Vergennes, whose superior statesmanship was yet not in itself sufficient to raise him above the care of maintaining himself in favor. He secured the unfailing good-will of his sovereign by his political principles, recognising no authority of either clergy, or nobility, or third estate, but only a monarch to give the word, and all, as one people, to obey. Nor did he ever for a moment forget the respect due to Maurepas as his superior, so that he never excited a jealousy of rivalship. He had no prejudice about calling republics into being, whether in Europe or beyond the Atlantic, if the welfare of France seemed to require it; he had, however, in his earliest approaches to the insurgent colonies, acted in conjunction with Spain, which he continued to believe would follow France into the war with England; and in his eyes the interests of that branch of the house of Bourbon took precedence over those of the United States, except where the latter were precisely guaranteed by treaty.

Not one of the chiefs of the executive government, not even the director-general of the finances, was primarily a hearty friend to the new republic: the 1778.
opinion of Necker was in favor of neutrality; and his liberalism, though he was a Swiss by birth, and valued the praises of the philosophic world, did not go beyond admiration of the political institutions of England.

The statesmen of the nation had not yet deduced from experience and the intuitions of reason a system of civil liberty to supersede worn-out traditional forms; and the lighter literature of the hour, skeptical rather than hopeful, mocked at the contradiction between institutions and rights. "Gentlemen of America," wrote Parny, at Paris, just before the alliance between France and the United States, "what right have you, more than we, to this cherished lib-
1778. erty? Inexorable tyranny crushes Europe; and you, lawless and mutinous people, without kings and without queens, will you dance to the clank of the chains which weigh down the human race? And, deranging the beautiful equipoise, will you beard the whole world, and be free?" Mirabeau wrote a fiery invective against despotism, from a prison of which his passionate imploring for leave to serve in America could not open the doors.

Until chastened by affliction, Marie Antoinette wanted earnestness of character, and suffered herself to be swayed by generous caprices, or family ties, or the selfish solicitations of her female companions. She had an ascendency over the mind of the king, but never aspired to control his foreign policy, except in relation to Austria; and she could not always conceal her contempt for his understanding. It was only in the pursuit of offices and benefits for her friends that she would suffer no denial. She did not spare words of angry petulance to a minister who dared to thwart her requests; and Necker retained her favor by never refusing them. To find an embassy for the aged, inexperienced, and incompetent father-in-law of the woman whom she appeared to love the most, she did not scruple to derange the diplomatic service of the kingdom. For the moment her emotions ran with the prevailing enthusiasm for the new republic; but they were only superficial and occasional, and could form no support for a steady conduct of the war.

It was the age of personal government in France. Its navy, its army, its credit, its administration, rested absolutely in the hands of a young man of four-and-twenty, whom his Austrian brother-in-law described as a child. He felt for the Americans neither as insurgents against wrongs

nor as a self-governing people; and never understood how it came about that, contrary to his own faith in unlimited monarchical power and in the Catholic Church, his kingdom had plunged into a war to introduce to the potentates of the civilized world a revolutionary Protestant republic.

France was rich in resources; but its finances had not recovered from their exhaustion in the seven years' war. Their restoration became hopeless, when Necker promised to employ the fame of his severer administration only to add new weight to debts which were already too heavy to be borne. The king of Prussia, whose poverty made him a sharp observer of the revenues of wealthier powers, repeatedly foretold the bankruptcy of the royal treasury, if the young king should break the peace. 1778.

All this while Paris was the centre of the gay society and intelligence of Europe. The best artists of the day, the masters of the rival schools of music, crowded round the court. The splendor of the Bourbon monarchy was kept up at the Tuileries and Versailles with prodigal magnificence; and invention was ever devising new methods of refined social enjoyment. The queen was happy in the dazzling scenes of which she was the life; the king pleased with the supreme power which he held it his right to exercise. To France, the years which followed are the most glorious in her history; for they were those in which she most consistently and disinterestedly fought for the liberties of mankind, and so prepared the way for her own regeneration and the overthrow of feudalism throughout Europe; but Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, when they embarked for the liberation of America, pleasure on the prow, and the uncertain hand of youth at the helm, might have cried out to the young republic which they fostered: "Morituri te salutant," "The doomed to die salute thee."

The Catholic king might love to avenge himself on England by worrying her with chicanes and weakening her by promoting dissensions in her dominions; but he had learned from experience to recoil from war, and longed for tranquillity in his old age. A very costly and most unsuccessful expedition against Algiers, and a protracted strife with

Portugal respecting the extension of Brazil to the La Plata, where Pombal by active forethought long counterbalanced superior power, had wasted the resources of his world-wide monarchy. Its revenue amounted to not much more than twenty millions of dollars, and a large annual deficit rapidly increased the public debt. Every consideration of sound policy enjoined upon the ruler of Spain to husband
1778. for his land the blessings of peaceful times; and above all, as the great possessor of colonies, to avoid a war which was leading to the complete and irretrievable ruin of the old colonial system.

The management of its foreign dependencies — colonies they could not properly be called, nor could Spain be named their mother country — was to that kingdom an object of anxiety and never-sleeping suspicion, heightened by a perpetual consciousness that the task of governing them was beyond its ability. The total number of their inhabitants greatly exceeded its own. By their very extent, embracing, at least in theory, all the Pacific coast of America; and north of the Gulf of Mexico the land eastward to the Mississippi, or even to the Alleghanies, it could have no feeling of their subordination. The remoteness of the provinces on the Pacific still more weakened the tie of supremacy, which was nowhere confirmed by a common language, inherited traditions, or affinities of race. There was no bond of patriotism, or sense of the joint possession of political rights, or inbred loyalty. The connection between rulers and ruled was one of force alone; and the force was in itself so very weak that it availed only from the dull sluggishness of the governed. Distrust marked the policy of the home government, even toward those of its officials who were natives of Spain; still more toward the Creoles, as the offspri[illegible]paniards in America were called. No attempt had b[illegible] to bind the mind of the old races, except thro[illegible]oman religion, which was introduced by the sw[illegible]intained by methods of superstition. There [illegible] never a time when the war-cry of the semi-[illegible]ations who formed the bulk of the population [illegible]d somewhere on their border. The restraints

on commerce were mischievous and vexatious, prompted by fear and provoking murmurs and frauds.

Moreover, all the world was becoming impatient that so large a portion of the globe should be monopolized by an incapable and decrepit dynasty. The Dutch and the British and the French sought opportunities of illicit trade. The British cut down forest trees, useful in the workshop and the dye-house, and carried them off as unappropriated products of nature. The Russian flag waved on the American shore of the North Pacific. 1778.

To all these dangers from abroad, Charles III. had added another, by making war on the so-called company of Jesus. Of the prelates of Spain, seven archbishops and twenty-eight bishops, two thirds of them all, not only approved the exile of the order from his dominions, but recommended its total dissolution; while only one bishop desired to preserve it without reform. With their concurrence, and the support of France and Portugal, he finally extorted the assent of the pope to its abolition. But before the formal act of the see of Rome, on the second of April, 1767, at one and the same hour in Spain, in the north and south of Africa, in Asia, in America, in all the islands of the monarchy, the royal decree was opened by officials of the crown, enjoining them immediately to take possession of its houses, to chase its members from their convents, and within twenty-four hours to transport them as prisoners to some appointed harbor. These commands were followed with precision in Spain, where the Jesuit priests, without regard to their birth, education, or age, were sent on board ships to land where they could. They were executed less perfectly in Mexico and California, and still less so along the South Pacific coast and the waters of the La Plata.

But the power of Spain in her colonies had been promoted by the unwearied activity of the Jesuits. Their banishment weakened her authority over Spanish emigrants, and still more confused the minds of the rude progeny of the aborigines. In Paraguay, where Spanish supremacy had rested on Jesuits alone, who had held in their hands all the attributes of Cæsar and pope, of state and church, the revolution

which divided these powers between a civil chief and Dominicans, Franciscans, and monks of the Lady of Mercy, made a fracture that never could be healed. It was as colonial insurgents that Spain dreaded the Americans, not as a new Protestant power. The antipathy of the king to the United States arose from political motives: by the recognition of their independence, he was threatened with a new, unexpected, and very real danger in all his boundless vice-royalties. There could be no fear of a popular rising in any of them to avenge a breach of political privileges; but as they had been won by adventurous leaders, so a priest, an aboriginal chief, a descendant of an Inca, might waken a common feeling in the native population, and defy the Spanish monarch. Jesuits might find shelter among their neophytes, and reappear as the guides of rebellion. One of their fathers has written: "When Spain tore evangelical laborers away from the colonies, the breath of independence agitated the New World, and God permitted it to detach itself from the Old."

The example of the United States did not merely threaten to disturb the valley of the Mississippi; but, as epidemic disease leaps mysteriously over mountains and crosses oceans, spores of discontent might be unaccountably borne, to germinate among the many-tongued peoples of South America. All alluring promises of lowering the strength of England could soothe Florida Blanca no more. His well-grounded sensitiveness was inflamed, till it became a continual state of morbid irritability; and, from the time when the court of France resolved to treat with the Americans, his prophetic fears could never for a moment be lulled to rest.

Portugal, which in the seven years' war, with the aid of England, escaped absorption by Spain, seemed necessarily about to become an ally of the British king. Its harbors, during the last year of the ministry of Pombal, were shut against the vessels of the United States; and con-
1776. Dec. 30. gress, on the thirtieth of December, 1776, resenting the insult, was willing to incur its enmity, as the price of the active friendship of Spain. But when, two

months later, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1777, the weak-minded, superstitious Maria I. succeeded to the throne, Pombal retired before reactionary imbecility. Portugal, in exchange for a tract of land conterminous to Brazil, withdrew from the La Plata, and was scarcely heard of again during the war. 1777. Feb. 24.

In the south-east of Europe, the chief political interest for the United States centred in the joint rulers of the Austrian empire. The Danube, first of rivers of the Old World, rolled through their dominions between valleys of exuberant fertility towards the great inland sea which drains a larger surface of Europe than the Mediterranean. Yet the culture and commerce of the eastern lands of the crown, by which alone their house could become great, were set aside as secondary objects, so that the mighty stream flowed almost in silence towards the Euxine. 1778.

In August, 1755, when Kaunitz was about to take in his hand the helm of the Austrian empire, and hold it for a third of a century, his first words in explanation of his policy were: "Prussia must be utterly thrown down from its very foundations, if the house of Austria is to stand upright." In the year in which the United States declared their independence, as Joseph II. visited France to draw closer his relations with that power, Kaunitz thus counselled the young emperor: "Move against Prussia with all moderation and regard for good appearances. Never fully trust its court. Direct against it the sum total of political strength, and let our whole system of state rest on this principle."

Successive popes of Rome had wished an alliance of the two great Catholic powers of Central Europe against the smaller states, by which the Reformation had been rescued; and it was the chief boast of Kaunitz that he had effected that alliance. Twenty years after it was framed, his language was still: "Austria and Bourbon are natural allies, and have to regard the Protestant powers as their common rivals and enemies."

Further, the Austrian court in the time of Kaunitz desired, above all, increased power and possessions in Germany, and planned the absorption of Bavaria. And, as the

dynastic interests of the imperial family claimed parity with those of the state, the same minister knew how to find thrones at Parma, at Paris, at Naples, for the three youngest of the six daughters of Maria Theresa.

The arch-house looked upon itself as alone privileged to produce the chiefs of the holy Roman empire, the continuers of Augustus, of Constantine, of Charlemagne, of Otho. In this idea lay its fiction of a claim to universal monarchy, sanctified by the church; so that any new acquisition could easily be regarded but as a recovery of a rightful part
1778. of its dominions. For the same reason it asserted precedence over every royal house, and would not own an equal, even in the empress of Russia.

Since Austria, deserting its old connection with England, had allied itself with France, and the two powers had faithfully fought together in the seven years' war, it would have seemed at least that the imperial court was bound to favor its Bourbon ally in the great contest for American independence; but we have seen an American agent rebuffed alike from the foreign office in Vienna and from the saloons of Kaunitz. The emperor, Joseph II., no less than his mother, from first to last condemned the rising of the American people as a wrong done to the principle of superior power; and his sympathy as a monarch was constant to England.

Such was the policy of the arch-house and its famous minister at this period of American history. But Prussia proved the depth and vigor of its roots by the manner of its wrestling with the storm; the Hapsburg alliance with Bourbon brought no advantage, and passed away, like every thing else that is hollow and insincere. Bavaria still stands, clad in prouder honors than before. Of the thrones on which the Austrian princesses were placed, all three have crumbled; and their families are extinct or in exile. The fiction of the holy Roman empire has passed away, and its meaningless shadow figures only in misplaced arms and devices. The attitude of Austria to the United States will narrative proceeds. Kaunitz and the imperial owed seed that had no life; and their pol-

icy bore no fruit, delaying for their generation the development of the great Austrian state.

In Italy, which by being broken into fragments was reft of its strength though not of its beauty, the United States had hoped to find support from the ruler of Florence, to whom they had commissioned an envoy: the world had been full of the praises of his code and of his government. But the hope was altogether vain. The south of Italy followed Spain. The pope took no thought of colonies which were soon to form a republic, with a people far more thoroughly Protestant than any nation in Europe. But the genius of the Italians has always revered the struggles of patriotism; and, while the Americans fought for their liberties, Filangieri was preparing the work, in which, with the applause of the best minds, he claimed for reason its rights in the governments of men. During the war, the king of Naples, as one of the Spanish Bourbons, conformed his commercial policy to that of Spain.

The Turkish empire affected the course of American affairs both during the war and at its close. The embroilment of the western maritime kingdoms seemed to leave its border provinces at the mercy of their neighbors; and there were statesmen in England who wished peace, in order that their country might speak with authority on the Bosphorus and within the Euxine. 1778.

Of the three northern powers, Russia was for the United States the most important; for Great Britain with ceaseless importunity sought its alliance: but its empress put aside every request to take an active part in the American contest, and repeatedly advised the restoration of peace by the concession of independence. In 1777, she desired to shut the cruisers of the United States out of the Baltic, but confidentially assured the Bourbon family that she would not interfere in their quarrel, and would even be pleased to see them throw off the yoke of England. Her heart was all in the Orient. She longed to establish a Christian empire on the Bosphorus, and wondered why Christians of the west should prefer to maintain Mussulmans at Constantinople. Of England, she loved and venerated the people; but she

had contempt for its king and for his ministry, of which she noticed the many blunders and foretold the fall. On the other hand, she esteemed Vergennes as a wise and able minister, but did not love the French nation.

In Gustavus III. of Sweden, the nephew of Frederic of Prussia, France might expect a friend. The revolution of 1771, in favor of the royal prerogative, had been aided by French subsidies and the counsels of Vergennes, who was selected for the occasion to be the French minister at Stockholm. The oldest colonizers of the Delaware were Swedes, and a natural affection bound their descendants to the mother country. The adventurous king had the ambition to possess a colony, and France inclined to gratify his wish.

1778. His people, as builders and owners of ships, favored the largest interpretation of the maritime rights of neutrals; and we shall see their king, who had dashing courage, though not perseverance, now and then show himself as the boldest champion of the liberty of the seas.

Denmark, the remaining northern kingdom, was itself a colonial power, possessing small West India islands and a foothold in the east. Its king, as Duke of Holstein, had a voice in the German diet at Ratisbon. Its people were of a noble race; it is the land which, first of European states, forbade the slave-trade, and which, before the end of the century, abolished the remains of serfdom.

In 1778, a half-witted king, every day growing feebler in mind, yet in name preserving the functions of royalty; a crown prince of but ten years old, whose mother, divorced for adultery, had died in her youth an exile; a council of state, having the brother of the king for a member, and divided into two nearly equal factions; a queen-dowager, violent beyond her means, and fond of meddling in affairs, — gave no promise of fixedness in the administration. Count Bernstorf, minister of foreign affairs, a German by birth, professed to believe that the repose, strength, and the happiness of civil society depend upon the principle that a people can never be justified in renouncing fidelity, obedience, and subjection to its lawful government, and declaring itself independent. He watched,

therefore, that the Danish government should not favor, or even seem to favor, any step which promised help to the Americans. Complying with the suggestion of the English court, Danish subjects were forbidden to send, even to Danish West India islands, munitions of war, lest they should find their way to the United States. The Danish and Norwegian ports were closed against prizes taken by American privateers. Yet, from its commercial interests, Denmark was forced to observe and to claim the rights of a neutral.

Freedom has its favorite home on the mountains or by the sea. Of the two European republics of the last century, the one had established itself among the head-springs of the Rhine, the other at its mouth. In Switzerland, which its mountains kept apart alike from Italy and the north, the free people preserved their ancient character, and, being content within themselves, constituted a confederated republic, which rivalled in age the oldest monarchies, and, by its good order and industry, morals and laws, proved the stability of self-government, alike for the Romanic and for the Germanic race. Of the compatibility of extensive popular confederacies with modern civilization, it removed every doubt; and America sheltered herself under its example. Haldemand, a much-trusted brigadier in the British service, belonged to it by birth; but England was never able to enlist his countrymen in the rank and file of her armies. The United States gratefully venerated their forerunner, but sought from it no direct assistance. Had 1778.
their cause been lost, Alexander Hamilton would have retreated with his bride "to Geneva, where nature and society were in their greatest perfection."

The deepest and the saddest interest hovers over the republic of the Netherlands, for the war between England and the United States prepared its grave. Of all the branches of the Germanic family, that nation, which rescued from the choked and shallowed sea the unstable silt and sands brought down by the Rhine, has endured the most and wrought the most in favor of liberty of conscience, liberty of commerce, and liberty in the state. The republic which it founded was the child of the Reformation. For

three generations the best interests of mankind were abandoned to its keeping; and, to uphold the highest objects of spiritual life, its merchants, landholders, and traders so abounded in heroes and martyrs that they tired out brute force, and tyranny, and death itself, and from war
1778. educed life and hope for coming ages. Their existence was an unceasing struggle with the ocean which beat against their dikes; with the rivers which cut away their soil; with neighbors that coveted their territory; with England, their ungenerous rival in trade. In proportion to numbers, they were the first in agriculture and in commerce; first in establishing credit by punctuality and probity; first in seeing clearly that great material interests are fostered best by liberty. Their land remained the storehouse of renovating political ideas for Europe, and the asylum of all who were persecuted for their thoughts. In freedom of conscience they were the light of the world. Out of the heart of a taciturn, phlegmatic, serious people, inclined to solitude and reflection, rose the men who constructed the code of international law in the spirit of justice.

In 1674, after England for about a quarter of a century had aimed by acts of legislation and by wars to ruin the navigation of the Netherlands, the two powers consolidated peace by a treaty of commerce, in which the rights of neutrals were guaranteed in language the most precise and the most intelligible. Not only was the principle recognised that free ships make free goods; but, both positively and negatively, ship-timber and other naval stores were excluded from the list of contraband.

In 1688 England contracted to the Netherlands the highest debt that one nation can owe to another. Herself not knowing how to recover her liberties, they were restored by men of the united provinces; and Locke brought back from his exile in that country the theory on government which had been formed by the Calvinists of the continent, and which made his chief political work the text-book of the friends of free institutions for a century.

During the long wars for the security of the new English dynasty, and for the Spanish succession, in all which the

republic had little interest of its own, it remained the faithful ally of Great Britain. Gibraltar was taken by ships and troops of the Dutch not less than by those of England; yet its appropriation by the stronger state 1778. brought them no corresponding advantage; on the contrary, their exhausted finances and disproportionate public debt crippled their power of self-defence.

For these faithful, unexampled, and unrequited services, the republic might, at least, expect to find in England a wall of protection. But during the seven years' war, in disregard of treaty obligations, its ships were seized on the ground that they had broken the arbitrary British rules of contraband and blockade. In the year 1758 the losses of its merchants on these pretences were estimated at more than twelve million guilders. In 1762, four of its ships, convoyed by a frigate, were taken, after an engagement; and, though the frigate was released, George Grenville, then secretary of state, announced by letter to its envoy that the right of stopping Dutch ships with naval stores must be and would be sustained.

These violences began to wean the Dutch people from their attachment to England. Could the prizes, which her courts wrongfully condemned, compensate for the affections of an ally of a hundred years? But this was not the worst: she took advantage of the imperfections in the constitution of the Netherlands to divide their government, and by influence and corruption she won the party of the stadholder to her own uses.

The republic was in many ways dear to the United States. It had given a resting-place to their emigrant pilgrims, and dismissed them to the New World with lessons of religious toleration. It had planted the valley of the Hudson; and in New York and New Jersey its sons still cherished the language, church rule, and customs of their parent nation. The Dutch saw in the American struggle a repetition of their own history; and the Americans looked to them for the evidence that a small but resolute state can triumph over the utmost efforts of the mightiest and wealthiest empire.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES.

1778.

THE people who dwelt between the Alps and the northern seas, between France and the Slaves, founded no colonies in America; but, in part, gave to the rising country its laws of being. Let us trace in the annals of the German nation the universal interests which the eternal Providence confided to their keeping.

We spell the record of our long descent,
More largely conscious of the life that is.

Before Christianity, which is a religion of war against the sins of the world, became the established religion of the Roman empire, it found its way, as if by instinct, into the minds of the Goths. In the life struggle between Islam and Christianity, between a form of religion bounded by the material world and the religion which sanctifies the intuitions of reason, Charles Martel, a German warrior, leading into the field men of the Christianized tribes of his country, rescued civilization by winning the victory for that side which teaches that the light of ideal truth is ever present with the human race.

At that time Central and Western Europe knew but two great forces which could introduce the reign of law and protect the growth of culture, universal monarchy and Catholic Christianity. At the time when society longed for regeneration through the establishment of order, the grandson of the German who smote the Saracens at Poitiers, a prince of fellow-feeling with the common man, unclouded vision, inventive genius, and irresistible will, made his way with the acclamations of the world to the nearest possible realization of these two ideas, taking at Rome the crown

of emperor of the world and supreme lord of the church. Could Charlemagne, by renewing Roman Cæsarism, have joined dominion over the individual and collective conscience to the fulness of military, legislative, and administrative power, a sameness of forms, a stagnant monotony of thought, and the slumber of creative genius might have lasted for thousands of years. Justice and truth are the same, everywhere, at all times, and for every mind. To make the emperor their authoritative custodian and interpreter for a universal monarchy would have been to overthrow the rights of reason, establish a despotism without check or barrier, and bring on a ruin of the moral and political world, like that state of rest which philosophers of nature predict for the heavens and the earth, if nothing exists beyond what the senses reach. "Germany, ordained by fate to illuminate the nations," could not in this way spread light and freedom.

A century and a half later, mastery over the church could still less attend the crowning at Rome by the pope of the first holy Roman emperor of the German nation. In the renewed antagonism between the pope and the emperor, the latter had no mode of directly invoking popular support; the pope, through prelates and clergy, who received his word as infallible, had dominion over conscience alike in every cottage and every castle, so that he was strong with and through the people. Two centuries from the coronation of Charlemagne had not passed away, when Gregory VII. asserted his exclusive right to the investiture of bishops throughout Christendom; and, compelling the emperor, Henry IV., to do penance at Canossa, extorted the acknowledgment of all the pretensions of the Roman see. A little more than a hundred years after this hasty submissiveness of a young and weak and dissolute ruler, even Red-Beard, the wise and powerful Frederic I., acquiesced in the necessity of giving up the long and fruitless struggle; and at Venice, in the maturity of his years, surrendered to the pope.

This victory could not have been won by the Roman pontiffs, unless right had in some degree been on their side.

In resisting the absolute power of the emperor over conscience, they were contending for that which God loves most, — the rights of our race. But the despotism which they justly snatched from the sceptre was sequestered and appropriated to their own benefit. When dominion over the soul was wrested from Cæsar, the work was but half done: the pope should have laid it down at the feet of his fellow-men, and consummated the emancipation of every mind. Who now will recover the dearest birthright of man?

The holy Roman empire of the German nation was become in temporal power a shadow, in spiritual power a subject; and he who possessed the fiction of the great name could initiate no patriotic, all-penetrating reform for the world.

The German nobles took advantage of the period of lawlessness consequent on the contest between the pope and the emperor to round off their estates, to wrong their neighbors, to oppress their tenants, to reduce the free rural classes to the condition of adscripts to the glebe.

In the troubled centuries when there was no safety for merchants and artisans but in their own courage and union, free cities rose up along the Rhine and the Danube in such numbers that the hum of business could be heard from the one to the other. On the sea, free towns leagued together from Flanders to the Gulf of Finland; renewing Dantzic; carrying colonies to Elbing, Königsberg, and Memel, to Riga and Reval; stretching into the interior so as to include Göttingen, Erfurt, and Magdeburg, Breslau, and Cracow; having marts alike in London and Novgorod; shaping their constitutions after the great house of merchants of Lübeck, till the consolidated union of nearly eighty cities became the first maritime power in the commercial world. As in England, Simon de Montfort created a place for the representation of the boroughs in parliament, so free imperial cities had benches in the German diet. In these republics and other towns, not so directly depending on the empire, was to be found whatever was best in local self-government, orderly industry, in art and science, in wise financial

administration, in tolerant wisdom drawn from the observation of many religions and many lands, in free inquiry and intelligence; but, though they were ripe for instruction, they had not strength enough to stand alone.

There remained the free rural population of Germany; a body of men as ancient as incipient civilization in Central Asia; the strength of a nation whose tongue had no word for slave. Each century saw more and more their numbers diminished, their rights to the soil impaired, their personal liberties endangered. Unconnected and without arms, they were not able to assume even their own defence; but in them was the life that was to renew the nations.

Grant the theory of the sycophants of the Roman see that the pope represents on earth the eternal wisdom, it follows necessarily that he may decide every question of morals in private and in public life. He is responsible for every king. He may decree what king is unworthy to reign; and his sentence must bind the conscience of all who accept his infallibility. He must have power to give and to take away empires, and all possessions of all men; to release peoples from their oaths of allegiance; to unbind kings from their oaths of capitulation; to order the German princes whom to elect as emperor, and to order them to elect unanimously; with his cardinals or alone to elect an emperor. As the sole oracle of truth, he may assume to control history itself when it thwarts his purpose; and, though the adamantine door of the past is bolted down for evermore, he may break it open,

> To bind or unbind, add what lacked,
> Insert a leaf, or forge a name.

Since reasoning on an accepted dogma is forbid, he may command an inquisition into the innermost thoughts and secret places of every mind, and compel assent by fines, imprisonment, excommunication, but especially by the sword and fire. The infallible interpreter of morals may, in unbridled licentiousness, order and do what is right in his own eyes; ruling in all things, and never ruled; judging all things, and never judged.

In Greece, as may be read in Plato's Republic, "mendi-

cant diviners went to rich men's doors, persuading them that they have received from the gods power to absolve a man himself or his forefathers from sins; and for the living and for the dead there are ceremonies which deliver from pains in the life to come; but dreadful things await those neglecting the rite." The method practised on a small scale by vagabond prophets in Athens was formed by the papal see into a system for the world; and it filled its treasury by an organized traffic in indulgences, and promises of pardon here and beyond the grave. In a decretal of the ninth of November, 1518, Pope Leo X. affirmed his power as the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Christ to remit the sins alike of the living and of the dead.

All absolute power brings its holders, first or last, to perdition: absolute power over mind, conquered from the emperor and continued for centuries, at last ruined, and could not but ruin, the moral and intellectual faculties of the functionary by whom it was exercised. The earth, wrapt in thickest darkness, sighed for the dawn.

The son of a miner, of the peasant class in Eisleben, trained in the school of Paul of Tarsus and the African Augustine, became a light to the world. He taught that no man impersonates the authority of God; that the pope is right in denying the divinity of the emperor, but that he blasphemes in arrogating divinity to himself. No power over souls belongs to a priest; "any Christian, be it a woman or a child, can remit sins just as well as a priest;" clergy and laity, all are of one condition; all men are equally priests; "a bishop's ordination is no better than an election;" "any child that creeps after baptism is an ordained priest, bishop, and pope." "The priest is nothing but an office-holder." "The pope is our school-fellow; there is but one master, and his name is Christ in heaven;" and, collecting all in one great formulary of freedom, he declared: Justification is by faith; by faith alone, "sola fide;" every man must work out his own salvation; no other — not priest, nor bishop, nor pope, no, not all the prophets — can serve for the direct connection of the intelligent reason of the individual with the infinite and eternal intelligence.

The principle of justification by faith alone solved every problem. It is freedom against authority; self-activity against superstitious trust in other men. It was the knell of the departing dominion of an alien prince over the conscience of the peoples. But it was more than the termination of a strife of seven centuries between pope and emperor. The truth spoken by Luther assigned to the pope his true place, as an unconsecrated, fallible, peccant mortal, holding only an office instituted by his erring fellow-mortals, and having no functions and no powers except what erring mortals can bestow. To discard the pope, and keep bishops and priests with superhuman authority derived from ordination, would have been only substituting one supernatural caste for another. Luther struck superstition at the root. The popes stripped lordship over conscience from the emperor; and Luther stripped it from pope, prelates, and priests. His teaching was the rending of the veil which divides the past civilization from the future, a vindication for all mankind of the rights of reason. The idea of justification by faith alone was censured as fatalism, while in truth it is the strongest possible summons to self-activity. The principle can never be surrendered so long as the connection between man and eternal truth shall endure. Well, therefore, did Leibnitz say of Luther: "This is he who, in later times, taught the human race hope and free thought."

The mediæval church had been, in some sort, the protector of the people. Luther declared reason to be the "well-spring of law," the rule for reforming national codes. Further, he demanded that truth should be spread by appeals to reason alone. "If fire," said he, "is the right cure for heresy, then the fagot-burners are the most learned doctors on earth. Nor need we study any more: he that has brute force on his side may burn his adversary at the stake." "I will preach the truth, speak the truth, write the truth, but will force the truth on no one; for faith must be accepted willingly and without compulsion."

By reason, too, he desired to restrain arbitrary power. His words are: "Where a ruler indulges the conceit that

he is a prince, not for the sake of his subjects, but for the sake of his beautiful golden hair, he belongs among the heathen." "A Christian prince is not a person for himself, but a servant for others." "The prince must think, 'I belong to the land and the people, and will therefore serve them with my office.'"

On the right of private judgment, Luther said: "If the emperor or the princes should command me and say: 'Thus and thus you ought to believe;' then I speak: 'Dear emperor, dear princes, your demand is too high;' they say: 'Yes, you must be obedient to us, for we are the higher powers.' Then I answer: 'Yes, you are lords over this temporal life, but not over the eternal life;' they speak further: 'Yes, peace and unity must be preserved; therefore you must believe as the emperor and princes believe.' What do I hear? The Turk might as well say: 'Listen, Roman emperor, listen, princes; you ought to believe as the Turks believe for the sake of peace and unity; for what holds good for the one holds good for the other, for the Turkish emperor and for every nobleman in the village.' No, dear emperor, dear prince, dear lord, dear lady, it does not belong to you to make such a demand." And again: "All bishops that take the right of judgment of doctrine from the sheep are certainly to be held as murderers and thieves, wolves and apostate Christians. Christ gives the right of judgment to the scholars and sheep. St. Paul will have no doctrine or proposition held, till it has been proved and recognised as good by the congregation that hears it. Every Christian has God's word, and is taught of God and anointed as a priest."

It followed, as the true rule for all Christendom, that the teacher, "the minister of the word," should be elected by the congregation itself. This Luther addressed to the emperor and Christian nobles of the German nation in 1520. Three years later, he published proof out of Scripture that a Christian congregation ought to have the right to call, induct, and depose teachers. And in like manner, with strict consistency, in May, 1525, he wrote to the peasants of Suabia: "'The whole congregation should have power to

choose and to depose a pastor;' this article is right." "You, princes and lords, cannot with any color refuse them the right to elect a pastor."

But it was not then possible in Europe to reconstruct the church on the principle of its total separation from tradition and the state. Did Luther look to the newly discovered world as the resting-place of his teachings? He certainly devised and proposed the rules for emigration. When the great revelation of truth was made, "a star," said he, "moved in the sky, and guided the pilgrim wise men to the manger where the Saviour lay." He advised the oppressed country people, taking with them the teacher of their choice and the open Bible, to follow "the star" of freedom to lands where religious liberty could find a home.

In October of the following year, the little synod held at Homberg by the landgrave Philip of Hesse accepted the propositions of Luther, that all Christians share equally in the priesthood, that true churches consist in self-organized, self-governing communities of believers; and that these communities, thus freely formed, may be associated through an annual general meeting of ministers and delegates.

The glad lessons of reform went out through all the land, kindling the poor and humble and afflicted with the promise of a happier age. Himself peasant-born, and ever mindful of his lineage, the prophet of German unity and freedom, Luther wrote for his countrymen in their own tongue as no one else could. His words touched the hearts and wakened the thoughts and filled the meditations of all. The man of the people, in 1521 he says of himself: "Up to this time I have always made it my rule to get the start of the notions of the court. Not the half would have come about, if I had let myself hang on their counsels." Therefore he was able to transform his nation, which was swayed by his words, as the chords of the lyre by the touch of the master.

If Charles V. had but accepted the Reformation, free Germany from the Vosgic mountains would at his bidding have been reconstructed as one monarchy on a new and better foundation. The emperor deserted his own standard, an alien he joined with an alien; and from that time

the authority of the imperial crown was used for the aggrandizement of a separate dynasty.

The principles for which Luther demanded the active cooperation of every individual struck the deepest root; yet their instant and universal application would have bred civil war rather than wholesome change. A new nation, free from mediæval traditions, must grow up to be the great heir and the bearer of the new system.

Within the empire each separate prince became for his own dominions the highest overseer of the church of the Reformation. Luther remained in the land of his birth and of his love, even though, in the years that followed, his relations to princes cost him baleful compromises and unworthy concessions. In the reformed churches of France, which struggled into being in permanent conflict with prelates and kings, their constitution grew out of themselves, according to the teachings of Luther in his earlier days. It is the common principle on which Frenchmen first colonized what is now Nova Scotia and Florida, on which Englishmen and the Dutch planted the states that lie between Canada and the head of the Chesapeake; and it was strongly represented in the settlements further south. So Germany, which appropriated no territory in America, gave to the colonies of New Netherland and New England their laws of being.

The prince that will lead Germany to union must accept reform in religion, and the canon that he is there not for himself, but for the land and people. The hopes of the reformers first rested on Saxony. But one of its electors refused the imperial crown; another betrayed the Reformation through fears of ill-directed progress; a third, by further concessions to the reaction and to the emperor, and by consequent indecision, lost for himself army, land, and freedom, and for his electorate the lead in Germany.

There was better promise from the house which a burgrave of Nuremberg, one of the wisest, most right-minded, and most popular statesmen of his age, and whose days in his land were long, had transplanted to Brandenburg. In 1613, when the congregation of the pilgrims at Leyden was

growing by comers from England, and when the king of England was rejecting the last shred of the Calvinism in which he had been bred as the religion of republicanism, the elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, after eight years of reflection, adopted the faith of those who were to plant Massachusetts, and passed with all formality out of the church in which so much only of the precepts of Luther prevailed as the princes of his day could tolerate, into the more liberal church that had been formed under republican auspices by Calvin.

In 1618, while the pilgrims were pleading for leave to emigrate with an English charter, according to the rules of colonization of Luther, the elector of Brandenburg pledged himself anew to the Reformation by uniting to his possessions secularized Prussia.

Between all whom one and the same renovating principle rules, inspires, and guides, there exists an unwritten alliance or harmony, not registered in the archives of states, showing itself at moments of crisis. Protestantism struggled for life alike in Germany and in New England, not always with equal success. With the constitution of Plymouth, which was signed in Cape Cod harbor, it triumphed in New England in the same month in which it was struck down on the White Mountain of Bohemia. The year in which the Catholic reaction crushed the municipal liberties of Protestant Rochelle, the Reformation was rescued in Germany by the relief of Stralsund, and extended in America by the planting of a regular government in Massachusetts.

The day on which Winthrop sailed into Boston harbor, Gustavus Adolphus was landing fifteen thousand men in Pomerania. The thoughts of Germany and of the new people of America ran together: one and the same element of life animated them all. The congregations of Massachusetts, too feeble to send succor to their European brethren, poured out their souls for them in prayer. From the free city of Nuremberg, Gustavus Adolphus, just three weeks before his fall at Lützen, recommended to Germans colonization in America as "a blessing to the Protestant world." In pursuance of the design of the Swedish king, the chan-

cellor Oxenstiern, in April, 1633, as we have seen, called on the German people to send from themselves emigrants to America. In December, the upper four German circles confirmed the charter, and under its sanction a Protestant colony was planted on the Delaware. What monument has Wallenstein left like this on the Delaware to Gustavus?

The thirty years' war was not a civil war: had the Germans been left to themselves, the Reformation would have been peacefully embraced by nine tenths of them. It was by hordes of other races and tongues that the battle of Jesuit reaction was fought. While France was rent in pieces by bloody and relentless feuds, Germany enjoyed a half century of prosperous peace, and with its kindred in the Netherlands and Switzerland formed the first nation in the world. Its universities, relieved from monastic traditions, taught not theology alone, but the method of the right use of reason, and sciences pregnant with modern culture. Kepler, a republican of Weil, the continuator of Copernicus, the forerunner of Newton, revealed the laws of the planetary motions. No part of Europe had so many industrious, opulent, and cultivated free cities; while the empire kept in use the forms and developed the language of constitutional government.

The terrible thirty years' effort to restore the old superstition crushed the enlightened middle class of Germany, destroyed its Hanseatic confederacy, turned its commerce into other channels, ruined its manufactures, arrested its progress in the arts, dismembered its public thought, gave to death one half or even two thirds of its inhabitants, transformed large districts of its cultivated country into a
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celled out among a crowd of rulers, and offering
oring princes an inviting quarry.

For German Protestants there were gleams of light from America and from Brandenburg. Driven by poverty and sorrow, the reckless devastation of foreign invasions, and the oppression of multitudinous domestic petty tyrants, the Germans, especially of the borders of the Rhine, thronged to America in such numbers that, in the course of a century, preserving their love of rural life, they appropriated much of the very best land from the Mohawk to the valley of Virginia.

At the close of the thirty years' war, Brandenburg had for its elector, Prussia for its duke, a prince by birth and education of the reformed church, trained in the republic of the Netherlands. "In my rule," said the young man, on first receiving homage, "I will always bear in mind that it is not my affair which I administer, but the affair of my people." "Consciences," he owned, "belong to God; no worldly potentate may force them." So, when the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in October, 1685, drove out of France a half million of "THE BEST" of the French nation, the noble company of exiles found a new country, partly with the Great Elector, and partly with the Protestant colonies in America.

The same Revolution of 1688, which excluded papists from the throne of England, restored liberty to the colonies in America, and made it safe for the son of the Great Elector to crown himself on his own soil as king of Prussia. As the elector of Saxony had meantime renounced the Reformation, to ride for a few stormy years on the restless waves of Polish anarchy, Leibnitz could say with truth: "The elector of Brandenburg is now the head of the Protestants in the empire." The pope of the hour, foreshadowing the policy of Kaunitz, denounced his coronation as a shamelessly impudent deed, and his house as one of which the dominions ought never to be increased.

The peace of Utrecht called forth the vehement reprobation of Leibnitz, and proved that the house of Hapsburg was not the proper guardian of Germany; yet it was full of good prophecies for the future, and marks the point of time when, in Europe and in America, the new civilization com-

pelled the recognition of its right to existence. For England, it contained the acknowledgment by the Catholic powers of an exclusively Protestant succession, established by laws in derogation of legitimacy; for Italy, the elevation of the house of Savoy in the north to the rank of an independent and hopeful monarchy. For America and for Prussia, it was the dawn of the new day. In the former, Protestantism took the lead in the work of colonization and the appropriation of territory by the spread of settlements. Founded on the principle of civil freedom, the latter was received as a kingdom among the powers of the earth. From the moment when the elector of Brandenburg was admitted by all Europe to the society of kings as an equal, the house of Hapsburg knew that it had a rival within Germany.

When, in the second quarter of the last century, ecclesiastical intolerance drove the Lutherans of Salzburg into exile, a part of them found homes on the rivers of America, a part in the realm of that strange Prussian king, who, by simplicity and purity of life, by economy, strict organization of the government, care for the people and their education, public thrift, and perfect discipline in the army, bequeathed to his successor the most efficient state in Germany.

That successor was Frederic II., a prince trained alike in the arts of war and administration, in philosophy and letters. It should be incredible, and yet it is true, that, at the moment of the alliance of the Catholic powers against Protestantism, England, under the second George and a frivolous minister, was attempting by largesses of subsidies to set the force of Russia against the most considerable Protestant power in Germany. In the attempt, England shot so wildly from its sphere that Newcastle was forced to bend to William Pitt; and then England and Prussia, and the embryon United States,—Pitt, Frederic, and Washington,—worked together for human freedom. The seven years' war extended the English colonies to the Mississippi and gave Canada to England. "We conquered America in Germany," said the elder Pitt, ascribing to Frederic a share in the extension of the Germanic race in the other hemi-

sphere; and, in like manner, Frederic, in his histories, treats the English movement in America and his own struggles in Europe all as one, so long as Pitt was at the helm.

To what end would events have been shaped if Pitt's ministry had continued, and the bonds between England and Prussia had been riveted by a common peace? But here, as everywhere, it is useless to ask what would have happened if the eternal Providence had for the moment suspended its rule. The American colonists were now at variance with the same class of British ministers which had wronged Frederic in 1762. With which branch of the Teutonic family would be the sympathy of Germany? The influence of Austria leaned to England. Where stood the true nobility of the empire, the masters of German thought and language? where its ruling princes? where its one incomparable king?

In the north-east of Germany, the man who, alone of Germans, can with Leibnitz take a place among the wise by the side of Plato and Aristotle, reformed philosophy as Luther had reformed the church, on the principle of the self-activity of the individual mind. As Luther owned neither pope nor prelates for any thing more than school-fellows, so Kant accepted neither Leibnitz nor Hume for a master, and passed between dogmatism and doubt to the school of reason. His method was mind in its freedom, guided and encouraged, moderated and restrained, by the knowledge of its powers, by free analysis discovering the unvarying laws of reason, judgment, and action. Skepticism, he said, only strands the ship and leaves it high and dry to rot: the true inventory of the human faculties is the chart by which the pilot can take the ship safely wherever he will. He stopped at criticism as little as the traveller who waits to count his resources before starting on his journey, or as the general who musters his troops before planning his campaign. The analysis of the acts of thought teaches faith in the intellect itself as the interpreter of nature. The human mind, having learned the limit of its faculties, and tolerating neither cowardice nor indolence in the use of them, goes forth in its freedom to interrogate the

moral and material world with the means of compelling an answer from both. "The forms of Kant's philosophy," says Schiller, "may change; its method will last as long as reason itself." And Rosenkranz adds: "He was the herald of the laws of reason, which nature obeys and which mind ought to obey."

The method of Kant being that of the employment of mind in its freedom, his fidelity to human freedom has never been questioned and never can be. He accepted the world as it is, only with the obligation that it is to be made better. His political philosophy enjoins a constant struggle to lift society out of its actual imperfect state, which is its natural condition, into a higher and better one, by deciding every question, as it arises, in favor of reform and progress, and keeping open the way for the elimination of all remaining evil.

Accustomed to contemplate nature in the infinity of its extent as forming one system, governed in all its parts and in its totality by one law, he drew his opinions on questions of liberty from elemental truth, and uttered them as if with the assent of the universe of being. As he condemned slavery, so he branded the bargaining away of troops by one state to another without a common cause. "The rights of man," he said, "are dear to God, are the apple of the eye of God on earth;" and he wished an hour each day set aside for all children to learn them and take them to heart. His friendship for America was therefore inherent and ineradicable. He was one of the first, perhaps the very first, of the German nation to defend, even at the risk of his friendships, the cause of the United States.

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king. Though he was in the employ of the duke of Brunswick, he loathed from his inmost soul the engagement of troops in a foreign war, either as volunteers or as sold by their prince. "How came Othello," he asks, "into the service of Venice? Had the Moor no country? Why did he let out his arm and blood to a foreign state?" And he published to the German nation his opinion that "the Americans are building in the New World the lodge of humanity."

At Weimar, in 1779, Herder, the first who vindicated for the songs of the people their place in the annals of human culture, published these words: "The boldest, most godlike thoughts of the human mind, the most beautiful and greatest works, have been perfected in republics; not only in antiquity, but in mediæval and more modern times, the best history, the best philosophy of humanity and government, is always republican; and the republic exerts its influence, not by direct intervention, but mediately by its mere existence." The United States, with its mountain ranges, rivers, and chains of lakes in the temperate zone, seemed to him shaped by nature for a new civilization.

Of the poets of Germany, the veteran Klopstock beheld in the American war the inspiration of humanity and the dawn of an approaching great day. He loved the terrible spirit which emboldens the peoples to grow conscious of their power. With proud joy he calls to mind that, among the citizens of the young republic, there were many Germans who gloriously fulfilled their duty in the war of freedom. "By the rivers of America," he wrote, "light beams forth to the nations, and in part from Germans."

Less enthusiastic, but not less consistent, was Goethe. Of plebeian descent, by birth a republican, born like Luther in the heart of Germany, educated like Leibnitz in the central university of Saxony, when seven years old he and his father's house were partisans of Frederic, and rejoiced in his victories as the victories of the German nation. In early youth, he, like those around him, was interested in the struggles of Corsica; joined in the cry of "Long live Paoli!" and gave his heart sympathy to the patriot in

exile. The ideas of popular liberty which filled his mind led him, in his twenty-second year or soon after, to select the theme for his first tragedy from the kindred epoch in the history of the Netherlands. But the interest of the circle in which he moved became far more lively when, in a remote part of the world, a whole people showed signs that it would make itself free. He classed the Boston tea-party of 1773 among the prodigious events which stamp themselves most deeply on the mind of childhood. Like everybody around him, he wished the Americans success, and "the names of Franklin and Washington shone and sparkled in his heaven of politics and war." When to all this was added reform in France, he and the youth of Germany promised themselves and all their fellow-men a beautiful and even a glorious future. The thought of emigrating to America passed placidly over his imagination, leaving no more mark than the shadow of a flying cloud as it sweeps over a garden of flowers.

The sale of Hessian soldiers for foreign money called from him words of disdain; but his reproof of the young Germans who volunteered to fight for the American cause, and then from faint-heartedness drew back, did not go beyond a smile at the contrast between their zeal and their deeds. He congratulated America that it was not forced to bear up the traditions of feudalism; and, writing or conversing, used only friendly words of the United States, as "a noble country." During all his life coming in contact with events that were changing the world, he painted them to his mind in their order and connection. Just before the French revolution of 1830, he published his opinion that the desire for self-government, which had succeeded so well in the colonies of North America, was sustaining the battle in Europe without signs of weariness; and, twenty years before the movements of 1848, he foretold with passionless serenity that, as certainly as the Americans had thrown the tea-chests into the sea, so certainly it would come to a breach in Germany between princes and people, if monarchy should not reconcile itself with freedom.

Schiller was a native of the part of Germany most in-

clined to idealism; in mediæval days the stronghold of German liberty; renowned for its numerous free cities, the distribution of land among small freeholders, the total absence of great landed proprietaries, the comparative extinction of the old nobility. Equally in his hours of reflection and in his hours of inspiration, his sentiments were such as became the poet of the German nation, enlightened by the ideas of Kant. The victory which his countrymen won against the Vatican and against error for the freedom of reason was, as he wrote, a victory for all nations and for endless time. He was ever ready to clasp the millions of his fellow-men in his embrace, to give a salutation to the whole world; and, glowing with indignation at princes who met the expenses of profligacy by selling their subjects to war against the rights of mankind, a few years later he brought their crime upon the stage.

Under the German kinglings, the sense of the nation could not express itself freely, but German political interest centred in America. Translations of British pamphlets on the war, including "Price upon Liberty," were printed in Brunswick.

It is known from the writings of Niebuhr that the political ideas which in his youth most swayed the mind of Germany grew out of its fellow-feeling with the United States in their struggle for independence. The truest and best representatives of German intelligence, from every part of the land, joined in a chorus to welcome them to their place among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RELATIONS OF THE TWO NEW POWERS.

1778.

THE negotiations of Great Britain with the petty princes, who transferred the service of their subjects for money, have been fully related. Duke Ernest of Saxony, cultivated by travel in Holland, England, and France, ruled his principality of Saxe-Gotha and Altenburg with wisdom and justice. By frugality and simplicity in his court, he restored the disordered finances of his duchy, and provided for great public works and for science. Though the king of England was his near relation, he put aside the offers of enormous subsidies for troops to be employed in America. When, ten years later, he was ready to risk his life and independence in the defence of the unity and the liberties of Germany, these are the words in which he cheered on his dearest friend to aid in curbing the ambition of Austria: "All hope for our freedom and the preservation of the constitution is not lost. Right and equity are on our side; and the wise Providence, according to my idea of it, cannot approve, cannot support, perjury and the suppression of all rights of citizens and of states. Of this principle the example of America is the eloquent proof. England met with her deserts. It was necessary that her pride should be bowed, and that oppressed innocence should carry off the victory. Time cannot outlaw the rights of mankind."

The friend to whom these words were addressed was the brave, warm-hearted Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar, who, in 1776, being then of only nineteen years, refused a request for leave to open recruiting offices at Ilmenau and Jena for the English service, but consented to the delivery

of vagabonds and convicts. When, in the last days of November, 1777, the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe, as the go-between of the British ministry, made unlimited offers of subsidies for some of his battalions, the patriot prince called his ministers to a conference, and, supported by the unanimous advice of those present, on the third of December, he answered: "There are, in general, many weighty reasons why I cannot yield my consent to deliver troops into foreign service and pay;" and it is minuted on the draft that "Serenissimus himself took charge of posting the letter."

The signature of Goethe, the youngest minister of Weimar, is wanting to the draft, for he was absent on a winter trip to the Hartz Mountains; but that his heart was with his colleagues appears from his writing simultaneously from Goslar: "How am I again brought to love that class of men which is called the lower class, but which assuredly for God is the highest! In them moderation, contentment, straightforwardness, patience, endurance, all the virtues, meet together."

In like manner, when, in 1775, an overture from England reached Frederic Augustus the young elector of Saxony, Count Sacken, his minister, promptly reported his decision: "The thoughts of sending a part of his army to the remote countries of the New World touch too nearly his paternal tenderness for his subjects, and seem to be too much in contrast with the rules of a healthy policy."

Did the future bring honor to the houses of the princes who refused to fight against America? or to those who sold their subjects to destroy the freedom of the New World? Every dynasty which furnished troops to England has ceased to reign, except one, which has now for its sole representative an aged and childless man. On the other hand, the three Saxon families remain; and in their states local self-government has continually increased, and the wisdom and the will of the inhabitants have been consulted and respected. In Saxe-Weimar, the collision between monarchy and popular freedom, predicted for Germany by Goethe, was avoided by the wisdom of its administration.

Nor is the different fate of the princes to be attributed to

accident. The same infidelity to duty, which induced some of them to support their vices by traffic in their subjects, colored their career, and brought them in conflict with the laws of the eternal Providence.

The prince who, next to Joseph of Austria, governed at that time the largest number of men having the German for their mother tongue, was Frederic of Prussia, then the only king in Germany. He united in himself the six qualities of a great regent. Superior to personal and dynastic influences, he lived with and for the people. Free from prejudice, he saw things as they were. His prudence measured his strength correctly, and he never risked extreme danger but for a necessary object. He possessed the inventive faculty which creates resources; he had the strong will that executes with energy, swiftly, and at the right time; he had also the truest test of greatness, moderation.

The people bore him no grudge on account of the distribution of employments; for he never yielded the smallest fraction of political power to the class of nobles, was frugal in rewarding their service, and exacted of them the fulfilment of duty as unsparingly as he exacted it from himself. From an unhappy defect in his education, he never acquired a mastery of the German tongue, and he slighted German men of letters; but they magnanimously forgave his neglect, acted as his allies, and heralded his greatness.

Hardships had shattered his constitution. He was old and broken; had outlived friends, of whom the dearest had fallen near him in battle; had lost all enjoyment in music, in building, in the arts, but not the keen sense of duty. The thought of his campaigns gave him no pleasure, their marvellously triumphant result no pride: he remembered them with awe, and even with horror; like one who has sailed through a long, relentless whirlwind in mid-ocean, just escaping shipwreck. No one of the powers of Europe was heartily his ally. Russia will soon leave him for Austria. His great deeds become to him so many anxieties; he dreads the want of perpetuity to his system, which meets with persistent and deadly enmity. He seeks rest; and strong and unavoidable antagonisms allow his wasted strength no re-

pose. He is childless and alone; his nephew, who will be his successor, neglects him, and follows other counsels; his own brother hopes and prays to Heaven that the king's days may not be prolonged. Worn by unparalleled labor and years, he strikes against obstacles on all sides in seeking to give a sure life to his kingdom; and his consummate prudence teaches him that he must still dare and suffer and go on. He must maintain Protestant and intellectual liberty, and the liberty of Germany against Austria, which uses the imperial crown only for its advantage as a foreign power, and with relentless perseverance aims at the destruction of his realm.

The impartiality of Frederic extended to the forms of government. The most perfect he held to be that of a well-administered monarchy. "But then," he added, "kingdoms are subjected to the caprice of a single man whose successors will have no common character. A good-for-nothing prince succeeds an ambitious one; then follows a devotee; then a warrior; then a scholar; then, it may be, a voluptuary; and the genius of the nation, diverted by the variety of objects, assumes no fixed character. But republics fulfil more promptly the design of their institution, and hold out better; for good kings die, but wise laws are immortal. There is unity in the end which republics propose, and in the means which they employ; and they therefore almost never miss their aim." The republic which arose in America encountered no unfavorable prejudice in his mind.

The relations of Frederic to England and to France changed with the changing character of their governments. Towards the former, a Protestant power, he, as the head of the chief Protestant power on the continent, naturally leaned. Against France, whose dissolute king made himself the champion of superstition, he had fought for seven years; but with the France which protected the United States he had a common feeling. Liberal English statesmen commanded his good-will; but he detested the policy of Bute and of North: so that for him and the United States there were in England the same friends and the same enemies.

1774. In November, 1774, he expressed the opinion that the British colonies would rather be buried under the ruins of their settlements than submit to the yoke of the mother country. Maltzan, his minister in London, yielded to surrounding influences, and in February,
1775. 1775, wishing to pave the way for an alliance between the two powers, wrote: "The smallest attention would flatter the ministry beyond all expression." "What motive have I," answered Frederic, "to flatter Lord North? I see none: the love I bear my people imposes on me no necessity to seek the alliance of England." He was astonished at the apathy and gloomy silence of the British nation on undertaking a war alike absurd and fraught with hazard. "The treatment of the colonies," he wrote in September, "appears to me to be the first step towards despotism. If in this the king should succeed, he will by and by attempt to impose his own will upon the mother country."

In October, 1775, the British minister at Berlin reported of the Prussian king: "His ill state of health threatens him with a speedy dissolution." It was while face to face with death that Frederic wrote of the August proclamation of George III.: "It seems to me very hard to proclaim as rebels free subjects who only defend their privileges against the despotism of a ministry." While still but half recovered from a long, painful, and complicated sickness, he explained the processes of his mind when others thought him dying: "The more I reflect on the measures of the British government, the more they appear to me arbitrary and despotic. The British constitution itself seems to authorize resistance. That the court has provoked its colonies to withstand its measures, nobody can doubt. It invents new taxes; it wishes by its own authority to impose them on its colonies in manifest breach of their privileges: the colonies do not refuse their former taxes, and demand only with regard to new ones to be placed on the same footing with England; but the government will not accord to them the right to tax themselves. This is, in short, the whole history of these disturbances.

"During my illness, in which I have passed many mo-

ments doing nothing, these are the ideas that occupied my mind; and it seems to me that they could not escape any reasonable Englishman, who is naturally much more interested than I. Every thing which is taking place in America can be to me very indifferent in the main; and I have no cause to embarrass myself either about the form of government that will be established there, or the degree of influence of the party of Bute in the mother country. But every patriotic Englishman must deplore the turn which the affairs of his country are taking under the present administration, and the odious perspective which it opens before him." 1775.

"The court carries its point against all principles of true patriotism, and treads under foot the rules of sound policy." "If I had a voice in the British cabinet, I should take advantage of the good disposition of the colonies to reconcile myself with them." "In order to interest the nation in this war, the British court will, it is true, offer conditions of reconciliation; but it will make them so burdensome that the colonies will never be able to accept them." "The issue of this contest cannot fail to make an epoch in British annals."

"The great question is always whether the colonies will not find means to separate entirely from the mother country and form a free republic. The examples of the Netherlands and of Switzerland make me at least presume that this is not impossible. It is very certain that nearly all Europe takes the part of the colonies and defends their cause, while that of the court finds neither favor nor aid. Persons who have lately been in England, and with whom I have spoken, make no secret with me that the higher classes of the nation are no longer so enthusiastic for their liberty. From all that I have learned, it appears that the ancient British spirit is almost totally eclipsed." When the ministry confessed its inability to reduce the colonies except by the subvention of foreign troops, he wrote: "The imprudence of Lord North shows itself in the clearest light; and surely he ought not to be at his ease, when he considers that it is he who has plunged his country into this abyss of embarrassment and difficulties."

No prince could be farther than Frederic from romantic attempts to rescue from oppression foreign colonies that were beyond his reach. In his cabinet papers for several years, relating to England, France, the Netherlands, Russia, and other powers, I have found no letter or part of a letter in which he allowed the interest of his kingdom to suffer from personal pique, or passion, or dynastic influences. His cares are for the country which he rather serves than rules. He sees and exactly measures its weakness as well as its strength; he cares for every one of its disconnected parts, and gathers them all under his wings. But he connects his policy with the movement of the world towards light and reason, the amelioration of domestic and international law.

1776. When in May, 1776, the Prussian minister in London offered to submit a plan for a direct commerce with America, so as to open a sale for Silesian cloths, and at the same time to procure American products at the cheapest rate, Frederic answered: "The plan appears to me very problematical. Without a fleet, how could I cause such a commerce to be respected?" "I shall never be able to form a navy strong enough to protect it."

In September he received from his minister in London a French version of the American declaration of independence. He had predicted that measure when first informed that the mother country sought the aid of foreign troops to reduce her colonies; and now, as the British had not had decisive success in arms, the declaration was to him a clear indication that the colonies could not be subjugated. He had heard of the death-bed remark of Hume, that the suc-

f the court would bring to England the loss of her

"If, under such circumstances," he continued, should suffer the faction of Bute and the tories ith impunity the form of their government, merit no longer the name of free Britons."

mercial agent, sent in the following Novem- ane, he declined to treat; for he saw endless ie way of establishing a direct commerce be- ted States and Prussia; but he consented to f commodities through the ports of Brittany.

That France and Spain would be drawn into the war, he from the first foretold, yet not without misgivings as to the effect on themselves. "France," said he, on the day on which congress in committee decided for independence, "France resembles a sick man who is just rising from a grievous malady and yet assumes the air of robust health." "In the ruinous condition of its finances, a war would certainly bring bankruptcy in its train."

Meantime, the liberties of Germany, not less than those of the United States, were endangered; and the political question of the day assumed the largest proportions. In the event of the death of the childless elector of Bavaria, Joseph of Austria was prepared, under the false pretext of a right of inheritance, to appropriate a large part of that electorate. To prevent so fatal a measure, the king of Prussia, in the last months of 1776, began to draw near to France, which was one of the guarantees of the peace of Westphalia.

His desire for a "good understanding" with that power was cordially reciprocated by Vergennes. On the advent of the rupture between France and England, he announced that England should receive no aid from Prussia; and Vergennes on his side gave the hint that France, if it should become involved in the conflict, would confine itself to a maritime war.

The year 1777 opened with nearer approaches be- 1777.
tween the courts of Potsdam and Versailles. Frederic, while "he never ceased to be on his guard on every side, and held himself prepared for every event," on the seventh of January instructed his minister more definitely: "Should France begin war, she may be sure that I will do every thing in the world to preserve peace" on the continent. "Convince the ministry at Versailles of this; and add that France will not find me in her way, nor have any reason to complain of my policy." "I guarantee to you reciprocity on the part of his most Christian majesty," was the answer of Maurepas.

On the fourteenth of February, 1777, the American commissioners at Paris transmitted to Frederic a copy of the

declaration of independence and of the articles of American confederation, with the formal expression of the earnest desire of the United States to obtain his friendship, and to establish a mutually beneficial free commerce between their distant countries. The great king received from Franklin with unmingled satisfaction the manifesto of the republic and its first essay at a constitution. The victories of Washington at Trenton and Princeton had already proved to him that the colonies were become a nation. He supported the rights of neutrals in their fullest extent; and, when England began to issue letters of marque, he stigmatized privateers as "pirates of the sea." But, as to a direct commerce, he could only answer as before: "I am without a navy; having no armed ships to protect trade, the direct commerce could be conducted only under the flag of the Netherlands, and England respects that flag no longer. St. Eustatius is watched by at least ninety English cruisers. Under more favorable circumstances, our linens of Silesia, our woollens and other manufactures, might find a new market." But, while he postponed negotiations, he, who was accustomed to utter his commands tersely and not to repeat his words, charged his minister thrice over in the same rescript to say and do nothing that could offend or wound the American people. In the remaining years of the war, some one of the American agents would ever and anon renew the same proposition; but he always in gentle words turned aside the request which interfered with his nearer duty to Prussia.

1777.

Against the advice of Franklin, and a seasonable hint from the Prussian minister Schulenburg that the visit would be premature, Arthur Lee went by way of Vienna to Berlin. At Vienna, he was kept aloof by Kaunitz, socially and in the foreign office. In Berlin, he, like every traveller, was assured of protection. Frederic, though he refused to see him, showed the agent of the United States friendly respect, promised his influence to prevent new treaties by England for German troops, and to troops destined for America forbade the transit through any part of his dominions.

Elliott, then British minister in Berlin, at the cost of a thousand guineas hired a burglar to steal the papers of Arthur Lee, but, on his complaint to the police, sent them back, and spirited the thief out of the kingdom. The rash envoy attempted to throw upon the officiousness of a servant the blame of having stolen the American papers, which he himself received and read. Against the rules of the court, he hurried to Potsdam: the king refused to see him; and a scornful cabinet order, in his own handwriting, still preserves his judgment upon Elliott: "It is a case of public theft, and he should be forbidden the court; but I will not push matters with rigor." And to his minister in London he wrote: "Oh, the worthy pupil of Bute! In truth, the English ought to blush for shame at sending such ministers to foreign courts."

Whoever will understand the penetrating sagacity of the statesmen of France in the eighteenth century must search the records of their diplomacy: the vigor of the British political mind must be studied in the debates in parliament; at the courts of foreign powers, England in those days did not feel the need of employing able men. 1777.

The people of that kingdom cherished the fame of the Prussian king as in some measure their own; not aware how basely Bute had betrayed him, they unanimously desired the renewal of his alliance; and the ministry sought to open the way for it through his envoy in London. Frederic, in his replies, made the most frank avowal of his policy: "No man is further removed than myself from having connections with England." "We will remain on the footing on which we now are with her." "France knows perfectly well that it has absolutely nothing to apprehend from me in case of a war with England. My indifference for this latter power can surprise nobody: 'a scalded cat fears cold water,' says the proverb; and, in fact, what could be the union to contract with this crown after the signal experience that I have had of its duplicity? If it would give me all the millions possible, I would not furnish it two small files of my troops to serve against the colonies.

Neither can it expect from me a guarantee of its electorate of Hanover. I know by the past too well what the like guarantee has cost me, to have any desire to renew it." "Although I was then its ally, its conduct towards me was that of a thorough enemy."

"Never in past ages," he continued, some weeks later, "has the situation of England been so critical. The nation itself seems to me to have degenerated. Once so proud and so jealous of its liberty, it abandons the ship of state to the caprice of its ministry, which is without men of talent." "A reconciliation would be the wisest policy for England; and, because it would be the wisest policy, it will not be adopted."

"England will make the sacrifice of thirty-six million crowns for one campaign." "True, her ministry can find thirty-six millions more easily than I a single florin." "But the largest sums will not be sufficient to procure the sailors and recruits she needs; the storm which is forming between the courts of England and France will burst forth" "not later than the next spring." "And a glance at the situation shows that, if she continues to employ the same
1777. generals, four campaigns will hardly be enough to subjugate her colonies." "All good judges agree with me that, if the colonies remain united, the mother country will never subjugate them."

In the interim, Frederic wished the ministry to know that he had refused to the American emissaries the use of Embden as a base for troubling British navigation. "You have only to declare to the British government," so he instructed his envoy in London, "that my marine is nothing but a mercantile marine, of which I know the limits too well to go beyond them." "If the colonies shall sustain their independence, a direct commerce with them will follow of course."

Having taken his position towards England, he proceeded to gain the aid of France as well as of Russia against the annexation of Bavaria to the Austrian dominions; and in the breast of the aged Maurepas, whose experience in office preceded the seven years' war, there remained enough of the

earlier French traditions to render him jealous of such an aggrandizement of the old rival of his country. The vital importance of the question was understood at Potsdam and at Vienna. Kaunitz, who made it the cardinal point of Austrian policy to overthrow the kingdom of Prussia, looked upon the acquisition of Bavaria as the harbinger of success. When Joseph repaired to Paris to win France for his design through the influence of his sister, Marie Antoinette, the Prussian envoy was commanded to be watchful, but to be silent. No sooner had the emperor retired than Frederic, knowing that Maurepas had resisted the influence of the queen, renewed his efforts; and, through a confidential French agent sent to him under the pretext of attending the midsummer military reviews at Magdeburg, the two kingdoms adjusted their foreign policy, of which the central points lay in the United States and in Germany.

France, if she would venture on war with England, needed security and encouragement from Frederic on the side of Germany, and his aid to stop the sale of German troops. He met the overture with joy, and near the end of July wrote with his own hand: "No; certainly we have no jealousy of the aggrandizement of France: we even put up prayers for her prosperity, provided her armies are not found near Wesel or Halberstadt." "You can assure M. de Maurepas," so he continued in August and September, "that I have no connection whatever with England, nor do I grudge to France any advantages she may gain by the war with the colonies." "Her first interest requires the enfeeblement of Great Britain, and the way to this is to make it lose its colonies in America. The present opportunity is more favorable than ever before existed, 1777. and more favorable than is likely to recur in three centuries." "The independence of the colonies will be worth to France all which the war will cost."

As the only way to bridle the ambition of Austria, and to preserve the existence of his own kingdom and the liberties of Germany, he pressed upon the French council an alliance of France, Prussia, and Russia. "Italy and Bavaria," he said, "would follow, and no alliance would be left

to Austria except that with England. If it does not take place, troubles are at hand to be decided only by the sword." In his infirm old age, he felt his own powers utterly unequal to the renewal of such a conflict; and he saw no hope for himself, as king of Prussia, to rescue Bavaria and with it Germany from absorption by Austria, except in the good-will of France and Russia.

1777. While Frederic was encouraging France to strike a decisive blow in favor of the United States, their cause found an efficient advocate in Marie Antoinette. She placed in the hands of her husband a memoir which had been prepared by Count de Maillebois and Count d'Estaing, and which severely censured the timid policy of his ministers from the very beginning of the troubles in America. The states of Europe, it was said, would judge the reign of Louis XVI. by the manner in which that prince will know how to avail himself of the occasion to lower the pride and presumption of a rival power. The French council, nevertheless, put off the day of decision. Even so late as the twenty-third of November, every one of them, except the minister of the marine and Vergennes, Maurepas above all, desired to avoid a conflict. Frederic, on his part, all the more continued his admonitions, through his minister at Paris, that France had now an opportunity which must be regarded as unique; that England could from no quarter obtain the troops which she needed; that Denmark would be solicited in vain to furnish ships-of-war and mariners; that he himself, by refusing passage through any part of his dominions to the recruits levied in Germany, had given public evidence of his sympathy with the Americans; that France, if she should go to war with England, might be free from apprehension alike on the side of Russia and of Prussia.

So when the news of the surrender of Burgoyne's army was received at Paris, and every face, even that of the French king, showed signs of joy, Maurepas prepared to yield; but first wished the great warrior who knew so well the relative forces of the house of Bourbon and England to express his judgment on the probable issues of a war; and

Frederic, renewing assurances of his own good-will and the non-interference of Russia, replied, "that the chances were one hundred to one in favor of great advantages to France; that the colonies would sustain their independence."

Balancing the disasters of Burgoyne with the successes of Howe, he wrote: "These triumphs of Howe are ephemeral. The ministry would feel a counter-blow if the English had not degenerated from their ancient spirit. They may get funds, but where will they get twenty thousand men? Neither Sweden nor Denmark will furnish them; and, 1777. as she is at variance with Holland, she will find no assistance there. Will England apply to the small princes of the empire? Their military force is already too much absorbed. I see no gate at which she can knock for auxiliaries; and nothing remains to her but her electorate of Hanover, exposed to be invaded by France the moment that she shall leave it bare of troops."

"England made originally an awkward mistake in going to war with its colonies; then followed the illusion of being able to subjugate them by a corps of seven thousand men; next, the scattering its different corps, which has caused the failure of all its enterprises. I am of Chatham's opinion, that the ill success of England is due to the ignorance, rashness, and incapacity of its ministry. Even should there be a change in the ministry, the tories would still retain the ascendency." "The primal source of the decay of Britain is to be sought in the departure of its present government in a sovereign degree from the principles of British history. All the efforts of his Britannic majesty tend to despotism. It is only to the principles of the tories that the present war with the colonies is to be attributed. The re-enforcements which these same ministers design to send to America will not change the face of affairs; and independence will always be the indispensable condition of an accommodation. Every thing is to be expected from a ministry as corrupt as the present British ministry. It is entirely a slave to the king, who will make of it whatever he pleases. Without patriotism, it will take no measures but false ones, diametrically contrary to the true interests of the country; and this will

be the first step towards the decay which menaces the British constitution."

At the same time, Frederic expressed more freely his sympathy with the United States. The port of Embden could not receive their cruisers, for the want of a fleet or a fort to defend them from insult; but he offered them an asylum in the Baltic at Dantzic. He attempted, though in vain, to dissuade the Prince of Anspach from furnishing troops to England; and he forbade the subsidiary troops both from Anspach and Hesse to pass through his dominions. The prohibition, which was made as publicly as possible, and just as the news arrived of the surrender of Burgoyne, resounded throughout Europe; and he announced to the Americans that it was given "to testify his good-will for them." Every facility was afforded to the American commissioners to purchase and ship arms from Prussia. Before the end of 1777, he promised not to be the last to recognise the independence of the United States; and in January, 1778, his minister, Schulenburg, wrote officially to one of their commissioners in Paris: "The king desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognise your independence, when France, which is more directly interested in the event of this contest, shall have given the example."

1778. Jan.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BRITISH RETREAT FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

MAY—JUNE, 1778.

THE rescript of France, which announced to the British ministry her acknowledgment of American independence, assumed as a principle of public law that a nationality may, by its own declaration, speak itself into being. The old systems of the two governments were reversed. The British monarchy, which from the days of William of Orange had been the representative of toleration and liberty, put forth its strength in behalf of unjust authority; while France became the foster-mother of republicanism. In one respect, France was more suited than Britain to lead the peoples of Europe in the road to freedom. On the release of her rural population from serfdom, a large part of them retained rights to the soil; and, though bowed down under grievous burdens and evil laws, they had a shelter and acres from which they could not be evicted. The saddest defect in English life was the absence of a class of small freeholders, the class which constituted the strength of France, of the most enlightened parts of Germany, and of the states which Great Britain had formed by colonization. In England and Scotland and Ireland, though "the property by feudal law was strictly in the tenant," the feudal chiefs had taken to themselves in absolute ownership nearly all the ground; the landless people, dependent in the rural districts on their lords, were never certain of their to-morrow; and the government was controlled by an aristocracy which had no political check but in the crown. 1778. May.

On the fourth of May, the treaties of commerce and alliance with Louis XVI. were unanimously ratified by congress, with grateful acknowledgments of his May.

magnanimous and disinterested conduct, and the "wish that the friendship so happily commenced between France and the United States might be perpetuated." The rivalries of centuries, in which the Americans had been involved only from their dependence on England, were effaced for ever; all Frenchmen became their friends, and the king of France was proclaimed "the protector of the rights of mankind."

In Washington's camp, Lafayette smiled as he read that his government dated the independence of America from the moment of its own declaration, and said prophetically: "Therein lies a principle of national sovereignty which one day will be recalled to them at home." On
1778. May 6. the sixth the alliance was celebrated at Valley Forge. After a salute of thirteen cannon and a running fire of all the musketry, the army, drawn up in two lines, shouted: "Long live the king of France!" and again: "Long live the friendly European powers!" and
May 8. the ceremonies were closed by a huzza for the American states.

In an address to the inhabitants of the United States, congress assumed that independence was secured; and they proclaimed the existence of a new people, though they could not hide its want of a government. They rightly represented its territory as of all others the most extensive and most blessed in its climate and productions; they owned its financial embarrassments, because no taxes had been laid to carry on the war; and they invited their countrymen to "bring forth their armies into the field," while men of leisure were encouraged to collect moneys for the public funds. In return for all losses, they promised "the sweets of a free commerce with every part of the earth."

May 18. On the eighteenth of May a festival was given to General Howe by thirty of his officers, most of them members of his staff. The numerous company embarked on the Delaware above the town, and, to the music of one hundred and eight hautboys, rowed two miles down the stream in galleys and boats glittering with colors and streamers. They passed two hundred transport vessels

tricked out in bravery and crowded with lookers-on; and, landing to the tune of "God save the King" under salutes from two decorated ships-of-war, they marched between lines of cavalry and infantry and all the standards of the army to a lawn, where, in presence of their chosen ladies raised on thrones, officers, fantastically dressed as knights and squires, engaged in a tournament. After this, they proceeded under an ornamented arch to a splendidly furnished house, where dancing began; and a gaming table was opened with a bank of two thousand guineas. The tickets of admission described the guest of the night as the setting sun, bright at his going down, but destined to rise in greater glory; and fireworks in dazzling letters promised him immortal laurels. At midnight, a supper of four hundred and thirty covers was served under the light of twelve hundred wax candles, and was enlivened by an orchestra of more than one hundred instruments. Dancing continued till the sun was more than an hour high. 1778. May 19. Never had subordinates given a more brilliant farewell to a departing general; and it was doubly dear to their commander, for it expressed their belief that the ministry had wronged him, and that his own virtue pointed him out for advancement.

The festival was hardly over, when Howe was informed that Lafayette, with twenty-five hundred men and eight cannon, had crossed the Schuylkill, and, twelve miles from Valley Forge, had taken a post of observation on the range of Barren Hill. Flushed with the hope of ending his American career with lustre, he resolved by a swift movement to capture the party. At ten on the night of the nineteenth, he sent Grant at the head of fifty-three hundred chosen men, with the best guides, to gain by roundabout ways the rear of Lafayette. They were followed the next morning by fifty-seven hundred selected troops, May 20. commanded by Howe himself, assisted by Clinton and Knyphausen, with Lord Howe, to witness the discomfit of the youthful general, whom he was to ship to England. At Chestnut Hill they were to meet the American party after its rout; but they listened in vain for the sound of

cannon, and at noon Grant came in sight with only his own detachment. Lafayette had been surprised, and his direct communication with Valley Forge cut off; but a lower ford called Matson's, which was nearer to Grant than to him, remained unoccupied. Sending small parties into the woods, to present themselves as the heads of attacking columns, he had deceived his antagonist, and crossed the ford while Grant was preparing to give battle.

1778. May 24. Wayworn and crestfallen, Howe returned to the city. On the twenty-fourth he gave up to Sir Henry Clinton the command of an army which excelled in discipline, health, and alertness. Of the officers who attended him to the place of embarkation, the most gallant shed tears at the parting; and Knyphausen, from deep emotion, could not finish the address which he began in their name.

Brave and an adept in military science, Howe had failed in the conduct of the war from sluggish dilatoriness, want of earnest enterprise, and love of the pleasures which excite a coarse nature. On landing near Bunker Hill, he had sufficient troops to have turned the position of the Americans; but he delayed just long enough for them to prepare for his attack. He was driven out of Boston from his most unmilitary neglect to occupy Dorchester Heights, which overlook the town. He took his troops in midwinter to the bleak, remote, and then scarcely inhabited Halifax, instead of sailing to Rhode Island, or some convenient nook on Long Island within the sound, where he would have found a milder climate, greater resources, and nearness to the scene of his next campaign. In the summer of 1776, marching by night to attack General Putnam in his lines at Brooklyn, he lost the best chance of success by halting his men for rest and breakfast. When his officers reported to him that they could easily storm the American intrenchments, he forbade them to make the attempt. His want of vigilance was so great that he let Washington pass a day in collecting boats, and a night and morning in retreating across an arm of the sea, and knew not what was done till he was roused from slumber after sunrise.

When with his undivided force he might have reached Philadelphia, he detached four brigades and eleven ships-of-war to Rhode Island, where the troops remained for three years in idle uselessness. Failing to cross the Delaware, he occupied New Jersey with insulated detachments, which Washington was able to cut to pieces in detail. In 1777, instead of an early and active campaign, he lingered in New York till midsummer, and then neglected to make a connection with Burgoyne. He passed the winter in Philadelphia without once attempting to break up the American camp at Valley Forge, corrupting his own army by his example of licentiousness, and teaching the younger officers how to ruin themselves by gaming. The manner in which he threw up his command was a defiance of his government, and an open declaration to all Europe that the attempt of England to reduce its colonies must certainly fail. The affections of his officers were so won by indulgence, that they parted from such a general as though they were bidding farewell to a meritorious commander. Nothing saved him from reprobation in England but that Lord George Germain had made mistakes still graver than his own.

Meantime, Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, each acting under special instructions, separately communicated the three conciliatory acts of parliament to congress, who received them on the sixth of June, and on the same day answered: "They have in April last expressed their sentiments upon bills not essentially different from those acts. When the king of Great Britain shall be seriously disposed to end the unprovoked war waged against these United States, they will readily attend to such terms of peace as may consist with the honor of independent nations and the sacred regard they mean to pay to treaties." 1778. June 6.

On the day of this second rejection of Lord North's offers, the three British commissioners arrived in Philadelphia. In sailing up the Delaware, they had seen enough "to regret ten thousand times that their rulers, instead of a tour through the worn-out countries of Europe, had not finished their education with a visit round the

coasts and rivers of this beautiful and boundless continent." The English rivers shrunk for them into rills; they predicted that in a few years the opulent "village" of Philadelphia, which it seemed to them most melancholy to desert, would become a magnificent metropolis. The result of their mission was watched with intense interest throughout all Europe, especially at Versailles and in the Netherlands; but the creation of their office was a mere device to aid Lord North in governing the house of commons, and to "reconcile the people of England to a continuance of the war." Carlisle, the first commissioner, had in the house of lords "spoken with warmth upon the insolence of the rebels" for refusing to treat with the Howes, and had stigmatized the people of America as "base and unnatural children" of England. The second commissioner was an under-
1778. secretary, whose chief, a few weeks before, in the same assembly, had scoffed at congress as a "body of vagrants." The third was Johnstone, who had lately in parliament justified the Americans and charged the king with hypocrisy.

There never was any expectation on the part of the ministry that the commission would be successful, or it would have been differently constituted. In the certainty that it would not be received, Germain had given orders for the prosecution of the war, and on a different plan, such as a consciousness of weakness might inspire in a cruel and revengeful mind. Clinton was ordered to abandon Philadelphia; to hold New York and Rhode Island; to curtail the boundaries of the thirteen states on the north-east and on the south; to lay waste Virginia by means of ships-of-war; and to attack Providence, Boston, and all accessible ports between New York and Nova Scotia, destroying vessels, wharfs, stores, and materials for ship-building. At the same time, the Indians, from Detroit all along the frontiers of the west and south to Florida, were to be hounded on to spread dismay and to murder. No active operations at the north were expected, except the devastation of towns on the sea, and raids of the allied savages on the border. The king, under his sign manual, ordered

Clinton to detach five thousand men for the conquest of the French island, St. Lucia.

As the commissioners stepped on shore to receive the submission of the colonies, and on their submission to pardon their rebellion, they found to their extreme surprise and chagrin that orders for the immediate evacuation of Philadelphia had preceded them, and were just being executed. About three thousand of the most tenderly bred of the inhabitants were escaping to embark in British ships. "The commission," it was said, "can do no good now: if Philadelphia is left to the rebels, independence is acknowledged and America lost." In the streets that lately had the air of one continuous market-day, the stillness was broken by auctions of furniture which lay in heaps on the sidewalks. Those who resolved to stay roused mournfully from a delusive confidence in British protection to restless anxiety. In this strait, the representatives of Britain thought fit, in a communication to congress sealed with the image of a fond mother caressing her children, to recognise the constituency of congress as "states," and pressed them to accept perfect freedom of legislation and of internal government, representation in parliament, and an exemption from the presence of military forces, except with their own permission; in short, the gratification of "every wish that America had expressed." And they insinuated that France was the common enemy. 1778. June.

These offers, which were made without authority and were therefore fraudulent, they wrote from a flying army; and, before an answer could be received, they had sailed down the Delaware. The land crowned with stately forests, and seeming to them the richest country in the world; the river covered with vessels in full sail, crowded with people leaving the city of their birth and all their property, except what they could carry with them, and hurrying from an enemy consisting in part of relations and friends, — presented a spectacle the most beautiful and the most sad.

Congress resented the letter of the commissioners as an offence to their own honor and to their ally. They knew that their wars with France had been but a consequence of

their connection with England; that independence was peace; and, by a unanimous vote, they on the seventeenth made answer as before: "The idea of dependence is inadmissible. Congress will be ready to enter upon a treaty of peace and commerce, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose by an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or withdrawing his fleets and armies." The American officers were of the same mind, except Lee, who was false, and Gates, who, in the belief that every thing contended for was granted, wished a conference with the commissioners. Washington, reproving Johnstone for addressing him a private letter, assured him that "the voice of congress was the general voice of the people."

1778. June 17.

The convention of Saratoga had been broken by the British, at the time of the surrender, by the concealment of the public chest and other public property of which the United States were thus defrauded. In November, 1777, Burgoyne had written a rash and groundless complaint of its violation by the Americans, and raised the implication that he might use the pretended breach to disengage himself and his government from all its obligations. In January, 1778, congress suspended the embarkation of his army until his capitulation should be expressly confirmed by the court of Great Britain. Congress had also made a demand for lists of all persons comprehended in the surrender; and a compliance with this proper and even necessary requisition had been refused. The commissioners now desired to intervene and negotiate for leave for the captives to return to Europe. But their powers under their appointment reached the case only by construction; and their acts might be disclaimed by their government as unwarranted. Besides, by their [illegible]pts at bribery, they had forfeited every claim to [illegible] Congress, therefore, on the fourth of September, [illegible] dissentient voice, resolved to detain the troops [illegible]uld receive the most formal and ir- [illegible] of the convention by the highest [illegible] Britain. The British, on their side,

complained that an essential condition of the capitulation remained unexecuted.

On the night following the seventeenth of June, Sir Henry Clinton crossed the Delaware with more than seventeen thousand effective men. To the loyalists the retreat appeared as a violation of the plighted faith of the British king. The winter's revelry was over; honors and offices turned suddenly to bitterness and ashes; papers of protection were become only an opprobrium and a peril. Crowds of wretched refugees, with all of their possessions which they could transport, fled with the army. The sky sparkled with stars; the air of the summer night was soft and tranquil, as the exiles, broken in fortune and without a career, went in despair from the only city they could love. 1778. June 18.

Had the several states met the requisitions of congress, the army of Washington would have been the master of New Jersey; but, while it was pining from their delinquency, Lee, then second in command, was treacherously plotting its ruin. His loud fault-finding was rebuked by the general for its "very mischievous" tendency. To secure to the British a retreat "on velvet," he had the effrontery to assert that, on leaving Philadelphia, they would move to the south. But the attempt to mislead Washington was fruitless. In a council on the seventeenth, Lee advised that it would not be safe to attack the British, and carried with him all the officers except Greene, Lafayette, Wayne, and Cadwalader. Unmoved by the apathy of so many, Washington crossed the Delaware sixteen miles above Trenton, and detaching Maxwell's brigade of nine hundred to assist a party of a thousand Jersey militia in destroying the roads, and Morgan with a corps of six hundred to hang upon the enemy's right, he moved with the main army to Hopewell. There, on the twenty-fourth, Lee insisted in council that the Americans should rather build a bridge for the retreat of their enemies than attack so well-disciplined an army. Lafayette replied that it would be shameful to suffer the British to cross New Jersey with impunity; that, without extreme risk, it was June 24.

possible to engage their rear, and to take advantage of any favorable opportunity: yet Lord Stirling and most of the brigadiers again sided with Lee. From Allentown the British general, fearing danger in crossing the Raritan, decided to march by way of Monmouth to Sandy Hook; and Washington followed him in a parallel line, ready to strike his force at right angles.

1778. June 25. The parties in advance, increased by Scott with fourteen hundred and forty men, and on the twenty-fifth by Wayne with a thousand more, composed a third of the army, and formed a fit command for the oldest major-general. But Lee refused it, saying that the plans of the commander in chief must surely fail. Upon this Washington intrusted it to Lafayette, who marched towards the enemy with alacrity. Lee now fretted at the wrong which he pretended was done to himself and to Lord Stirling. As Washington heard him unmoved, he wrote to Lafayette: "My fortune and my honor are in your hands: you are too generous to ruin the one or the other." And this appeal succeeded.

On the twenty-sixth, Lee was sent forward with two brigades, to command the whole advance party, with orders to attack the enemy's rear. Intense heat and heavy June 27. rains held both armies quiet on the twenty-seventh; but, just after noon on that day, Washington, summoning the generals to head-quarters, instructed them to engage the enemy on the next morning; and he directed Lee to concert with his officers the mode of attack. But when Lafayette, Wayne, and Maxwell at the appointed hour came to Lee, he refused to form a plan, so that none was made; nor did he attempt to gain knowledge of the ground on which he was ordered to fight. In the evening, he was charged by Washington to detach a party of six or eight hundred skirmishers, to lie very near the enemy, and delay them, if they should move off at night or early in the morning. The order was executed too tardily to have effect.

June 28. Informed, at five in the morning of the twenty-eighth, that the British had begun their march from

Monmouth, Lee remained inert, till Washington, who was the first to be in motion, sent him orders to attack the British rear, unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary; promising to come up rapidly to his support. He obeyed so far as to move, but languidly, without a plan, and without any concert with his generals, or of them with one another. To a proposal of Lafayette, Lee answered: "You don't know the British soldiers: we cannot stand against them." Upon this, Lafayette sent to Washington that his presence on the field was needed; and twice were similar messages sent by Laurens. Having orders to attack the enemy's left, Lafayette received counter orders before he had proceeded one quarter of the way. Wayne was on the point of engaging the enemy in earnest, when he was enjoined only to make a feint. There was marching and counter-marching, crossing and recrossing a bridge, and a halt for an hour. To a French officer who expressed surprise, Lee said: "I have orders from congress and the commander in chief not to engage;" yet, to appear to do something, he professed as his object to cut off a small covering party. 1778. June 28.

Thus Sir Henry Clinton gained time for preparation. His baggage, which occupied a line of eight miles or more, was sent onward, protected by a strong force under Knyphausen. The division of Cornwallis, and a brigade and a regiment of dragoons from Knyphausen's division, remained behind. At about eight in the morning, Clinton sent against Lee two regiments of cavalry with the grenadiers, guards, and Highlanders. Lee should now have ordered a retreat; but he left the largest part of his command to act for themselves, and then expressed indignation that they had retreated, confessing in the same breath that this act alone saved them from destruction. There had been no engagement, attack, or skirmish; nor was any thing done to check the enemy as they followed the Americans through a narrow defile; nor was an order sent by Lee to any of the parties to rally, nor a word of all that happened officially communicated to the commander in chief.

When Washington encountered the fugitives, he, in a

voice of anger, demanded of Lee: "What is the meaning of this?" Abashed and confused, Lee stammered: "Sir — Sir;" and to the renewed inquiry answered: "You
1778. June 28. know that the attack was contrary to my advice and opinion." Washington rejoined: "You should not have undertaken the command, unless you intended to carry it through." The precipitate flight of Lee, whether due to necessity, or the want of ability, or treachery, spread a baleful influence. The flower of the British army, led by Clinton and Cornwallis and numbering from six to eight thousand, were hotly chasing an unresisting enemy, when Washington, with his faculties quickened by the vexations of the morning and with cheerful "trust in that Providence which had never failed the country in its hour of distress," took measures to arrest the retreat. As the narrow road through which the enemy came on was bounded on each side by a morass, he swiftly formed two of the retreating regiments of Wayne's brigade, commanded by Stewart and Ramsay, in front of the pursuers and under their fire; and thus gained time to plant the troops that were advancing with him upon good ground. This being done, he again met Lee, who was doing nothing, "like one in a private capacity;" and, finding in him no disposition to retrieve his character,[1] ordered him to the rear. Lee gladly left the field, believing that the Americans would be utterly beaten. Even Laurens hoped for no more than an orderly retreat; and Hamilton's thought was

[1] When Botta's admirable history of our war of independence was translated into English, John Brooks of Massachusetts, who, on the day at Monmouth, was Lee's aide-de-camp, and on the trial was one of his chief witnesses, very emphatically denied the statement that Lee had done good service on the field after meeting with Washington. (Remarks of John Brooks on the Battle of Monmouth; written down by J. Welles. Compare Autograph Memoirs of Lafayette.) Steuben: "I found General Lee on horseback before a house." Doctor Machenry: "The general [Lee] was on horseback, observing to a number of gentlemen who were standing around, that it was mere folly to make attempts against the enemy." Hamilton: "I heard no measures directed, nor saw any taken by him" [Lee], &c. The words of Lee are clear: he says he regarded himself as reduced to a private capacity. (Trial of Lee.)

to die on the spot. But Washington's self-possession, his inspiring mien, his exposure of himself to every danger, and the obvious wisdom of his orders, kindled the enthusiasm of officers and men; while Lee in the rear, sitting idly on horseback, explained to bystanders that "the attempt was madness and could not be successful." The British cavalry were easily driven back, and showed themselves no more. The regiments of foot came up next; but they could not turn the left flank, where Stirling commanded, without exposing their own right to the American artillery. The attack upon the right where Greene commanded was defeated by his battery; while others encountered the grenadiers and guards till they turned and fled. As they rallied and came back to the charge, Wayne with a body of infantry engaged them face to face till they were again repulsed, after great slaughter; Lieutenant-colonel Monckton falling at the head of the grenadiers. During the day, the heat reached ninety-six degrees in the shade; and many on both sides, struck by the sun, fell dead without a wound.

The British retreated through the pass by which they had advanced, and occupied a position accessible in front only by the narrow road, and protected on both flanks by woods and morasses which could not be turned before night. Two American brigades hung on their right, a third on their left; while the rest of the army planted their standards on the field of battle, and lay on their arms to renew the contest at daybreak. But Clinton, abandoning his severely wounded and leaving his dead unburied, with- 1778.
drew his forces before midnight; and at the early dawn they found shelter in the highlands of Middleburg. Washington then marched towards the North River; the British for New York by way of Sandy Hook.

On receiving the English accounts, Frederic of Prussia replied: "Clinton gained no advantage except to reach New York with the wreck of his army; America is probably lost for England."

Of the Americans who were in the engagement, two hundred and twenty-nine were killed or wounded; of the British, more than four hundred; and above eight hundred

deserted their standard during their march through the Jerseys.

In the battle, which took its name from the adjacent village of Monmouth, the American generals except Lee did well: Wayne especially established his fame. The army and the whole country resounded with the praises of Washington; and congress unanimously thanked him "for his great good conduct and victory." Nor may history omit to record that, of the "revolutionary patriots" who on that day perilled life for their country, more than seven hundred black Americans fought side by side with the white.

1778. After the battle, Lee was treated from headquarters with forbearance; but in two letters to the commander in chief he avowed the expectation that the campaign would close the war, — that is, that the terms offered by the British commissioners would be accepted, — and demanded reparation for injustice and injury. A court-martial found him guilty of disobedience, misbehavior before the enemy, and disrespect to the commander in chief, and all too leniently did but suspend him from command for twelve months. After long delay, congress confirmed the sentence, though by a narrow vote. The next year, it censured Lee for obtaining money through British officers in New York; and in January, 1780, provoked by an impertinent letter, dismissed him from the service. From that time, he no longer concealed his wish for the return of America to her old allegiance; and his chosen companions were the partisans of England. He persisted in advising a rotation in military office, so that Washington might be removed; and for the United States he predicted two years of anarchy, from 1780 to 1782, to be followed by an absolute tyranny. Under the false colors of military genius and experience in war, he had solicited a command; after his appointment, he had given the reins to self-will, so that misfortune overtook his treachery. In October, 1782, sinking under a fever in a sordid inn at Philadelphia, he died as he had lived, loving neither God nor man.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HOW FAR AMERICA HAD ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE AT THE TIME OF THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1778.

CONFINED between ridges three miles apart, the Susquehannah, for a little more than twenty miles, winds through the valley of Wyoming. Abrupt rocks, rent 1778.
by tributary streams, rise on the east, while the western declivities are luxuriantly fertile. Connecticut, whose charter from Charles II. was older than that of Pennsylvania, using its prior claim to lands north of the Mamaroneck River, had colonized this beautiful region and governed it as its county of Westmoreland. The settlements, begun in 1754, increased in numbers and wealth till their annual tax amounted to two thousand pounds in Connecticut currency. In the winter of 1776, the people aided Washington with two companies of infantry, though their men were all needed to protect their own homes. Knowing the alliance of the British with the Six Nations, they built a line of ten forts as places of refuge.

The Seneca tribe kept fresh in memory their chiefs and braves who fell in the conflict with the New June.
York husbandmen at Oriskany. Their king, Sucingerachton, was both in war and in council the foremost man in all the Six Nations. Compared with him, the Mohawk, Brant, who had been but very lately known upon the war-path, was lightly esteemed. His attachment to the English increased to a passion on the alliance of America with the French, for whom he cherished implacable hate. Through his interest, and by the blandishments of gifts and pay and

chances of revenge, Colonel John Butler lured the Seneca warriors to cross the border of Pennsylvania under the British flag.

The party of savages and rangers, numbering between five hundred and seven hundred men, fell down the
1778. June 30. Tioga River, and on the last day of June hid in the
July 1. forests above Wyoming. The next day the two northernmost forts capitulated. The men of Wyoming, old and young, with one regular company, in all hardly more than three hundred, took counsel with one another, and found no hope of deliverance for their families but through a victorious encounter with a foe of twice their number, and more skilful in the woods than
July 3. themselves. On the third of July, the devoted band, led by Colonel Zebulon Butler, who had just returned from the continental service, began their march up the river. The horde of invaders, pretending to retreat, couched themselves on the ground in an open wood. The villagers of Wyoming began firing as they drew near, and at the third volley stood within one hundred yards of the ambush, when the Seneca braves began the attack and were immediately seconded by the rangers. The Senecas gave no quarter, and in less than a half hour took two hundred and twenty-five scalps, among them those of two field officers and seven captains. The rangers saved the lives of but five of their captives. On the British side, only two whites were killed and eight Indians wounded. The next day, the remaining forts, filled chiefly with women and children, capitulated. The long and wailing procession of the survivors, flying from their fields of corn, their gardens, the flames of their cottages, the unburied bodies of their
[illegible]nders, escaped by a pass through the hills to
[illegible]ements. Every fort and dwelling was burnt.
[illegible]spread over the surrounding country, adepts
[illegible]in. The British leader boasted in his re-
[illegible]y had burnt a thousand houses and every
[illegible]n reply extolled their prowess and even
[illegible]and resolved on directing a succession of
[illegible]ot only to harass the border, but to waste

the older settlements. Yet the marauders came to destroy and deal deaths, not to recover and hold; and the ancient affection for England was washed out in blood. When the leader of the inroad turned to desolate other scenes, Pennsylvania was left in the undisputed possession of her soil.

After the retreat of the British, her government, as well as that of New Jersey, used the right of bringing to trial those of their citizens who had been false to their allegiance; but Livingston, the governor of New Jersey, pardoned every one of seventeen who were found guilty. At Philadelphia, against his intercession, two men, one of whom had conducted a British party to a midnight carnage, were convicted, and suffered on the gallows. Regret prevailed that these also had not been forgiven.

Before the co-operation of the arms of France, the Americans had substantially achieved their existence as a nation. The treaties of alliance with them had not yet been signed, when Vergennes wrote "that it was almost physically impossible for the English to wrest independence from them; that all efforts, however great, would be powerless to recall a people so thoroughly determined to refuse submission." On the side of the sea, from Nova Scotia to Florida, the British occupied no posts except the island of Rhode Island, and New York city with its environs. No hostile foot rested on the mainland of New England. The British were still at Ogdensburg, Niagara, and Detroit; but the Americans held the country from below the Highlands to the water-shed of Ontario.

The Americans had gained vigor in the conflict: 1778.
the love and the exercise of individual liberty, though they hindered the efficiency of government, made them unconquerable. The British soldier had nothing before him but to be transferred from one of the many provinces of Britain to another, perhaps to the West Indies, perhaps to India: he did what he was bound to do with the skill of a veteran; but he had no ennobling motive, no prospect of a home, and no living patriotism. The American looked beyond danger to the enjoyment of freedom and peace in a family and country of his own. His service in the camp exalted his moral

character; he toiled and suffered for the highest ends, and built up a republic, not for his own land only, but for the benefit of the human race.

Moreover, the inmost mind of the American people had changed. The consciousness of a national life had dissolved the sentiment of loyalty to the crown of
1778. England. More than three years had elapsed since the shedding of blood at Lexington; and these years had done the work of a generation.

In England a similar revolution had taken place. The insurgents, losing the name of rebels, began to be called Americans. Officers, returning from the war, said openly that "no person of judgment conceived the least hope that the colonies could be subjected by force." Some British statesmen thought to retain a political, or at least a commercial, connection; while many were willing to give them up unconditionally. Even before the surrender of Burgoyne, Gibbon, a member of the board of trade, confessed that, though England had sent to America the greatest force which any European power ever ventured to transport into that continent, it was not strong enough to attack its enemy, nor to prevent them from receiving assistance. The war "measures" of the administration were therefore "so repugnant to sound policy that they ceased to be right." After that surrender, he agreed that, since "the substance of power was lost, the name of independence might be granted to the Americans." General Howe coupled his retirement from active service with the avowal that the disposable resources of his country could produce no decisive result. "Things go ill, and will not go better," wrote the chief of the new commission for establishing peace. The successor of General Howe reported himself too weak to attempt the restoration of the king's authority. Germain had no plan for the coming campaign but to lay the colonies waste. The prime minister, who had been at the head of affairs from 1770, owned in anguish the failure of his system, and deplored its continuance. Should the Americans ratify the French alliance, Lord Amherst, who was the guide of the ministry in the conduct of the war, recom-

mended the evacuation of New York and Rhode Island and the employment of the troops against the French West Indies.

But the radical change of opinion was shown most clearly by the votes of parliament. In February, 1774, the house of commons, in a moment of unrestrained passion, adopted measures for enforcing the traditional absolutism of parliament by majorities of three to one: corresponding majorities in February, 1778, reversed its judgment, 1778. repealed the punitive acts, and conceded every thing which the colonies had demanded.

There was "a general cry for peace." The king, in January, 1778, confessed to Lord North: "The time may come when it will be wise to abandon all North America but Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas; but then the generality of the nation must see it first in that light." Lord Rockingham was convinced, and desired to "convince the public, of the impossibility of going on with the war." On the second of February, Fox, going over the whole of the American business, spoke against its continuance, and was heard with favor. The ministers said not one word in reply; and on the division several tories voted with him. English opinion had by this time resigned itself to the belief that the United States could not be reduced; but as a massive fountain, when its waters begin to play, rises slowly to its full height, so parliament needed time to collect its energies for action. If British statesmen are blamed for not suffering her colonies to go free without a war, it must yet be confessed that the war grew by a kind of necessity out of the hundred years' contest with the crown for the bulwark of English freedom.

But now Fox would have England "instantly declare their independence;" Pownall, who had once defended the stamp act, urged their recognition; and Conway broke through his reserve, and said in parliament: "It has been proved to demonstration that there is no other method of having peace with them but acknowledging them to be, what they really are, and what they are determined to remain, independent states." The house of commons seemed se-

cretly to agree with him. Tories began to vote against the ministry. The secretary of war, Lord Barrington, said to the king: "The general dismay among all ranks and conditions arises from an opinion that the administration is not equal to the times. The opinion is so universal that it prevails even among those who are most dependent on the ministers and most attached to them; nay, it prevails among the ministers themselves." Lord North was convinced of the ruinous tendency of his measures, and professed, but only professed, an earnest wish to resign office. Lord Mansfield deplored the danger of a war with both houses of the Bourbons. The landed aristocracy were grown weary of the conflict which they had brought on, and of which the continuance promised only increasing taxation and a visible loss of national dignity and importance. So long as there remained a hope of recovering America, the ministers were supported, for they alone would undertake its reduction. The desire to replace them by statesmen more worthy of a great people implied the consent to peace on the basis of American independence. To that end all elements conspired. The initial velocity of the British attack was exhausted, and the remainder of the war was like the rebounds of a cannon-ball before it comes to rest.

1778. July 2. On the second of July, the president and several members of congress met once more in Philadelphia.

July 9. On the ninth, the articles of confederation, engrossed on parchment, were signed by eight states. On the

July 10. tenth, congress issued a circular to the other five, urging them "to conclude the glorious compact which was to unite the strength, wealth, and councils of

July 21. the whole." North Carolina acceded on the twenty-

July 24. first; Georgia, on the twenty-fourth. New Jersey demanded for the United States the regulation of trade and the ownership of the ungranted north-western domain; but, after unassisted efforts for a more efficient union, the state, on the twenty-fifth of the following November, accepted the confederacy without amendment; and on the fifth of May, 1779, the delegates of Delaware did the same.

Maryland, which was on all sides precisely limited by its charter, — while Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, and at least one of the Carolinas, might claim by royal grant an almost boundless extension to the north and west, — alone arrested the consummation of the confederation by demanding that the public lands north-west of the Ohio should first be recognised as the common property of all the states, and held as a common resource to discharge the debts contracted by congress for the expenses of the war.

On the eighth of July, the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and three frigates, after a rough voyage of nearly ninety days from Toulon, anchored in the Bay of Delaware; ten days too late to intercept the inferior squadron of Lord Howe and its multitude of transports on their retreat from Philadelphia. Its admiral, the Count D'Estaing, a major-general in the French army, had persuaded Marie Antoinette to propose the expedition. On the eleventh, congress learned from his letters that he was "ready to co-operate with the states in the reduction of the British army and navy." The first invitation to a concert of measures revealed the inability of the American people to fulfil their engagements. For want of an organized government, congress could do no more than empower Washington to call upon the six states north of the Delaware for aids of militia, while its financial measure was a popular loan to be raised throughout the country by volunteer collectors.

1778. July 8.

July 11.

D'Estaing followed his enemy to the north, and anchored within Sandy Hook, where he intercepted unsuspecting British ships bound for New York. The fleet of Lord Howe was imperfectly manned, but his fame attracted from merchant vessels and transports a full complement of volunteers. The French fleet would nevertheless have gone up the bay and offered battle, could pilots have been found to take its largest ships through the channel.

Since New York could not be reached, D'Estaing, ignorant of the secret policy of France and Spain, indulged the dream of capturing the British towns in Newfoundland and annexing that island to the American republic as a four-

teenth state with representation in congress. Washington proposed to employ the temporary superiority at sea in the capture of Rhode Island and its garrison of six thousand men. He had in advance summoned Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island to send quotas of their militia for the expedition. The council of war of Rhode Island, exceeding his requirement, called out one half of the effective force of the state for twenty days from the first of August, and ordered the remainder to be ready at a minute's warning. Out of his own feeble army he spared one brigade from Massachusetts and one from Rhode Island, of one thousand each, and they were followed by a further detachment. Directing Sullivan, who was placed over the district of Rhode Island, to throw the American troops into two divisions, he sent Greene to command the one, and Lafayette the other. Young Laurens served D'Estaing as aid and interpreter. On the twenty-ninth of July, while Clinton was reporting to Germain that he would probably be under the necessity of evacuating New York and retiring to Halifax, the French fleet, with thirty-five hundred land troops on board, appeared off Newport; and the British saw themselves forced to destroy ten or more armed ships and galleys, carrying two hundred and twelve guns.

1778. Aug. 6. The country was palpitating with joy at the alliance with France. Congress, on Sunday the sixth of August, with studied ceremony gave its audience of reception to Gérard de Rayneval, the French plenipotentiary, listened to his assurances of the affection of his king for the United States and for "each one" of them, and "acknowledged the hand of a gracious Providence in raising them up so powerful a friend." At head-quarters, there
med to be a hundred chances to one in favor of capturing
arrison on Rhode Island, and thus ending British pre-
ons to sovereignty over America. Robert Livingston
ssed the hope that congress, in treating for peace,
d insist on having Canada, Hudson's Bay, the Floridas,
all the continent independent.

8. On the eighth, the French fleet, which a whim of Sullivan had detained for ten days in the offing, ran

past the British batteries into the harbor of Newport. The landing had been concerted for the tenth; but, learning that the British outpost on the north of the island had been withdrawn, Sullivan, on the morning of the ninth, without notice to D'Estaing, crossed with his troops from the side of Tiverton. Scarcely had he done so, when the squadron of Lord Howe, which had been re-enforced from England, was seen to anchor near Point Judith. On the tenth, a strong wind rising from the north-east, D'Estaing by the advice of his officers, among whom were Suffren and De Grasse, sailed past the Newport batteries, and in order of battle bore down upon the British squadron. Lord Howe stood to the southward, inviting pursuit. For two days, D'Estaing was baffled in the attempt to force an action, while the wind increased to a hurricane and wrecked and scattered both fleets. The French ship "Languedoc" lost its rudder and masts; the "Apollo," to which the British admiral had shifted his flag, could not keep at sea.

1778. Aug. 9. Aug. 10.

The same storm flooded Rhode Island with rain, damaged the ammunition of the American army, overturned their tents, and left them no shelter except trees and fences. Many horses were killed, and even soldiers perished. The British troops, being quartered in the town, suffered less; and, on the return of fair weather, Pigot, but for his inertness, might have fallen upon a defenceless enemy.

The squadron of Lord Howe steered for Sandy Hook. D'Estaing, three of whose ships had severally encountered three English ships, appeared on the twentieth within sight of Newport; but only to announce that, from the shattered condition of his fleet, and from want of water and provisions, after nearly five months' service at sea, he was compelled by his instructions to sail for Boston. In general orders, Sullivan censured D'Estaing, and insinuated the inutility of the French alliance; and then, under compulsion from Lafayette, in other general orders made reparation. He should have instantly withdrawn from the island; and Washington sent him incessant messages to do so. On Honyman's Hill he was wasting strength in raising

Aug. 20.

batteries which were too remote to be of use, and could be easily turned; more than half his army was composed of militia, who saw that the expedition had failed, and began to go home. There remained in the American camp less than six thousand men; and a retreat had now to be conducted in the presence of regular troops, superior in numbers. It began in the night of the twenty-eighth.

1778. Aug. 29. The next day, the British attempted to get round the American right wing, and thus cut off every chance of escape. On that side, Greene, almost within sight of his native town, held the command. Supported by young Laurens, he changed the defence into an attack, and drove the enemy in disorder back to their strong post on Quaker Hill. In the engagement, the British lost at least two hundred and sixty men; the Americans, forty-nine less. On

Aug. 30. the night following the thirtieth, the army of Sullivan, evading its sluggish pursuers, withdrew from the island. Clinton, with a re-enforcement of four

Aug. 31. thousand men, landed the day after the escape.

Sept. The British general returned to New York, having accomplished nothing, except that a detachment under Grey set fire to the shipping in New Bedford, and then levied cattle and money on the freeholders of Martha's Vineyard. Lord Howe gave up the naval command to Admiral Byron, and was never again employed in America.

The people of New England had in twenty days raised the force of Sullivan to ten thousand effective men; the total disappointment of their hope of brilliant success excited criminations and distrust. At Boston, a French officer lost his life in attempting to quell a riot between his countrymen and American seamen; but D'Estaing preserved unruffled politeness, and really wished well to the United States.

Notwithst[illegible] failure of the first expedition from [illegible]dopted by the British government [illegible]e United States served only to pro- [illegible] In 1775, they sought to annihilate [illegible]ng it at its source; and before many

months they were driven out of Boston. In 1776, the acquisition of New York was to prelude the one last campaign for crushing all resistance; in 1777, Philadelphia was taken, but only to be evacuated in 1778. To a friend in Virginia Washington wrote in August, as he came again upon White Plains: "After two years' manœuvring and the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party at the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickaxe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations." "The veil of ordinary events," thus the governor of Connecticut expressed the belief of the state, "covers the hand of the Supreme Disposer of them, so that men overlook his guidance. In the view of the series of marvellous occurrences during the present war, he must be blind and infatuated who doth not see and acknowledge the divine ordering thereof." The faith of the American people in the moral government of the world sprang, not from irrational traditions or unreflecting superstition, but from the deep sentiment of harmony between their own active patriotism and the infinite love which founded all things and the infinite justice which carries all things forward in continuous progression. The consciousness of this harmony, far from lulling them into an indolent expectation of supernatural intervention, bound them to self-relying diligence in the duty that was before them. They had the confidence and joy of fellow-workers with "the divine ordering" for the highest welfare of mankind.

On the third of October, the commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies addressed a farewell manifesto to the members of congress, the several assemblies, and other inhabitants of America, that their persistence in separating from Great Britain would "change the whole nature and future conduct of this war;" that "the extremes of war" should so distress the people and desolate the country as to make them of little avail to France. Con- 1778. Oct. 3.

gress published the paper in the gazettes to convince the people of the insidious designs of the commissioners. In the British house of commons, Coke of Norfolk proposed an address to the king to disavow the declaration. Lord George Germain defended it, insisting that the Americans by their alliance were become French, and should in future be treated as Frenchmen. Burke pointed out that the "dreadful menace was pronounced against those who, conscious of rectitude, stood up to fight for freedom and country." "No quarter," said the commissioner Johnstone, who in changing sides on the American question had not tamed the fury of his manner, "no quarter ought to be shown to their congress; and, if the infernals could be let loose against them, I should approve of the measure. The proclamation certainly does mean a war of desolation; it can mean nothing else." Gibbon divided silently with the friends of America, who had with them the judgment, though not the vote, of the house. Three days later, Rockingham denounced the "accursed" manifesto in the house of lords, saying that "since the coming of Christ war had not been conducted on such inhuman ideas." Lord Suffolk, in reply, appealed to the bench of bishops; on which the bishop of Peterborough traced the resemblance between the proclamation and the acts of Butler at Wyoming. He added: "There is an article in the extraordinaries of the army for scalping-knives. Great Britain defeats any hope in the justness of her cause by means like these to support it." The debate closed well for America, except that Lord Shelburne was provoked into saying that he never would serve with any man who would consent to its independence, [illegible] independence was become the only way to

of the proclamation were a confession of
British army under Clinton could hold no
country, and only ravage and destroy by
editions. Towards the end of September,
led a foray into New Jersey; and Major-
a party of infantry, surprising Baylor's
the bayonet mercilessly against men that

sued for quarter. A band led by Captain Patrick Ferguson in October, after destroying the shipping in Little Egg Harbor, spread through the neighboring country to burn the houses and waste the lands of the patriots. On the night of the fifteenth, they surprised light infantry under Pulaski's command; and, cumbering themselves with no prisoners, killed all they could. In November, a large party of Indians with bands of tories and regulars entered Cherry valley by an unguarded pass, and, finding the fort too strong to be taken, murdered and scalped more than thirty of the inhabitants, most of them women and children. The story of these massacres was repeated from village to village, and strengthened the purpose of resistance.

1778. Oct.

Nov.

With the year 1778, South Carolina, which for two years had been unvisited by an enemy, after long deliberation established a permanent form of government. Immediately after the general declaration of independence, its citizens, by common consent, intrusted constituent powers to their representatives. In January, 1777, a bill for the new constitution was introduced. Hitherto the legislative council had been chosen by the general assembly. A bold effort was made, in like manner, to confer the election of the senate on the assembly, because in that way Charleston, through its numerous representation, would have controlled the choice. On this point the country members would not yield; but the distribution of the representation in the general assembly was left unchanged. The bill was then printed, and submitted for examination to the people during more than a year. Sure of the prevailing approval, the legislature, in March, 1778, gave it their final sanction; and it was then presented to the president for his confirmation. Every one expected that in a few hours it would be proclaimed, when Rutledge called the council and assembly into the council chamber, and, after a formal speech, gave it a negative, not only for the change which it would effect in the manner of choosing one branch of the legislature, but also because it took from the chief of the executive his veto power. The majority, soon recovering from

their consternation, determined to vote no taxes until the veto should be reversed. After a three days' adjournment, which was required by the rules before a rejected bill could be again brought forward, Rawlins Lowndes, the newly elected president, gave his sanction to the re-enacted bill.

The new constitution might be altered by legislative authority after a notice of ninety days. None but freeholders could elect or be elected to office; and for the higher offices the possession of a large freehold was required. In any redistribution of the representation of the state, the number of white inhabitants and the amount of taxable property were to be considered. The veto power was taken from the president. Till this time, the church of England had been the established church in South Carolina. The toleration of Locke and Shaftesbury was now mixed with the religious faith of its people. Not the Anglican or Episcopal Church, but the Christian Protestant Church, was declared to be the established religion of the state; and none but Protestants were eligible to high executive or any legislative office. The right of suffrage was conferred exclusively on every free white man who, having the requisite age and freehold, acknowledged God and a future state of rewards and punishments. All persons who so believed, and that God is publicly to be worshipped, might form religious societies. The support of religious worship was voluntary; the property then belonging to societies of the church of England, or any other religious societies, was secured to them in perpetuity. The people were to
1778. enjoy for ever the right of electing their own pastors or clergy; but the state was entitled to security for the due discharge of the pastoral office by the persons so elected. Of slaves or slavery no mention was made unless by implication.

The constitution having been adopted on the nineteenth of March, was to go into effect on the following twenty-[illegible] all resident free male persons in the [illegible] years, refusing to take the oath to maintain the king of Great Britain and all other enemies; but a period of twelve months after

their departure was allowed them to dispose of their property. In October, 1778, after the intention of the British to reduce South Carolina became known, death was made the penalty for refusing to depart from the state, or for returning without permission.

The planters of South Carolina still partook of their usual pastimes and cares; while the British ministry, resigning the hope of reducing the north, indulged the expectation of conquering all the states to the south of the Susquehannah. For this end, the British commander in chief at New York was ordered to despatch before October, if possible, a thousand men to re-enforce Pensacola and three thousand to take Savannah. Two thousand more were destined as a re-enforcement to St. Augustine. Thus strengthened, General Prevost would be able to march in triumph from East Florida across lower Georgia. 1778.

The new policy was inaugurated by dissensions between the minister for America in England and the highest British officials in America, and was followed by never-ending complaints. Lord Carlisle and his associate commissioners deprecated the seeming purpose of enfeebling the establishment at New York by detachments for different and distant services. "Under these appearances of weakness," so they reported, "our cause has visibly declined." Sir Henry Clinton threatened to evacuate New York and to retire to Halifax, remonstrated against being "reduced to a starved defensive," and complained of being kept in command, "a mournful witness of the debility" of his army; were he only unshackled with instructions, he might render serious service. Every detachment for the southern campaign was made with sullen reluctance; and his indirect criminations offended the unforgiving minister.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

1778.

EARLY in the year, Juan de Miralez, a Spanish emissary appeared in Philadelphia. Not accredited to con-
1778. gress, for Spain would not recognise that body, he looked upon the rising republic as a natural enemy to his country; and through the influence of the French minister, with whom he had as yet no authorized connection, he sought to raise up obstacles on all sides to its development. He came as a spy and an intriguer; nevertheless, congress, with unsuspecting confidence, welcomed him as the representative of an intended ally.

Of all the European powers, Spain was the most consistently and perseveringly hostile to the United States. With a true instinct, she saw in their success the quickening example which was to break down the barriers of her own colonial system; and her dread of their coming influence shaped her policy during their struggle. She was willing to encourage them so far as to exhaust the resources of Great Britain by one campaign more; but she was bent on restraining France from an alliance with them, till she should herself have wrung from their agents at Paris all the concessions which she deemed essential to the security of her transatlantic dominions, and from France all other advantages that she could derive from the war. She excused her importunities for delay by the necessity of providing for the defence of her colonies; the danger that would hang over her homeward-bound troops and commerce; the contingency of renewed schemes of conquest on the part of the Russians against the Ottoman empire; the succession of Bavaria; the propriety of coming to a previous under-

standing with the Netherlands which were harried by England, and with the king of Prussia who was known to favor the Americans.

Count Montmorin, the successor of D'Ossun as French ambassador at Madrid, had in his childhood been a playmate of the king of France, whose friendship he retained, so that his position was one of independence and dignity. As a man of honor, he desired to deal fairly with the United States, and he observed with impartiality the politics of the Spanish court. On receiving a communication of the despatch, which embodied the separate determination of France to support the United States, Florida Blanca quivered in every limb and could hardly utter a reply. Suspiciousness marked his character, as well as that of the government of Spain, which, for its remote dominions, was ever haunted by the spectres of contraband trade and of territorial encroachments. He was appalled at the example of the Americans as insurgents, at their ambition as republicans, and at the colossal greatness which their independence foretold; he abhorred any connection with them as equals, and would tolerate at most an alliance of protection and superintendence. With these apprehensions he combined a subtle jealousy of the good faith of the French, who, as a colonial power, were reduced to the lowest rank among the nations of Western Europe, and who could recover their share in the commerce of the world only through the ruin of colonial monopoly.

When, therefore, in April, the French ambassador pressed Florida Blanca to declare at what epoch Spain would take part in the war, the minister, beside himself with passion, exclaimed: "I will take the opinion of the king. Since April of last year, France has gone counter to our advice. The king of Spain seems to be looked upon as a viceroy or provincial governor, to whom you put questions as if for his opinion, and to whom you then send orders. The American deputies are treated like the Roman consuls, to whom the kings of the east came to beg support. The declaration of your treaty with them is worthy of Don Quixote." He persisted in the reproach that France had

1778. April.

engaged in a war which had "neither an object for its beginning nor a plan for its close."

1778. Baffled in her policy by France, Spain next thought to use Great Britain as her instrument for repressing the growth of the United States. Her first wish was to prevent their self-existence, and, as mediator, to dictate the terms of their accommodation with their mother country; but, as this was no longer possible after the intervention of France, she hoped at the peace to concert with England how to narrow their domain, and secure the most chances for an early dissolution of their inchoate union.

No sooner had Louis XVI. and his council resolved to brave England, than the system which had led to the family compact of the Bourbons recovered its normal influence; for it was through the Spanish alliance that they hoped to bring the conflict to a brilliant issue. Swayed by the advice of D'Ossun, they made it their paramount object to reconcile the Spanish government to their measures. In this way, doubt arrested their action at the moment of beginning hostilities. If it was to be waged by France alone, they held it prudent to risk every thing and make haste to gain advantages in a first campaign, before the English could bring out all their strength; but, if Spain was determined not to stand aloof, they would put the least possible at hazard till it should declare itself. Moreover, this persistent deference to the younger branch of the Bourbons brought with it obstinate contrarieties, both as to the place of the United States in the conduct of the war, and still more so in settling the ultimate conditions of peace.

In the conflict between fears and desires, the king of Spain was spell-bound by indecision. The precipitate alliance of France and America without his consent wounded his pride and endangered his possessions. His confessor held it a want of probity and an evil example to fight for heretics in revolt against lawful authority. On the other hand, his need of protection, his respect for the elder branch of his family, and some remnants of rancor against England, concurred to bind him to the compact between the two crowns. Moreover, Florida Blanca, who from the drudgery

of a provincial attorney had risen to be the chief minister of a world-wide empire, had a passion to be spoken of in his time, and to gain a place in history: he, therefore, kept open the negotiations with France, designing to consent to a junction only after stipulations for extraordinary and most unequal advantages. For the recovery of Gibraltar, he did not rely exclusively on a siege, yet before the end of March he had collected battering cannon at Seville, and held at anchor in the bay of Cadiz a greater fleet than Spain had launched since the days of the Armada.

Avoiding an immediate choice between peace and war, Florida Blanca disdained the proposal of an alliance with the United States; and he demanded the postponement of active hostilities in European waters, that he might gain free scope for offering mediation. The establishments of Britain in all parts of the world were weakly garrisoned; its homeward-bound commerce was inadequately protected; its navy was unprepared. The ships of the French, on the contrary, were ready for immediate action; yet they consented to wait indefinitely for the co-operation of Spain. After being swept into war for the independence of America, they subjected the conduct of that war to the power in Europe which was the most inveterate enemy to that independence. Their favorable chances at the beginning of hostilities were thrown away; their channel fleet lay idle in the harbor of Brest; British ships, laden with rich cargoes from all parts of the world, returned home unmolested; and the dilatory British admiralty gained unexpected time for preparation.

All this while, British armed vessels preyed upon the commerce of France. To ascertain the strength of the fleet at Brest, a British fleet of twenty ships of the line put to sea under Admiral Keppel, so well known to posterity by the pencil of Reynolds and the prose of Burke. On the seventeenth of June, meeting two French frig- 1778. June 17.
ates near the Island of Ouessant, Keppel gave orders that they should bring to. They refused. One of them, being fired into, discharged its broadside and then lowered

its flag; the other, the "Belle Poule," repelled the pursuit of the "Arethusa," and escaped.

The French government, no longer able to remain inactive, authorized the capture of British merchantmen; and early in July its great fleet sailed out of Brest. After returning to Portsmouth, Keppel put to sea once more. On the twenty-seventh, the two admirals, each having thirty men-of-war in three divisions, and each professing the determination to fight a decisive battle, met off Ouessant. D'Orvilliers was better fitted for a monastery than the quarter-deck; and the British admiral wanted ability for so great a command. After an insignificant action, in which neither party lost a ship, the French returned to Brest, the British to Portsmouth. The French admiral ascribed his failure to the disobedience of the young Duke de Chartres, who had absurdly been placed over one of his divisions; Keppel, but only upon an after-thought, censured both Palliser, his second in command, and the admiralty; and he declined employment unless the ministry should be changed. That he was not punished for mutiny, but that he, Burgoyne, and Howe, all three members of the house of commons, were suffered to screen their own incapacity by fighting vigorous battles in parliament against the administration, shows how faction had corrupted discipline in the service. Meantime, the French people were justly proud that, so soon after the total ruin of their navy in the seven years' war, their fleet equalled that of their great rival, and had won the admiration even of its enemies by its skilful evolutions.

1778. July. July 27.

The deeds of the French army for the year consisted in seeming to menace England with an invasion, by forming a camp in Normandy under the Count de Broglie, and wasting the season in cabals, indiscipline, and ruinous luxury. In India [illegible]ndernagor on the Hoogley surrendered to the Engli[illegible]t a blow; the governor of Pondicherry, [illegible] garrison and weak defences, maintenty days in the vain hope of relief. [illegible]bons was suffered to disappear from Bengal, and from the coast of Malabar.

To meet the extraordinary expenses of this frivolous campaign, the kingdom was brought nearer to bankruptcy by straining the public credit without corresponding taxation.

The diplomacy of Spain during the year proved still less effective. Florida Blanca began with the British minister at Madrid, by affecting ignorance of the measures of the French cabinet, and assuring him "that his Catholic majesty neither condemned nor justified the steps taken by France; but that, as they had been entered upon without the least concert with him, he thought himself perfectly free from all engagements concerning them." After these assertions, which were made so directly and so solemnly that they were believed, he explained that the independence of the United States would overturn the balance of power on the continent of America; and he proposed, through the mediation of his court, to obtain a cessation of hostilities in order to establish and perpetuate an equilibrium. The offer of mediation was an offer of the influence of the Bourbon family to secure to England the basin of the St. Lawrence, with the territory north-west of the Ohio, and to bound the United States by the Alleghanies. But Lord Weymouth held it ignoble to purchase from the wreckers of British colonial power the part that they might be willing to restore; and he answered, "that, while France supported the colonies in rebellion, no negotiation could be entered into." But, as both Great Britain and Spain were interested in preserving colonial dependency, he invited a closer union between them, and even proposed an alliance. 1778.

At this point in the negotiation, Florida Blanca, who was devoured by the ambition of making the world ring with his name, turned to Vergennes; yet, like his king, fearing lest at the peace France might take good care of itself and neglect the interests of Spain, he was determined, before concluding an irrevocable engagement, to ascertain the objects which its ally would expect to gain. Spain was really unprepared for war; her ships were poorly armed; her arsenals ill supplied; and few of her naval officers entitled to confidence in their skill: yet he threw out hints

that he would in October be ready for action, if France would undertake a descent into England.

Vergennes, while now more sure than ever of the co-operation of Spain, replied: "The idea of making a war on England, like that of the Romans on the Carthaginians, does honor to the minister's elevation of soul; but the attempt would require at least seventy ships of the line, and at least seventy thousand effective troops, of which ten thousand should be cavalry, beside transport ships and proportionate artillery, provisions, and ammunition."

1778.

To the British proposal of an alliance, Florida Blanca returned a still more formal offer of mediation between the two belligerents; excusing his wish to take part in the settlement of England with its insurgent colonies, by his desire that their ambition should be checked and tied down to fixed limits through the union of the three nations. Then, under pretence of seeking guidance in framing the plan of pacification, he craftily invited the two courts to remit to his king the points on which they intended to insist; at the same time, he avowed to the British minister that the king of Spain would be forced to choose his part, if the war should be continued.

Indifferent to threats, Weymouth in October gave warning of the fatal consequence to the Spanish monarchy of American independence; and from a well-considered policy refused in any event to concert with other governments the relations of his country to its colonies. Meantime, Florida Blanca continued to fill the courts of Europe with declarations that Spain would never precede England in recognising the separate existence of her colonies.

During this confused state of the relations between the three great powers, the United States fell upon a wise measure. Franklin, from the first, had advised his country against wooing Spain; but the confidence reposed in him by the French [illegible] by his caution; and they [illegible] with him alone. Tired of [illegible]sioners, congress, [illegible]ed the joint com-

of which he had been a member, and appointed him
inister plenipotentiary at the court of France. It
es the patriotism of John Adams, that, though he
e of those to be removed from office, he approved
ie terminating of the commission and the se-
of Franklin as sole envoy. In him the inter- 1778.
the United States obtained a serene and
l guardian, who penetrated the wiles of the Spanish
nent, and knew how to unite fidelity to the French
with timely vindication of the rights of his own
land.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A PEOPLE WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT.

AUGUST–DECEMBER, 1778.

EARLY in the year, George III. had been advised by Lord Amherst to withdraw the troops from Philadelphia,
1778. and, in the event of the junction of America with France, to evacuate New York and Rhode Island; but the depreciation of the currency, consequent on the helplessness of a people that had no government, revived the hope of subjugating them. The United States closed the campaign of 1778 before autumn, for want of money.

Paper bills, emitted by congress on its pledge of the
1775. faith of each separate state, supported the war in its earliest period. Their decline was hastened by the disasters that befell the American armies. Their
1776. value was further impaired by the ignoble stratagem of the British ministers, under whose authority Lord Dunmore and others introduced into the circulation of Virginia and other states a large number of bills, counterfeited for the purpose in England. In October, 1776, congress, which possessed no independent resources and no powers on which credit could be founded, opened loan offices in the several states, and authorized a lottery. In December, it issued five million dollars more in con-
1777. tinental bills. In January, 1777, when they had sunk to one [illegible] of their pretended value, it denounced every [illegible] would not receive them at par as a public enemy, [illegible] for whatever he offered for sale; and it [illegible] legislatures to declare them a lawful [illegible] Massachusetts had enacted a month before; [illegible] was followed throughout the union.

The loan offices exchanged United States paper money at par for certificates of debt bearing six per cent interest. On a hint from Arthur Lee, congress resolved to pay this interest by drawing on its commissioners in Paris for coin. The bills were of a very long date; and, before they became due, one dollar in coin was worth six in paper.

In the middle of November, 1776, Massachusetts, which had grown opulent before the war by tolerating no currency but hard money, proposed a convention of committees from the several New England states to consider all questions relating to public credit. Connecticut feared the measure would give umbrage to congress. Upon this, a convention of the New England states, called by Rhode Island under the name of "a council of war," met on Christmas Day at Providence. They regulated prices, proposed taxation and loans, and recommended that the states should issue no more paper, "unless in extreme cases." Congress liked their doings so well, that, in January, 1777, it advised similar conventions of the middle and of the three southernmost states. Striving for the monopoly of paper money, it asked the states to call in their bills, and to issue no more.

All the measures hitherto suggested having failed of their object, Massachusetts once more took the lead; and on her invitation the four New England states and New York met, near the end of July, at Springfield on the Connecticut. With one voice, they found the root of all financial difficulties in the use of irredeemable paper. As the only remedy, they proposed to sink all bills of the states, and to provide alike for their local expenses and those of the war by quarter-yearly taxes. The development of the institutions of the country was promoted by showing how readily the people of a group of states could come together by their delegates for a purpose of reform; but prices rose and bills went down with accelerated speed.

The anxious deliberations of the committee of congress during more than two months at Yorktown, with the report of the Springfield convention before them, produced only a recommendation, adopted in November, 1777, that the several states should become creditors of the

1777. Nov. 22.

United States by raising for the continental treasury five millions of dollars in four quarterly instalments; the first payment to be made on the coming New Year's Day, and the whole to bear six per cent interest until the final adjustment of accounts, after the confederation should have been ratified. Of thousands of dollars, Massachusetts was rated at eight hundred and twenty; Virginia, at eight hundred; Pennsylvania, at six hundred and twenty; Connecticut, at six hundred; New York, rent and ravaged by the war, at two hundred; Delaware and Georgia, each at sixty. A general wish prevailed to respect the recommendation; but most of the states retained their quotas to reimburse themselves for advances; and, besides, they were all weighed down by very heavy expenses and obligations of their own.

Shadowy hopes of foreign loans rose before congress. In December, 1777, in advance of treaties of commerce and alliance, the American commissioners in France and Spain were instructed to borrow two million pounds sterling, to be repaid in ten years; and in February, 1778, the commissioner for Tuscany was charged to borrow half as much more. Yet the grand duke of Tuscany would have no relations with the United States; and no power was so ill disposed towards them as Spain.

1778. Feb.

To the American people congress wrote in May: "The reasons that your money hath depreciated are, because no taxes have been imposed to carry on the war;" but they did not as yet venture to ask power to levy taxes. On obtaining the king of France for their ally, they authorized drafts on their commissioners in Paris for thirty-one and a half millions of livres, at five livres to the dollar, in

May.

of loan-office certificates, leaving Franklin and his
to meet the bills of exchange as they could. Of
bills, five millions of dollars were issued in May,
ore in June, and as many more in July. In
gress devoted two days in the week to the con-
f its finances, but with no better result than to
millions of dollars in paper in the first week of
, and ten millions more in the last. Certificates
n offices were also used in great amounts in

payment of debts to the separate states, especially to Pennsylvania.

The legalized use of paper money spread its never-failing blight. Trade became a game of hazard. Unscrupulous debtors discharged contracts of long standing in bills worth perhaps but a twentieth of their nominal value. The unwary ran in debt, while cunning creditors waited for payment till the continental bills should cease to be a legal tender.

The name of Richard Price was dear to every lover of political freedom. He derived his theory of morals from eternal and immutable principles, and his essay on "Liberty," which was read in Great Britain, America, and, through a translation, in Germany, founded the rights of man on the reality of truth and justice. He had devised a scheme for the payment of the British debt. Congress, on the sixth of October, invited him to become their fellow-citizen, and to regulate their finances. 1778. Oct. 6. The invitation was declined by their illustrious friend; but he gave the assurance that he "looked upon the United States as now the hope, and soon to become the refuge, of mankind."

From this time, congress saw no resource but in such "very considerable loans or subsidies in Europe" as could be expected only from an ally; and, before the end of October, they instructed Franklin "to assure his most Christian majesty they hoped protection from his power and magnanimity." There were those in congress who would not place their country under "protection;" but the word was retained by eight states against Rhode Island and Maryland. Samuel Adams and Lovell, of Massachusetts, voted for it, but were balanced by Gerry and Holten; Sherman, of Connecticut, opposed it, but his vote was neutralized by that of Ellsworth. The people of the United States, in proportion to their numbers, were more opulent than the people of France; but they had no means of organizing their resources. The pride that would not consent to an efficient union was willing to ask protection from Louis XVI. Oct.

1778. Dec. The country was also looking to the United Provinces for aid; and in December Laurens retired from the office of president of congress, in the expectation of being appointed to negotiate a loan in the Netherlands. Till money could be borrowed, paper was the only resource; and the wants of November and December required an emission of rather more than twenty millions. The debt of the United States, in currency and in certificates, was estimated at one hundred and forty millions. The continental bills already exceeded one hundred and six millions of dollars, and had fallen in value to twenty for one in silver; yet congress maintained "the certainty of their redemption," and resolved — Samuel Adams and six others dissenting — "that any contrary report was false, and derogatory to its honor." To make good the promise, the states were invited to withdraw six millions of paper dollars annually for eighteen years, beginning with the year 1780. The measure was carried by Pennsylvania and the states north of it, against the southern states; but other opinions ruled before the arrival of the year in which the absorption of the currency was to begin.

The expenses of the year 1778, so far as they were defrayed by congress, amounted to sixty-two and a sixth millions in paper money, beside more than eighty-four thousand dollars in specie. Towards the expenses of the coming year, nothing further was done than to invite the states to contribute fifteen millions in paper, equal in specie to seven hundred thousand dollars; but, as the payments depended on the good-will of each separate state, very little of this moderate assessment reached the national treasury, and there was no resource but in new emissions of notes and loan certificates.

Private reports from American refugees, seeking the favor of the king of England, persuaded Germain that the cause of the United States would share the wreck of their finances; but he knew not how to conciliate provinces that were weary of war, nor to measure the tenacity of the passive resistance of a determined people, and he systematically sanguinary measures to punish and subdue. The

refugees, emboldened by the powerlessness of congress and embittered by its advice to the several states to confiscate their property, thronged the antechamber of the minister and fired his vengeful passions by their own. In New York, there sprung up a double set of counsellors. Clinton repressed the confidence of the secretary of state by faithful reports of the inadequacy of his forces: on the other hand, William Franklin, late governor of New Jersey, aiming at the power and emoluments to be derived from an appointment as the head of a separate organization of loyalists, proposed as no difficult task to reduce and retain one of the middle provinces, by hanging or exiling all its rebels, and confiscating their estates to the benefit of the friends to government. Wiser partisans of Great Britain reprobated "the desire of continuing the war for the sake of war," and foretold that, should "the mode of devastation be adopted, the friends of government must bid adieu to all hopes of ever again living in America."

While it was no longer possible for the Americans to keep up their army by enlistments, the British gained numerous recruits from immigrants. Cultivated men of the Roman church, like Carroll, gave hearty support to the cause of independence; but the great mass of its members, who were then about one in seventy-five of the whole population of the United States, and were chiefly new comers in the middle states, followed the influence of the Jesuits, in whose hands the direction of them still remained, and who alike cherished distrust of the influences of the American revolution and hatred of France for her share in the overthrow of their order. In Philadelphia, therefore, Howe had been able to form a regiment of Roman Catholics. With still better success, Clinton courted the Irish as Irishmen. They had fled from the prosecutions of inexorable landlords to a country which offered them freeholds. By flattering their nationality and their sense of the importance attached to their numbers, Clinton allured them to a combination directly adverse to their own interests, and raised for Lord Rawdon a large regiment in which officers and men were exclusively Irish. Among them were nearly five hundred deserters from the American army. 1778.

Yet the British general lagged far behind the requirements of Germain, who counted upon ten thousand provincial levies, and wished "that the war should be carried on in a manner better calculated to make the people feel their distresses." The king believed in the "hourly declension of the rebellion," and that "the colonies must soon sue to the mother country for pardon." But Clinton well understood the power of the insurgents and the insufficiency of his own resources; and, obeying peremptory instructions, before the end of the year he most reluctantly detached three thousand men for the conquest of Georgia, and ten regiments for service in the West Indies. His supplies of meat and bread, for which he depended on Europe, were precarious; his military chest was empty; and the inhabitants of New York, mindful of the hour when the city would be given up, were unwilling to lend him their specie. "I do not complain," so he wrote in December to the secretary of state; "but, my lord, do not let any thing be expected of one circumstanced as I am."

1778. Dec.

The people of America, notwithstanding their want of efficient government, set no narrow bounds to their aspirations. From Boston, D'Estaing, in the name of his king, had summoned the Canadians to throw off British rule; Lafayette, in December, exhorted "his children, the savages of Canada," to look upon the English as their enemies. Thus encouraged, congress, without consulting a single military man, formed a plan for the "emancipation of Canada," in co-operation with an army from France. One American detachment from Pittsburg was to capture Detroit; another from Wyoming, Niagara; a third from the Mohawk River, to seize Oswego; a fourth from New England, by way of the St. Francis, to enter Montreal; a fifth, to guard the approaches from Quebec; while to France was assigned the office of reducing Quebec and Halifax. Lafayette would willingly have used his influence at Versailles in favor of the enterprise; but Washington showed how far the part reserved for the United States went beyond their resources; and, in deference to his advice, the speculative scheme was laid aside.

The spirit of independence none the less grew in strength. Almost all parts of the country were free from the ravages of war; and the inhabitants had been left to plough and plant, to sow and reap, their fields without fear. On the plantations of Virginia labor was undisturbed, and its abundant products were heaped up for exportation along the banks of her navigable waters. In all New England, seed-time and harvest had not failed; and the unmolested ports of Massachusetts grew opulent by commerce. Samuel Adams, uttering the popular sentiment, wrote from Philadelphia: "I hope we shall secure to the United States Canada, Nova Scotia, Florida too, and the fishery, by our arms or by treaty. We shall never be on a solid footing till Great Britain cedes to us, or we wrest from her, what nature designs we should have." 1778.

For want of a government, this boundless hope of a young and resolute people could have no adequate support in organized forces. The army, of which the head-quarters were at Middlebrook, was encamped for the winter so as to form a line of observation and defence from the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound, by way of West Point, to the Delaware. For the convenience of forage, the four regiments of cavalry were distributed among the states from Connecticut to Virginia. The troops were hutted as at Valley Forge: they suffered extreme distress for want of food; but, through importations from France, they were better clad than ever before. Officers in great numbers were quitting the service from absolute necessity, and those who remained were sinking into poverty; while the men grew impatient under their privations and want of pay. The next campaign would unavoidably prove an inactive one; so that the discontented would have leisure to discuss their hardships and brood over their wrongs.

And yet the British made no progress in recovering their colonies, and the Americans could not be subdued. An incalculable amount of energy lay in reserve in the states and in their citizens individually. Though congress possessed no effective means of strengthening the regular army, there could always be an appeal to the militia, who were

the people in arms. The strength of patriotism, however it might seem to slumber, was ready to break forth in every crisis of danger, as a beam of light ceases to be invisible when it has something to shine upon. The people never lost buoyant self-reliance, nor the readiness to make sacrifices for the public good.

The great defect lay in the absence of all means of coercion. Yet no member of congress brought forward a
1778. proposition to create the needed authority. The body representing the nation renounced powers of compulsion, and by choice devolved the chief executive acts upon the separate states. To them it was left to enforce the embargo on the export of provisions; to sanction the seizure of grain and flour for the army at established prices; to furnish their quotas of troops, and in great part to support them; and each for itself to collect the general revenue, so far as its collection was not voluntary. State governments were dearer to the inhabitants than the general government. The former were excellent; the latter was inchoate and incompetent. The former were time-honored and sanctified by the memories and attachments of generations; the latter had no associations with the past, no traditions, no fibres of inherited affection pervading the country. The states had power which they exercised to raise taxes, to pledge and keep faith, to establish order, to administer justice through able and upright and learned courts, to protect liberty and property and all that is dear in social life; the chief acts of congress were only recommendations and promises. The states were everywhere represented by civil officers in their employ; congress had no magistrates, no courts, no executive agents of its own. The tendency of the general government was towards utter helplessness; so that not from intention, but from the natural course of political development, the spirit and the habit of separatism grew with every year. In July, 1776, the United States declared themselves to have called a "people" into being; at the end of 1778, congress knew no "people of the United States," but only "inhabitants." The name of "the United States" began to give place to that of "the Confederated

States," even before the phrase could pretend to historic validity. The attempt to form regiments directly by the United States completely failed; and each 1778. state maintained its separate line. There were thirteen distinct sovereignties and thirteen armies, with scarcely a symbol of national unity except in the highest offices.

From the height of his position, Washington was the first keenly to feel and clearly to declare that efficient power must be infused into the general government. To the speaker of the house of delegates of Virginia, he wrote in December, 1778: "If the great whole is mismanaged, the states individually must sink in the general wreck; in effecting so great a revolution, the greatest abilities and the most honest men our American world affords ought to be employed." He saw "America on the brink of" destruction; her "common interests, if a remedy were not soon to be applied, mouldering and sinking into irretrievable ruin." He pleaded for "the momentous concerns of an empire," for "the great business of a nation." "The states, separately," such were his words, "are too much engaged in their local concerns." And from this time he never ceased his efforts, by conversation and correspondence, to train the statesmen of America, especially of his beloved native commonwealth, to the work of consolidating its union.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE KING OF SPAIN BAFFLED BY THE BACKWOODSMEN OF VIRGINIA.

1778–1779.

WHILE congress unwillingly gave up the hope of dislodging England from the continent of North America, the negotiations between the elder and the younger branch of the house of Bourbon changed the attitude of the belligerent powers.

1778. Oct. "I observe with pain," so reported Count Montmorin in October, and so he was obliged continually to report, "that this government singularly fears the prosperity and progress of the Americans; and this fear, which was in part the cause of its excessive ill-humor at our engagements with them, may often turn the scale to the side of the English. Spain will be much inclined to stipulate for such a form of independence as may leave divisions between England and her colonies."

The cabinet of Versailles rushed into the war to cripple England. Spain prompted inquiry into the political consequences of American independence. Letters came from the United States, filled with reports of their ineradicable attachment to England, which would be sure to show itself in future European wars; the calm reasonings of Turgot, that, from habit and consanguinity, their commerce would return to their mother country, could not be forgotten; doubts of their firmness and fidelity gradually rose up in the mind of Vergennes. Florida Blanca, who persistently proposed to bridle the dreaded ambition of the United States, by a balance of power in which England should hold the post of danger, wished her to retain posses-

sion of Canada and Nova Scotia; for it would prove a perennial source of quarrels between the British and the Americans. "On our side," wrote Vergennes simultaneously, "there will be no difficulty in guaranteeing to England Canada and all other American possessions which may remain to her at the peace." Spain desired that England after the peace might hold Rhode Island, New York, and other places along the sea; but Vergennes inflexibly answered: "To this the king cannot consent without violating the engagement contracted with the thirteen provinces, which he has recognised as free and independent states; for them only we ask independence, without comprehending other English possessions. We are very far from desiring that the nascent republic should remain the exclusive mistress of all that immense continent."

In the same spirit, the French minister at Philadelphia zealously urged members of congress to renounce every ambition for an increase of territory. A spirit of moderation manifested itself, especially in the delegation from New York. Gouverneur Morris was inclined to relinquish to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi, and, while he desired the acquisition of Canada and Nova Scotia, asserted the necessity of a law for setting a limit to the American dominion. "Our empire," said Jay, the president of congress, "is already too great to be well governed; and its constitution is inconsistent with the passion for conquest." Not suspecting the persistent hostility of Spain, as he smoked his pipe at the house of Gerard, he loudly commended the triple alliance of France, the United States, and Spain.

From the study of their forms of government, Vergennes in like manner represented to Spain that "there was no ground for seeing in this new people a race of conquerors;" and he undervalued American patriotism and firmness. To quiet the Spanish court, he further wrote in November: "Examine with reflection, collectively and in detail, the constitutions which the United States have given themselves. Their republic, unless they amend its defects, which from the diversity and even antag- 1778. Nov.

onism of their interests appears to me very difficult, will never be any thing more than a feeble body, capable of little activity."

But the fears of Florida Blanca could not be allayed. He hoped security only from further negotiations; and the United States, he was persuaded, could never conclude a peace with Great Britain except under the auspices of France and Spain, and must submit to any terms which these two powers might enjoin. But first he would know what advantages France designed to exact for herself in the final treaty of peace. For a time, Montmorin kept him at bay by vague declarations. "In a case like this," said Florida Blanca, "probability will not suffice; it is necessary to be able to speak with certainty." And, without demanding the like confidence from Spain, Vergennes in October enumerated as the only conditions which France would require: the treaty of Utrecht wholly continued or wholly abrogated; freedom to restore the harbor of Dunquerque; the coast of Newfoundland from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, with the exclusive fishery from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche. The question of a right to fortify the commercial establishment of Chandernagor fell with the surrender of that post; the insinuation of a desire to recover Canada, Vergennes always repelled as a calumny.

As the horizon began to clear, and Florida Blanca became sure of his power over France, he could not conceal his joy; and, having suffered from the irony of the Spanish ambassador at Paris, he now exclaimed: "I submit cheerfully to the satires of Aranda, to gain for myself a reputation that shall never die." From this time, he was in earnest in wishing Spain to take part in the war. But his demands, in comparison with the moderation of France, were so extravagant that he was ashamed himself to give them utterance; and in November he requested Vergennes to suggest to him the advantages which France would bind itself to secure to Spain before listening to propositions for peace. A confidential declaration that accompanied his letter marked his disposition to qualify the independence of the United States. To raise the price to be offered, the king

1778. Nov. 20.

of Spain simultaneously wrote to his nephew, Louis XVI., of his desire to avoid any part in the war; and his minister announced to the French embassy that Spain could not be induced to engage in it, except for great objects. "You know, sir, his projects," wrote Montmorin to Vergennes; "the only way to bring him to a decision is to appear to adopt them." The option was embarrassing. "Six months ago," reasoned Vergennes, "England was unprepared, and might have consented to purchase peace on conditions prescribed by the Bourbons. Now she has fortified herself on every side, and God only knows what can be attained." Yet, rather than remain in a state of isolation, Vergennes on the day before Christmas, 1778, offered the king of Spain *carte blanche* to frame a treaty which the ambassador of France at Madrid should have full power to sign. But Florida Blanca reasoned that France would be more strongly bound by articles of her own proposing, and therefore answered: "The Catholic king will not be behind the king, his nephew, in confidence. Count Vergennes may draft the convention as seems good to him, and it will certainly be signed here as soon as it shall arrive. The heart of the king, my master, knows how to reciprocate good treatment." To Montmorin he verbally explained his demands in both hemispheres. As to Europe, he said: "Without Gibraltar, I will never consent to a peace." "How are you to gain the place?" asked Montmorin; and he replied: "By siege it is impossible; Gibraltar must be taken in Ireland or in England." Montmorin rejoined: "The English must be reduced very low before they can cede Gibraltar, unless the Spaniards first get possession of it." "If our operations succeed," answered Florida Blanca, "England will be compelled to subscribe to the law that we shall dictate."
At the same time, he declared frankly that Spain 1778.
would furnish no troops for the invasion of Great Britain; France must undertake it alone; even the junction of the fleets of Brest and Cadiz to protect the landing must be of short duration.

Vergennes might have hesitated to inaugurate the hard conditions required; but reflection was lost in joy at the

prospect of the co-operation of Spain, even though that power opposed the independence of the new allies of France, and demanded French aid to dislodge them from the valley of the Mississippi.

1779. Feb. And yet disinterested zeal for freedom had not died out in the world. Early in February, 1779, Lafayette, after a short winter passage from Boston to Brest, rejoined his family and friends. His departure for America, in the preceding year, against the command of his king, was atoned for by a week's exile to Paris, and confinement to the house of his father-in-law. The king then received him at Versailles with a gentle reprimand; the queen addressed him with eager curiosity: "Tell us good news of our dear republicans, of our beloved Americans." His fame, his popularity, the social influence of his rank, were all employed in behalf of the United States. Accustomed to see great interests sustained by small means, he grudged the prodigality which expended on a single festival at court as much as would have equipped the American army. "To clothe it," said Maurepas, "he would be glad to strip Versailles." He found a ministry neglecting the main question of American independence, making immense preparations for trifling ends, and half unconscious of being at war. Public opinion in France had veered about, and everybody clamored for peace, which was to be hastened by the active alliance with Spain.

All the while, the Spanish government, in its intercourse with England, sedulously continued its offers of mediation. Lest their ambassador at London should betray the secret, he was kept in the dark, and misled; Grantham, the British ambassador at Madrid, hoodwinked by the stupendous dissimulation of Florida Blanca, wrote home in January, 1779: "I really believe this court is sincere in wishing to bring about a pacification;" and, at the end of March, the king of England still confided in the neutrality of the court of Spain. In London, there was a rumor of peace through Spanish mediation; Lord Weymouth, the ablest statesman in the cabinet, steadily repelled that mediation, unless France would cease to support the insurgent colonies.

Acting independently and from the consideration of her own interests alone, Spain evaded the question of American independence, and proposed her mediation to England on the basis of a truce of twenty-five or thirty years, to be granted by the king of England with the concurrence of Spain and France. This offer, made without consultation with Vergennes, called forth his most earnest expostulations; for, had it been accepted by the British ministry, he must have set himself at variance with Spain, or been false to his engagements with the United States. But Lord Weymouth was superior to intrigue and chicane; and with equal resolution and frankness he put aside the modified proposal "as an absolute, if not a distinct, concession of all the rights of the British crown in the thirteen colonies, under the additional disadvantage of making it to the French, rather than to the Americans themselves." If independence was to be conceded to the new states, Lord Weymouth held that it must be conceded "directly to congress, that it might be made the basis of all the advantages to Great Britain which so desirable an object might seem to be worth." Uncontrolled by entangling connections, England reserved to itself complete freedom in establishing its relations with America, whether as dependencies or as states. This policy was so founded in wisdom that it continued to be the rule of Great Britain for a little more than eighty years.

Meantime, Vergennes, on the twelfth of February, 1779. Feb. 12. forwarded the draft of a convention which yielded to Spain all that she required, except that its fourth article maintained the independence of the United States. "In respect to this," he wrote, "our engagements are precise, and it is not possible for us to retract them. Spain must share them, if she makes common cause with us." Yet the article was persistently cavilled at, as in itself useless, and misplaced in a treaty of France with Spain; and it was remarked with ill-humor how precisely the treaty stipulated "that arms should not be laid down" till American independence should be obtained, while it offered only a vague promise "of every effort" to procure the objects in which

Spain was interested. "Efface the difference," answered Montmorin, "and employ the same expressions for both stipulations." The Spanish minister caught at the unwary offer, and in this way it was agreed that peace should not be made without the restoration of Gibraltar. Fired by the prospect which now opened before him, the king of Spain pictured to himself the armies of France breaking in upon the English at their firesides; and Florida Blanca said to Montmorin: "The news of the rupture must become known to the world by a landing in England. With union, secrecy, and firmness, we shall be able to put our enemies under our feet; but no decisive blow can be struck at the English except in England itself."

All this time, the Spanish minister avoided fixing the epoch for joint active measures. Towards the end 1779. March. of March, Vergennes wrote impatiently: "How can he ask us to bind ourselves to every thing that flatters the ambition of Spain, whilst he may make the secret reserve never to take part in the war but in so far as the dangers are remote and the advantages certain? in one word, to reap without having sown?" The difficulty can be excused only by attributing it to that spirit of a pettifogger which formed the essence of his first profession, and which we have encountered only too often. I cry out less at his repugnance to guarantee American independence. Nothing is gratuitous on the part of Spain; we know from herself that she wants suitable concessions from the Americans; to this we assuredly make no opposition."

Discussing in detail with Montmorin the article relating to the Americans, Florida Blanca said: "The king, my master, will never acknowledge their independence, until the English themselves shall be forced to recognise it by the peace. He fears the example which he should otherwise give to his own possessions." "As well acknowledge their independence as accord them assistance," began Montmorin; but the minister cut him short, saying: "Nothing will come of your insisting on this article."

Now that no more was to be gained, Florida Blanca himself made a draft of a convention, and suddenly presented

it to Montmorin. A few verbal corrections were agreed upon, and on the evening of the twelfth of April the treaty was signed. 1779. Apr. 12.

By its terms, France bound herself to undertake the invasion of Great Britain or Ireland; if she could drive the British from Newfoundland, its fisheries were to be shared only with Spain. For trifling benefits to be acquired for herself, she promised to use every effort to recover for Spain Minorca, Pensacola, and Mobile, the Bay of Honduras, and the coast of Campeachy; and the two courts bound themselves not to grant peace, nor truce, nor suspension of hostilities, until Gibraltar should be restored. From the United States Spain was left free to exact, as the price of her friendship, a renunciation of every part of the basin of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, of the navigation of the Mississippi, and of all the land between that river and the Alleghanies.

This convention of France with Spain modified the treaty between France and the United States. The latter were not bound to continue the war till Gibraltar should be taken; still less, till Spain should have carried out her views hostile to their interests. They gained the right to make peace whenever Great Britain would recognise their independence.

The Mississippi River is the guardian and the pledge of the union of the states of America. Had they been confined to the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, there would have been no geographical unity between them, and the thread of connection between lands that merely fringed the Atlantic must soon have been sundered. The father of rivers gathers his waters from all the clouds that break between the Alleghanies and the furthest ranges of the Rocky Mountains. The ridges of the eastern chain bow their heads at the north and at the south; so that, long before science became the companion of man, nature herself pointed out to the barbarous races how short portages join his tributary rivers to those of the Atlantic coast. At the other side, his mightiest arm interlocks with the arms of the Oregon and the Colorado, and by the conformation of

the earth itself marshals highways to the Pacific. From his remotest springs, he refuses to suffer his waters to be divided; but, as he bears them all to the bosom of the ocean, the myriads of flags that wave above his head are the ensigns of one people. States larger than kingdoms flourish where he passes; and, beneath his step, cities start into being, more marvellous in their reality than the fabled creations of enchantment. His magnificent valley, lying in the best part of the temperate zone, salubrious and wonderfully fertile, is the chosen muster-ground of the most various elements of human culture brought together by men, summoned from all the civilized nations of the earth, and joined in the bonds of common citizenship by the strong, invisible attraction of republican freedom. Now that science has come to be the household friend of trade and commerce and travel, and that nature has lent to wealth and intellect the use of her constant forces, the hills, once walls of division, are scaled or pierced or levelled; and the two oceans, between which the republic has unassailably intrenched itself against the outward world, are bound together across the continent by friendly links of iron.

From the grandeur of destiny foretold by the possession of that river and the lands drained by its waters, the Bourbons of Spain, hoping to act in concert with Great Britain as well as France, would have shut out the United States totally and for ever.

While the absolute monarch of the Spanish dominions and his minister thought to exclude the republic from the valley of the Mississippi, a new power emerged from its forests to bring their puny policy to nought. An enterprise is now to be recorded, which, for the valor of the actors, their fidelity to one another, the seeming feebleness of their means, and the great result of their hardihood, remains for ever memorable in the history of the world. On the
1776. sixth of June, 1776, the emigrants to the region west of the Louisa River, at a general meeting in Harrodston, elected George Rogers Clark, then midway in his twenty-fourth year, and one other, to represent them in the assembly of Virginia, with a request that their settle-

ments might be constituted a county. Before they could cross the mountains, the legislature of Virginia had declared independence, established a government, and adjourned. In a later session, they were not admitted to seats in the house; but on the sixth of December the westernmost part of the state was incorporated as "the county of Kentucky." As on his return he descended the Ohio, Clark brooded over the conquest of the land to the north of the river. In the summer of 1777, he sent two young hunters to reconnoitre the French villages in Illinois and on the Wabash. 1777.

In the latter part of 1777, Clark took leave of the woodsmen of Kentucky, and departed for the east. To a few at Williamsburg, of whom no one showed more persistent zeal than George Mason and Jefferson, he proposed a secret expedition to the Illinois. Patrick Henry, the governor, made the plan his own; and, at his instance, the house of delegates, by a vote of which "few knew the intent," empowered him to aid "any expedition against their western enemies." On the second of January, 1778, Clark received from the governor and council a supply of money, liberty to levy troops in any county of Virginia, and written and verbal instructions, clothing him with large discretionary authority to attack the British dominion on the Illinois and the Wabash. Hastening to the frontier, he established recruiting parties from the head of the Ohio to the Holston. At Redstone-old-fort, with the cordial aid of Hand, its commander, he collected boats, light artillery, and ammunition. There he was overtaken by Captain Leonard Helm, of Fauquier, and by Captain Joseph Bowman, of Frederic, each with less than half a company. These and the adventurers of his own enlistment, together only one hundred and fifty men, all of a hardy race, self-relying, and trusting in one another, he was now to lead near a thousand miles from their former homes against a people who exceeded them in number and were aided by merciless tribes of savage allies. At Fort Kanawha, in May, they were re-enforced by Captain William Harrod and his company. On the day of an eclipse of the sun, they glided over the falls of the Ohio, below which they were "joined by a few 1778.

Kentuckians" under John Montgomery. On the twenty-sixth of June, after taking rest but for forty-eight hours, Clark and his companions, Virginians in the service of Virginia, set off from the falls, and with oars double-manned proceeded night and day on their ever memorable enterprise.

From Detroit, Hamilton, the lieutenant-governor, sent abroad along the American frontier parties of savages, whose reckless cruelty won his applause; and he schemed attempts against the "rebel forts on the Ohio," relying on the red men of the prairies and the white men of Vincennes. The reports sent to Germain made him believe that the inhabitants of that settlement, though "a poor people who thought themselves cast off from his majesty's protection, were firm in their allegiance to defend it against all enemies," and that hundreds in Pittsburg remained at heart attached to the crown.

On the invasion of Canada in 1775, Carleton, to strengthen the posts of Detroit and Niagara, had withdrawn the small British garrison from Kaskaskia, and the government was left in the hands of Rocheblave, a Frenchman, who had neither troops nor money. "I wish," he wrote in February, 1778, "the nation might come to know one of its best possessions, and consent to give it some encouragement;" and he entreated Germain that a lieutenant-governor might be despatched with a company of soldiers to reside in Illinois.

Apprised of the condition of Kaskaskia by a band of hunters, Clark ran his boats into a creek a mile above Fort Massac, reposed there but for a night, and struck across the hills to the great prairie. On the treeless plain, his party, "in all about one hundred and eighty," could be seen for miles around by nations of Indians, able to fall on them with three times their number; yet they were in the highest spirits; and "he felt as never again in his life a flow of rage," an intensity of will, a zeal for action. Approaching Kaskaskia on the fourth of July, in the darkness of evening he surprised the town, and without bloodshed seized Rocheblave, the commandant. The inhabitants gladly bound themselves to fealty to the United States. A detachment under Bowman was despatched to Kahokia, and received

its submission. The people, of French origin and few in number, were averse to the dominion of the English; and this disaffection was confirmed by the American alliance with the land of their ancestors.

In a long conference, Gibault, a Catholic priest, dissuaded Clark from moving against Vincennes. His own offer of mediation being accepted, he, with a small party, repaired to the post; and its people, having listened to his explanation of the state of affairs, went into the church and took the oath of allegiance to the United States. The transition from the condition of subjects of a king to that of integral members of a free state made them new men. Planning the acquisition of the whole north-west, they sent to the Indians on the Wabash five belts: a white one for the French; a red one for the Spaniards; a blue one for America; and for the Indian tribes a green one as an offer of peace, and one of the color of blood if they preferred war, with this message: "The king of France is come to life. We desire to pass through your country to Detroit. We desire you to leave a very wide path for us, for we are many in number and love to have room enough 1778. for our march; for, in swinging our arms as we walk, we might chance to hurt some of your young people with our swords."

To dispossess the Americans of the Illinois country and Vincennes, on the seventh of October Lieutenant-governor Hamilton left Detroit, with regulars and volunteers, and three hundred and fifty warriors picked by their chiefs out of thirteen different nations. On the seventeenth of December, he took possession of Fort Vincennes without opposition; and the inhabitants of the town returned to their subjection to the British king. After this exploit, he contented himself for the winter with sending out parties; but he announced to the Spanish governor his purpose early in the spring to recover Illinois; and, confident of receiving re-enforcements, he threatened that, if the Spanish officers should afford an asylum to rebels in arms against their lawful sovereign, he would invade their territory and seize the fugitives.

Hamilton was methodical in his use of Indians. He gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners. His continuous volunteer parties, composed of Indians and whites, spared neither men nor women nor children. In the coming year, he promised that as early as possible all the different nations, from the Chickasaws and Cherokees to the Hurons and Five Nations, should join in the expeditions against Virginia; while the lake Indians from Mackinaw, in conjunction with the white men, agreed to destroy the few rebels in Illinois. Meantime, that he might be prepared for his summer's bloody work, he sent out detachments to watch Kaskaskia and the falls of the Ohio, and to intercept any boats that might venture up that river with supplies for the rebels. He never doubted his ability to sweep away the forts on the Kentucky and Kanawha, ascend the Ohio to Pittsburg, and reduce all Virginia west of the mountains.

Over Clark and his party in Illinois danger hovered from every quarter. He had not received a single line from the governor of Virginia for near twelve months; his force was too small to stand a siege; his position too remote for assistance. By his orders, Bowman of Kentucky joined him, after evacuating the fort at Kahokia, and preparations were made for the defence of Kaskaskia. Just then Francis Vigo, by birth an Italian of Piedmont, a trader of St. Louis, arrived from Vincennes, and gave information that Hamilton had weakened himself by sending out hordes of Indians; that he had not more than eighty soldiers in garrison, nor more than three pieces of cannon and some swivels mounted; but that he intended to collect in spring a sufficient number of men to clear the west of the Americans before the fall.

With a courage as desperate as his situation, Clark instantly resolved to attack Hamilton before he could call in his Indians. On the fourth of February, he despatched a small galley, mounting two four-pounders and four swivels, and carrying a company of men and military stores under Captain John Rogers, with orders to ascend the Wabash, take a station a few miles below Vincennes, suffer nothing to pass, and await further instruc-

1779. Feb. 4.

tions. Of the young men of Illinois, thirty volunteered to be the companions of Clark; the rest he imbodied to garrison Kaskaskia and guard the different towns. On the seventh of February, he began his march 1779. Feb. 7. across the country with one hundred and thirty men. The inclemency of the season and high water threatened them with ruin. In eleven days, they came Feb. 18. within three leagues of Vincennes, on the edge of "the drowned lands" of the Wabash River. To cross these required five days more, during which Feb. 23. they had to make two leagues, often up to the breast in water. Had not the weather been mild, they must have perished; but the courage and confidence of Clark and his troop never flagged.

All this time, Hamilton was planning murderous expeditions. He wrote: "Next year there will be the greatest number of savages on the frontier that has ever been known, as the Six Nations have sent belts around to encourage their allies, who have made a general alliance." On the twenty-third, a British gang return- Feb. 23. ing with two prisoners reported to him that they had seen the remains of fifteen fires; and at five o'clock in the afternoon he sent out one of his captains with twenty men in pursuit of a party that was supposed to have come from Pittsburg.

Two hours after their departure, Clark and his companions got on dry land; and making no delay, with drum beating and a white flag flying, they entered Vincennes at the lower end of the village. The town surrendered without resistance, and assisted in the siege of the fort, which was immediately invested. One captain, who lived in the village, with two Ottawa chiefs and the king of the Hurons, escaped to the wood, where they were afterwards joined by the chief of the Miamis and three of his people. The moon was new; and in the darkness Clark threw up an intrenchment within rifle-shot of the fort. Under this protection, the riflemen silenced two pieces of cannon. The firing was continued for about fourteen hours, during which Clark purposely allowed La Motte and twenty men

to enter the place. The riflemen aimed so well that, 1779. Feb. 24. on the forenoon of the twenty-fourth, Hamilton asked for a parley. At first, Clark demanded his surrender at discretion. The garrison declared "they would sooner perish to the last man;" and offered to capitulate on the condition that they might march out with the honors of war, and return to Detroit. "To that," answered Clark, "I can by no means agree. I will not again leave it in your power to spirit up the Indian nations to scalp men, women, and children." About twelve o'clock, the firing was renewed on both sides; and, before the twenty-fourth came to an end, Hamilton and his garrison, hopeless of succor and destitute of provisions, surrendered as prisoners of war.

A very large supply of goods for the British force was on its way from Detroit. Sixty men, despatched by Clark in boats well mounted with swivels, surprised the convoy forty leagues up the river, and made a prize of the whole, taking forty prisoners. The joy of the party was completed by the return of their messenger from Virginia, bringing from the house of assembly its votes of October and November, 1778, establishing the county of Illinois, and "thanking Colonel Clark and the brave officers and men under his command for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance, and for the important services which they had thereby rendered their country."

Since the time of that vote, they had undertaken a far more hazardous enterprise, and had obtained permanent "possession of all the important posts and settlements on the Illinois and Wabash, rescued the inhabitants from British dominion, and established civil government" in its republican form.

The conspiracy of the Indians embraced those of the south. Early in the year 1779, Cherokees and warriors from every hostile tribe south of the Ohio, to the number of a thousand, assembled at Chickamauga. To restrain their ravages, which had extended from Georgia to Pennsylvania, the governments of North Carolina and Virginia appointed Evan Shelby to command about a thousand

men, called into service chiefly from the settlers beyond the mountains. To these were added a regiment of twelve-months men, that had been enlisted for the re-enforcement of Clark in Illinois. Their supplies and means of transportation were due to the unwearied and unselfish exertions of Isaac Shelby. In the middle of April, embarking in pirogues and canoes at the mouth of Big Creek, they descended the river so rapidly as to surprise the savages, who fled to the hills and forests. They were pursued, and forty of their warriors fell, their towns were burnt, their fields laid waste, and their cattle driven away. 1779. April.

Thus the plans of the British for a combined attack, to be made by the northern and southern Indians upon the whole western frontier of the states from Georgia to New York, were defeated. For the rest of the year, the western settlements enjoyed peace; and the continuous flow of emigration through the mountains to Kentucky and the country on the Holston so strengthened them that they were never again in danger of being broken up by any alliance of the savages with the British. The prowess of the people west of the Alleghanies, where negro slavery had not yet been introduced and every man was in the full possession of a wild but self-restrained liberty, fitted them for self-defence. The men on the Holston exulted in all the gladsome hopefulness of political youth and enterprise; and, in this year, Robertson with a band of hunters took possession of the surpassingly fertile country on the Cumberland River.

Clark could not pursue his career of victories; for the regiment designed for his support had been diverted, and thus the British gained time to re-enforce and fortify Detroit. But Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, gave instructions to occupy a station on the Mississippi, between the mouth of the Ohio and the parallel of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes; and, in the spring of 1780, Clark, choosing a strong and commanding situation five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, established Fort Jefferson as the watch on the father of rivers. 1780.

1778. Meantime, in the summer of 1778, news was received of the conquest of the British settlements on the lower Mississippi. James Willing of Philadelphia, a captain in the service of the United States, left that city with about twenty-seven men, who grew to be more than a hundred at Fort Pitt and on the rivers. On the evening of Thursday, the nineteenth of February, 1778, they arrived at the Natchez landing, and early the next morning sent out several parties, who almost at the same moment made the inhabitants prisoners of war on parole, hoisted the colors of the United States, and in their name took possession of the country. The British agents, who had taken part in stimulating the south-western savages to prowl on the American frontiers, had a very narrow escape. One of the most obnoxious fled in his shirt to the Spanish fort of Manchac.

The friendly planters, left unprotected, and fearing the confiscation of their property, waited on the commander to propose terms of accommodation, to which he readily agreed. Accordingly, on the twenty-first, they formally promised on their part in no way to give assistance to the enemies of America, and in return received the assurance of protection during their neutrality. From this agreement were excepted all public officers of the crown of Great Britain. The property of British officers and non-residents was confiscated, and all the eastern side of the river was cleared of loyalists.

From Pittsburg and Kaskaskia to the Spanish boundary of Florida, the United States were alone in possession of the Ohio and the left bank of the Mississippi. Could the will of Charles III. of Spain defeat the forethought of Jefferson? Could the intrigues of Florida Blanca stop the onward wave of the backwoodsmen? The legislature of Virginia put on record, that "Colonel George Rogers Clark planned and executed the reduction of the British posts between the Ohio and Mississippi," and granted "two hundred acres of land to every soldier in his corps." "The expedition," wrote Jefferson, "will have an important bearing ultimately in establishing our north-western boundary."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PLAN OF PEACE.

1779.

For the northern campaign of 1779 two objects presented themselves to America: the capture of Fort Niagara, to be followed by that of Detroit; and the recovery of New York city. But either of these schemes would have required an army of thirty thousand men; while the fall of the currency, party divisions, and the want of a central power paralyzed every effort at a harmonious organization of the strength of all the states. Washington remained more than a month at Philadelphia in consultation with congress, and all agreed that the country must confine itself to a defensive campaign. 1779.

Measures for the relief of the national treasury were postponed by congress from day to day, apparently from thoughtlessness, but really from conscious inability to devise a remedy; while it wasted time upon personal and party interests. Gates was more busy than ever in whispers against Washington. Most men thought the war near its end; the skilfully speculative grew rich by the fluctuations in prices, and shocked a laborious and frugal people by their extravagant style of living. The use of irredeemable paper poisoned the relations of life, and affected contracts and debts, trusts and inheritances. Added to this, the British had succeeded in circulating counterfeit money so widely, that congress in January was compelled to recall two separate emissions, each of five millions. Jan.

Even a defensive campaign was attended with difficulties. To leave the officers, by the depreciation of the currency, without subsistence, augured the reduction of the army to

a shadow. Few of them were willing to remain on the existing establishment, and congress was averse to granting pensions to them or to their widows.

The rank and file were constantly decreasing in number, and not from the casualties of the service alone. Many would have the right to their discharge in the coming summer; more at the end of the year. To each of them who would agree to serve during the war, a bounty of two hundred dollars, besides land and clothing, was promised; while those who had in former years enlisted for the war received a gratuity of one hundred dollars. Yet all would have been in vain but for the character of the people. Among the emigrants, some mere needy adventurers joined the English standard; others of serious convictions, united with the descendants of the early settlers of the country, formed the self-reliant, invincible resource of the Americans. If Washington could not drive the British from New York, neither could England recover jurisdiction over a foot of land beyond the lines of her army.

1779. March. Tardily in March, congress voted that the infantry should consist of eighty battalions, of which eleven were assigned to Pennsylvania, as many to Virginia, and fifteen to Massachusetts. Not one state furnished its whole quota; the last-named more nearly than any other. In addition to the congressional bounty, New Jersey paid two hundred and fifty dollars to each of her recruits. Often in Massachusetts, sometimes in Virginia, levies were raised by draft.

Four years of hard service and of reflection had ripened in Washington the conviction of the need of a national government. To other states than his native commonwealth he made appeals for the subordination of every selfish interest to the public good; so that, in the want of a central government, each of them might do its utmost for what he called "our common country, America," "our noble cause, the cause of mankind." But to the men of Virginia he unbosomed himself more freely. His was the eloquence of a sincere, single-minded, and earnest man, whose words went to the heart from his love of truth and the intensity

of his convictions. To one Virginia statesman he wrote: "Our affairs are now come to a crisis. Unanimity, disinterestedness, and perseverance in our national duty are the only means to avoid misfortunes." In a "letter sent by a private hand," he drew the earnest thoughts of George Mason to the ruin that was coming upon the country from personal selfishness and provincial separatism in these words: "I view things very differently from what the people in general do, who seem to think the contest is at an end, and to make money and get places the only things now remaining to do. I have seen without despondency, even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones; but I have beheld no day, since the commencement of hostilities, that I have thought her liberties in such eminent danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure; and unless the bodies politic will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed, we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger till within these three months. Our enemies behold with exultation and joy how effectually we labor for their benefit; and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn to affairs in Europe. The former — alas! to our shame be it spoken — is less likely to happen than the latter.

"Were I to indulge my present feelings, and give a loose to that freedom of expression which my unreserved friendship for you would prompt me to, I should say a great deal on this subject. I cannot refrain lamenting, however, in the most poignant terms, the fatal policy too prevalent in most of the states, of employing their ablest men at home in posts of honor and profit, till the great national interest is fixed upon a solid basis. To me it appears no unjust simile to compare the affairs of this great 1779.

continent to the mechanism of a clock, each state representing some one or other of the smaller parts of it, which they are endeavoring to put in fine order, without considering how useless and unavailing their labor is, unless the great wheel or spring which is to set the whole in motion is also well attended to and kept in good order. As it is a fact too notorious to be concealed, that congress is rent by party, no man who wishes well to the liberties of his country and desires to see its rights established can avoid crying out, Where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson, and others. Do not, from a mistaken opinion, let our hitherto noble struggle end in ignominy. Believe me, when I tell you there is danger of it. I shall be much mistaken if administration do not now, from the present state of our currency, dissensions, and other circumstances, push matters to the utmost extremity. Nothing will prevent it but the interposition of Spain, and their disappointed hope from Russia."

1779. May 18. On the eighteenth of May he wrote to another friend: "I never was, and much less reason have I now to be, afraid of the enemy's arms; but I have no scruples in declaring to you that I have never yet seen the time in which our affairs, in my opinion, were at as low an ebb as at the present; and, without a speedy and capital change, we shall not be able to call out the resources of the country."

While Washington reasoned that the British ministers plainly intended to prosecute the war on American soil, and to make a permanent conquest of the south, congress avoided or delayed the expense of proper re-enforcements of its army, and lulled itself into the belief that hostilities were near their end. In this quiet, it was confirmed by a proceeding of the French minister, who had been specially commanded to ascertain its ultimate demands, and to mould them into a form acceptable to Spain. Its answer to the British commissioners in 1778 implied a willingness to treat with Great Britain on her recognition of American independence. "It has but one course to take," wrote Vergennes,

before his treaty with Spain; "and that is to declare distinctly and roundly that it will listen to no proposition, unless it has for its basis peace with France as well as with America." On the report of an able committee on which are found the names of Samuel Adams and Jay, congress, on the fourteenth of January, 1779, resolved unanimously "that as neither France nor these United States may of right, so they will not, conclude either truce or peace with the common enemy, without the formal consent of their ally first obtained." 1779. Jan. 14.

The conditions on which it was most difficult for the Americans to preserve moderation related to boundaries and to the fisheries. They were to take their place in the political world as an unknown power, of whose future influence both France and Spain had misgivings. The latter longed to recover the Floridas: the United States had no traditional wish for their acquisition; and, from the military point of view, Washington preferred that Spain should possess the Floridas rather than Great Britain. Here no serious difference could arise.

Spain wished to extend on the north to the Ohio, on the east to the Alleghanies; but the backwoodsmen were already in possession of the territory, and it would have been easier to extirpate the game in the forests than to drive them from their homes.

Spain made the exclusive right to the navigation of the Mississippi the condition of her endurance of the United States; and it remained to be seen whether they could be brought by their necessities to acquiesce in the demand. It was the wish of both France and Spain that the country north-west of the Ohio River should be guaranteed to Great Britain; but such a proposition could never gain a hearing in congress. France, renouncing for herself all pretensions to her old provinces, Canada and Nova Scotia, joined Spain in opposing every wish of the Americans to acquire them. In this congress acquiesced, though two states persisted in demanding their annexation.

With regard to the fisheries, of which the interruption formed one of the elements of the war, public law had not

yet been settled. By the treaty of Utrecht, France agreed not to fish within thirty leagues of the coast of Nova Scotia; and by that of Paris, not to fish within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton. Moreover, New England at the beginning of the war had by act of parliament been debarred from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. What right of legislation respecting them would remain at the peace to the parliament of England? Were they free to the mariners of all nations? and what limit was set to the coast fisheries by the law of nature and of nations? "The fishery on the high seas," so Vergennes expounded the law of nations, "is as free as the sea itself, and it is superfluous to discuss the right of the Americans to it. But the coast fisheries belong of right to the proprietary of the coast. Therefore, the fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, of Nova Scotia, of Canada, belong exclusively to the English; and the Americans have no pretension whatever to share in them."

1779. But they had hitherto almost alone engaged in the fisheries on the coast of Nova Scotia and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; deeming themselves to have gained a right to them by exclusive and immemorial usage. Further, the New England men had planned and had alone furnished land forces for the first reduction of Cape Breton, and had assisted in the acquisition of Nova Scotia and Canada. The fisheries on their coasts seemed to them, therefore, a perpetual joint property. Against this, Vergennes argued that the conquest had been made for the crown of Great Britain; and that the New England men, on ceasing to be the subjects of that crown, lost all right in the coast fisheries.

The necessity of appeals to France for aid promoted obsequiousness to its wishes. He that accepts subsidies binds his own hands, and consents to play a secondary part. A needy government, reduced to expedients for getting money, loses some degree of its consideration.

To persuade congress to propitiate Spain by conceding all her demands, the French minister at Philadelphia sought interviews with its separate members and with its newly appointed committee on foreign affairs, which was composed of one from each state; and insisted with them on the

relinquishment of the fisheries, and of the valley and navigation of the Mississippi. It was answered that that valley was already colonized by men who would soon be received into the union as a state. He rejoined that personal considerations must give way to the general interests of the republic; that the king of Spain, if he engaged in the war, would have equal rights with the United States to acquire territories of the king of England; that the persistence in asserting a right to establishments on the Ohio and the Illinois, and at Natchez, would exhibit an unjust desire of conquest; that such an acquisition was foreign to the principles of the American alliance with France, and of the system of union between France and Spain, as well as inconsistent with the interests of the latter power; and he formally declared "that his king would not prolong the war one single day to secure to the United States the possessions which they coveted."

"Besides, the extent of their territory rendered already a good administration difficult: so enormous an increase would cause their immense empire to crumble under its own weight." Gerard terminated his very long conversation by declaring the strongest desire "that the United States might never be more than thirteen, unless Canada should one day be received as the fourteenth." The president of congress, still confiding in the triple alliance, avowed himself content with the boundary of the colonies at the breaking out of the revolution, and the French minister did not doubt of success in extorting the concessions required by Spain.

On the fifteenth of February, Gerard in a private audience represented to congress that the price which Spain put upon her friendship was Pensacola and the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi; if her wishes were not complied with, Spain and England might make common cause against America. 1779. Feb. 15.

Two days after this private interview, congress referred the subject of the terms of peace to a special committee of five, composed of Gouverneur Morris, of New York; Burke, of North Carolina; Witherspoon of New Feb. 17.

Jersey; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; and Smith, of Virginia. Of these, Samuel Adams demanded the most territory; while Morris would rather have had no increase than more lands at the south.

1779. Feb. 23. On the twenty-third, the committee reported their opinion, that the king of Spain was disposed to enter into an alliance with the United States, and that consequently independence must be finally acknowledged by Great Britain. This being effected, they proposed as their ultimatum that their territory should extend from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the Floridas to Canada and Nova Scotia; that the right of fishing and curing fish on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland should belong equally to the United States, France, and Great Britain; and that the navigation of the Mississippi should be free to the United States down to their southern boundary, with the benefit of a free port below in the Spanish dominions.

Mar. 19. Congress, in committee of the whole, on the nineteenth of March, agreed substantially to the report on boundaries, yet with an option to adopt westward from Lake Ontario the parallel of the forty-fifth degree of latitude. The right to the fisheries was long under

Mar. 22. discussion, which ended with the vote that the common right of the United States to fish on the coasts, bays, and banks of Nova Scotia, the banks of Newfoundland and Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Straits of Labrador and Belle-Isle, should in no case be given up. On the twenty-

Mar. 24. fourth, ten states against Pennsylvania alone, New Hampshire and Connecticut being divided, refused to insert the right to navigate the Mississippi. On that subject the instructions were silent, for it was a question with Spain alone; Great Britain, according to the American intention, was to possess no territory on the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth.

On the same day, Gerry obtained a reconsideration of the article on the fisheries. The treaty of Utrecht divided those of Newfoundland between Great Britain and France, on the principle that each should have a monopoly of its

Richard Henry Lee brought up the subject anew, and, avoiding a collision with the monopoly of France, he proposed that the right of fishing on the coasts and banks of North America should be reserved to the United States as fully as they enjoyed the same when subject to Great Britain. This substitute was carried by the vote of Pennsylvania and Delaware, with the four New England states.

But the state of New York, guided by Jay and Gouverneur Morris, altogether refused to insist on a right by treaty to fisheries; and Gouverneur Morris, on the eighth of May, calling to mind "the exhausted situation of the United States, the derangement of their finances, and the defect of their resources," moved that the acknowledgment of independence should be the sole condition of peace. The motion was declared to be out of order by the votes of the four New England states, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, against the unanimous vote of New York, Maryland, and North Carolina; while Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina were equally divided. 1779. May 8.

The French minister now intervened; and, on the twenty-seventh of May, congress went back to its unmeaning resolve, "that by no treaty of peace should the common right of fishing be given up." May 27.

On the third of June, Gerry, who was from Marblehead, again appeared as the champion of the American right to the fisheries on banks or coasts, as exercised during their political connection with Great Britain. He was in part supported by Sherman; but New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island alone sustained a right to the fisheries on the coasts of British provinces; and, though Pennsylvania came to their aid, the "Gallican party," by a vote of seven states against the four, set aside the main question; so that congress refused even to stipulate for the "free and peaceable use and exercise of the common right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland." June 3.

In the preceding December, Marie Antoinette, after many years of an unfruitful marriage, gave birth to a daughter. On the fifteenth of June, congress, congratulating the king of France on the event, asked June 15.

for "the portraits of himself and his royal consort, to be placed in their council chamber, that the representatives of these states might daily have before their eyes the first royal friends and patrons of their cause." This was not merely the language of adulation. The Americans felt the sincerest interest in the happiness of Louis XVI. An honest impulse of gratitude gave his name to the city which overlooks the falls of the Ohio; and when, in 1781, a son was born to him, Pennsylvania commemorated the event in the name of one of its counties. In later years, could the voice of the United States have been heard, he and his wife and children would have been saved, and welcomed to their country as an asylum. On the same day, congress solicited supplies from France to the value of nearly three millions of dollars, to be paid for, with interest, after the peace.

1779. June 17. On the seventeenth, performing a great day's work, it went through the remainder of the report of its committee. The independence or cession of Nova Scotia was waived; nor was the acquisition of the Bermudas to be mooted. A proposal to yield the right to trade with the East Indies was promptly thrown out. A clause stipulating not to engage in the slave-trade was rejected by a unanimous vote of twelve states, Georgia being absent; Gerry and Jay alone dissenting.

The committee proposed to bind the United States never to extend their dominion beyond the limits that might be fixed by the treaty of peace; but the article was set aside. Before the close of the day, every question on the conditions of peace was decided; the "Gallicans" congratulated themselves that the long struggle was ended in their favor; and Dickinson of Delaware, Gouverneur Morris of New York, and Marchant of Rhode Island, two of whom were of that party, were appointed to prepare the commission for the American minister who should be selected to negotiate a peace.

June 19. Suddenly, on the nineteenth of June, the contentment of the French minister and his friends was disturbed. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, evading a breach

of the rules of congress by a change in form, moved resolutions, that the United States have a common right with the English to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and the other fishing-banks and seas of North America. The demand was for no more than Vergennes confessed to belong to them by the law of nations; and Gerry insisted that, unless the right received the guarantee of France or the consent of Great Britain, the American minister should not sign any treaty of peace without first consulting congress. A most stormy and acrimonious debate ensued. The friends of France resisted the resolutions with energy and bitterness, as absurd and dangerous, sure to alienate Spain, and contrary to the general longing for peace. Four states declared peremptorily that, should such a system be adopted, they would secede from the confederation; and they read the sketch of their protest on the subject. Congress gave way in part, but by the votes of the four New England states and Pennsylvania against New York, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, with New Jersey, Delaware, and South Carolina divided, they affirmed the common right of the Americans to fish on the Grand Banks; and they asked for that right the guarantee of France in the form of an explanatory article of existing treaties.

The French minister took the alarm, and sought an 1779.
interview with the president of congress and two other members equally well disposed to his policy. Finding them inclined to yield to New England, he interposed that disunion from the side of New England was not to be feared, for its people carried their love of independence even to delirium. He added: "There would seem to be a wish to break the connection of France with Spain; but I think I can say that, if the Americans should have the audacity to force the king of France to choose between the two alliances, his decision will not be in favor of the United States; he will certainly not expose himself to consume the remaining resources of the kingdom for many years, only to secure an increase of fortune to a few shipmasters of New England. I shall greatly regret on account of the Americans, should Spain enter into war without a convention with them."

The interview lasted from eight o'clock in the evening till an hour after midnight; but the hearers of Gerard would not undertake to change the opinion of congress; and the result was, therefore, a new interview on the twelfth of July between him and that body in committee of the whole. Of the committee on foreign affairs, eight accepted the French policy. Jay, with other members, gained over votes from the "Anti-Gallican" side; and, after long debates and many divisions, the question of the fisheries was reserved to find its place in a future treaty of commerce with Great Britain. The proposition to stipulate a right to them in the treaty of peace was indefinitely postponed by the votes of eight states against New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania; Georgia alone being absent.

1779. July 12.

The French minister desired to persuade congress to be willing to end the war by a truce, after the precedents of the Swiss cantons and the United Netherlands. Burke, of North Carolina, seconded by Duane, of New York, wished no more than that independence should be tacitly acknowledged; but congress required that, previous to any treaty of peace, the independence of the United States should, on the part of Great Britain, be "assured."

Further, Gerard wished America to bring about the accession of Spain to the alliance by trusting implicitly to the magnanimity of the Spanish king; otherwise, he said, "you will prevent his Catholic majesty from joining in our common cause, and from completing the intended triumvirate." But congress was not ready to give up the navigation and left bank of the Mississippi. It therefore escaped from an immediate decision by resolving to send a plenipotentiary of its own to Spain.

The minister to be chosen to negotiate a peace was, by a unanimous vote, directed to require "Great Britain to treat with the United States as sovereign, free, and independent," and the independence was to be effectually confirmed by the treaty. Nova Scotia was desired; but the minister might leave the north-eastern boundary "to be adjusted by commissioners after the peace." The guarantee of an

equal common right to the fisheries was declared to be of the utmost importance, but was not made an ultimatum, except in the instructions for the treaty of commerce with England. At the same time, the American minister at the court of France was instructed to concert with that power a mutual guarantee of their rights in the fisheries as enjoyed before the war.

The plan for a treaty with Spain lingered a month longer. On the seventeenth of September, congress offered to guarantee to his Catholic majesty the Floridas, if they should fall into his power, "provided always that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the Mississippi, into and from the sea." The great financial distress of the states was also to be made known to his Catholic majesty, in the hope of a subsidy or a guarantee of a loan to the amount of five millions of dollars. 1779. Sept. 17.

On the twenty-sixth of September, congress proceeded to ballot for a minister to negotiate peace; John Adams being nominated by Laurens, of South Carolina, while Smith, of Virginia, proposed Jay, who was the candidate favored by the French minister. On two ballots, no election was made. A compromise reconciled the rivalry; Jay, on the twenty-seventh, was elected envoy to Spain. The civil letter in which Vergennes bade farewell to John Adams on his retiring from Paris was read in congress in proof that he would be most acceptable to the French ministry; and, directly contrary to its wishes, he was chosen to negotiate the treaty of peace as well as an eventual treaty of commerce with Great Britain. Sept. 26. Sept. 27.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE WAR IN THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT.

1779.

WHILE congress employed the summer in debates on the conditions of peace, the compulsory inactivity of the
1779. British army at the north encouraged discontent and intrigues. There rose up in rivalry with Clinton a body styling themselves "the loyal associated refugees," who were impatient to obtain an independent organization under Tryon and William Franklin. Clinton wrote that his resources were insufficient for active operations: the refugees insisted that more alertness would crush the rebellion; they loved to recommend the employment of hordes of savages, and to prepare for confiscating the property of wealthy rebels by their execution or exile.

The Virginians, since the expulsion of Lord Dunmore, free from war within their own borders, were enriching themselves by the unmolested culture of tobacco, which was exported through the Chesapeake; or, when that highway was unsafe, by a short land carriage to Albemarle
May 9. Sound. On the ninth of May, two thousand men under General Matthew, with five hundred marines, anchored in Hampton Roads. The next day, after occupying Portsmouth and Norfolk, they burned every house but one in Suffolk county, and plundered or ruined all perishable property. The women and unarmed men were given over to violence and death. Parties from a sloop of war and privateers entered the principal waters of the Chesapeake, carried off or wasted stores of tobacco heaped on their banks, and burned the dwellings of the planters. Before the end of the month, the predatory expedition,

having destroyed more than a hundred vessels, arrived at New York with seventeen prizes and three thousand hogsheads of tobacco.

The legislature of Virginia, which was in session at Williamsburg during the invasion, retaliated by confiscating the property of British subjects within the commonwealth. An act of a previous session had directed debts due to British subjects to be paid into the loan-office of the state. To meet the public exigencies, a heavy poll-tax was laid on all servants or slaves, as well as a tax payable in cereals, hemp, inspected tobacco, or the like commodities; and the issue of one million pounds in paper money was authorized. Every one who would serve at home or in the continental army during the war was promised a bounty of seven hundred and fifty dollars, an annual supply of clothing, and one hundred acres of land at the end of the war; pensions were promised to disabled soldiers and to the widows of those who should find their death in the service; half-pay for life was voted to the officers. Each division 1779.
of the militia was required to furnish for the service one able-bodied man out of every twenty-five, to be drafted by fair and impartial lot.

The law defining citizenship will be elsewhere explained; the code in which Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton adapted the laws of Virginia to reason, the welfare of the whole people, and the republican form of government, was laid before the legislature. The law of descents abolished the rights of primogeniture, and distributed real as well as personal property equally among brothers and sisters. The punishment of death was forbidden, except for treason and murder. A bill was brought in to organize schools in every county, at the expense of its inhabitants, in proportion to the general tax-rates; but in time of war, and in the scattered state of the inhabitants, it was not possible to introduce a thorough system of universal education.

The preamble to the bill for establishing religious freedom, drawn by Jefferson, expressed the ideas of America: "that belief depends not on will, but follows evidence; that God hath created the mind free; that temporal punishment

or civil incapacitations only beget hypocrisy and meanness; that the impious endeavor of fallible legislators and rulers to impose their own opinions on others hath established and maintained false religions; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion destroys all religious liberty; that truth is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them."

It was therefore proposed to be enacted by the general assembly: "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his belief; but all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion; and the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities. And we do declare that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind."

These enunciations of Jefferson on the freedom of conscience expressed the forming convictions of the people of the United States; the enactment was delayed that the great decree, which made the leap from an established church to the largest liberty of faith and public worship, might be adopted with the solemnity of calm deliberation and popular approval. Who would wish that a state which used its independent right of initiating and establishing laws, by abolishing the privileges of primogeniture, by cutting off entails, by forbidding the slave-trade, and by presenting the principle of freedom in religion as the inherent and inalienable possession of spiritual being, should have remained without the attribute of original legislation?

1779. May 30. The British expedition to the Chesapeake, after its return to New York, joined a detachment conducted by Clinton himself forty miles up the Hudson to gain possession of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. The garrison withdrew from their unfinished work at Stony Point. The commander at Verplanck's Point, waiting to be closely

invested by water, on the second of June made an inglorious surrender. The British fortified and garrisoned the two posts which commanded King's ferry, and left the Americans no line of communication between New York and New Jersey, south of the highlands. 1779. June 2.

A pillaging expedition, sent to punish the patriotism of Connecticut, was intrusted to Tryon. The fleet and transports arrived off New Haven; and, at two in the morning of the fifth of July, one party landed suddenly on the west of the town, another on the east. Every thing was abandoned to plunder: vessels in the harbor, public stores, and the warehouses near the sound, were destroyed by fire. The soldiers, demoralized by license, lost all discipline, and the next morning retired before the Connecticut militia, who left them no time to execute the intention of General Smith to burn the town. At East Haven, where Tryon commanded, dwelling-houses were fired and cattle wantonly killed; but his troops were in like manner driven to their ships. Some unarmed inhabitants had been barbarously murdered, others carried away as prisoners. The British ranks were debased by the large infusion of convicts and vagabonds recruited from the jails of Germany. July 5. July 6.

On the afternoon of the seventh, the expedition landed near Fairfield. The village, a century and a quarter old, situated near the water, with a lovely country for its background, contained all that was best in a New England community: a moral, well-educated, industrious people; modest affluence; well-ordered homes; many freeholders as heads of families; all of unmixed lineage, speaking the language of the English Bible. Early Puritanism had smoothed its rugged features under the influence of a region so cheerful and benign; and an Episcopal church, that stood by the side of the larger meeting-house, proved their toleration. A parish so prospering, with inhabitants so cultivated, had not in that day its parallel in England. The husbandmen who came together were too few to withstand the unforeseen onslaught. The Hessians were the first who were let loose to plunder, and every dwelling was July 7.

given up to be stripped. Just before the sun went down, the firing of houses began, and was kept up through the night with little opposition, amidst the vain "cries of distressed women and helpless children." Early the next morning, the conflagration was made general. When at the return of night the retreat was sounded, the rear-guard, composed of Germans, set in flames the meeting-house and every private habitation that till then had escaped. At Green Farms, a meeting-house and all dwellings and barns were consumed.

1779. July 8.

On the eleventh, the British appeared before Norwalk, and burned its houses, barns, and places of public worship. Sir George Collier and Tryon, the British admiral and general, in their address to the inhabitants of Connecticut, said: "The existence of a single habitation on your defenceless coast ought to be a constant reproof to your ingratitude." The British had already lost nearly a hundred and fifty men, but the survivors were gorged with plunder.

July 11.

The town of New London was selected as the next victim; but Tryon was recalled to New York by a disaster which had befallen the British. No sooner had they strongly fortified themselves at Stony Point, than Washington, after ascertaining exactly the character of their works, formed a plan for carrying them by surprise. Wayne, of whom he made choice to lead the enterprise, undertook the perilous office with alacrity, and devised improvements in the method of executing the design.

Stony Point, a hill just below the Highlands, projects into the Hudson, which surrounds three fourths of its base; the fourth side was covered by a marsh, over which there lay but one pathway; where this road joined the river, a sandy beach was left bare at low tide. The fort, which was furnished with heavy ordnance and garrisoned by six hundred men, crowned the hill. Half-way between the river and the fort there was a double row of abattis. Breastworks and strong batteries could rake any column which might advance over the beach and the marsh. From the river, vessels of war commanded the foot of the hill. Con-

ducting twelve hundred chosen men in single file over mountains and through morasses and narrow passes, Wayne halted them at a distance of a mile and a half from the enemy, while with the principal officers he reconnoitred the works. About twenty minutes after twelve on the morning of the sixteenth, the assault began, the troops placing their sole dependence on the bayonet. Two advance parties of twenty men each, in one of which seventeen out of the twenty were killed or wounded, removed the abattis and other obstructions. Wayne, leading on a regiment, was wounded in the head, but, supported by his aids, still went forward. The two columns, heedless of musketry and grape-shot, gained the centre of the works nearly at the same moment. On the right, Fleury struck the enemy's standard with his own hand, and was instantly joined by Stewart, who commanded the van of the left. British authorities declare that the Americans "would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword;" but continental soldiers scorned to take the lives of a vanquished foe begging for mercy, and "not one man was put to death but in fair combat." Of the Americans, but fifteen were killed; of the British, sixty-three; and five hundred and forty-three officers and privates were made prisoners. The war was marked by no more brilliant achievement. 1779. July 16.

The diminishing numbers of the troops with Washington not permitting him to hold Stony Point, the cannon and stores were removed and the works razed. Soon afterwards the post was reoccupied, but only for a short time, by a larger British garrison.

The enterprising spirit of Major Henry Lee, of Virginia, had already been applauded in general orders; and his daring proposal to attempt the fort at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, obtained the approval of Washington. The place was defended by a ditch, which made of it an island, and by lines of abattis, but was carelessly guarded. The party with Lee was undiscovered, until, in the morning of the nineteenth of August, before day, they plunged into the canal, then deep from the rising tide. Finding an entrance into the main work, and passing Aug. 19.

through a fire of musketry from block-houses, they gained the fort before the discharge of a single piece of artillery. This they achieved within sight of New York, and almost within the reach of its guns. After daybreak, they withdrew, taking with them one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners.

Moved by the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry valley, congress, on the twenty-fifth of February, had directed Washington to protect the inland frontier and chastise the Seneca Indians. Of the two natural routes to their country, both now traversed by railroads, that of the Susquehannah was selected for three thousand men of the best continental troops, who were to rally at Wyoming; while one thousand or more of the men of New York were to move from the Mohawk River.

Before they could be ready, a party of five or six hundred men, led by Van Schaick and Willet, made a swift march of three days into the country of the Onondagas, and, without the loss of a man, destroyed their settlement.

The great expedition was more tardy. Its command, which Gates declined, devolved on Sullivan, to whom
1779. May. Washington in May gave repeatedly the instruction: "Move as light as possible even from the first onset. Should time be lost in transporting the troops and stores, the provisions will be consumed, and the whole enterprise may be defeated. Reject every article that can be dispensed with; this is an extraordinary case, and requires extraordinary attention." Yet Sullivan made insatiable demands on the government of Pennsylvania.

While he was wasting time in finding fault and writing strange theological essays, the British and Indian partisans near Fort Schuyler surprised and captured twenty-nine mowers. Savages under Macdonell laid waste the country on the west bank of the Susquehannah, till "the Indians," by his own report, "were glutted with plunder, prisoners, and scalps." Thirty miles of a closely settled country were burnt. Brant and his crew consumed with fire all the settlement of Minisink, one fort excepted. Over a party of a hundred and fifty men, by whom they were pursued,

they gained the advantage, taking more than forty scalps and one prisoner.

The best part of the season was gone when Sullivan, on the last of July, moved from Wyoming. 1779. July. His arrival at Tioga sent terror to the Indians. Several of their chiefs said to Colonel Bolton in council: "Why does not the great king, our father, assist us? Our villages will be cut off, and we can no longer fight his battles."

On the twenty-second of August, the day after he Aug. 22. was joined by New York troops under General James Clinton, Sullivan began his march up the Tioga into the heart of the Indian country. On the same day, Little David, a Mohawk chief, delivered a message from himself and the Six Nations to Haldimand, then governor of Canada: "Brother! for these three years past the Six Nations have been running a race against fresh enemies, and are almost out of breath. Now we shall see whether you are our loving, strong brother, or whether you deceive us. Brother! we are still strong for the king of England, if you will show us that he is a man of his word, and that he will not abandon his brothers, the Six Nations."

The savages ran no risk of a surprise; for, during all the expedition, Sullivan, who delighted in the vanities of command, fired a morning and evening gun. On the twenty-ninth, he opened a distant and useless can- Aug. 29. nonade against breastworks which British rangers and men of the Six Nations — in all about eight hundred — had constructed at Newtown; and they took the warning to retire, before a party which was sent against them could strike them in the rear.

The march into the country of the Senecas on the left extended to Genesee; on the right, detachments reached Cayuga Lake. After destroying eighteen villages and their fields of corn, Sullivan, whose army had suffered for want of supplies, returned to New Jersey. Meantime, a small party from Fort Pitt, under command of Colonel Brodhead, broke up the towns of the Senecas upon the upper branch of the Alleghany. The manifest inability of Great Britain

to protect the Six Nations inclined them at last to desire neutrality.

1779. June. In June, the British general Maclean, who commanded in Nova Scotia, established a British post of six hundred men at what is now Castine, on Penobscot Bay. To dislodge the intruders, the Massachusetts legislature sent forth nineteen armed ships, sloops, and brigs; two of them continental vessels, the rest privateers or belonging to the state. The flotilla carried more than three hundred guns, and was attended by twenty-four transports, having on board nearly a thousand men. So large an American armament had never put to sea. A noble public spirit roused all the towns on the coast, and they spared no sacrifice to insure a victory. But the troops were commanded by an unskilled militia general; the chief naval officer was self-willed and
July 25. incapable. Not till the twenty-fifth of July did the expedition enter Penobscot Bay. The troops, who
July 28. on the twenty-eighth gallantly effected their landing, were too weak to carry the works of the British by storm; the commodore knew not how to use his mastery of the water; and, while a re-enforcement was on the
Aug. 14. way, on the fourteenth of August Sir George Collier arrived in a sixty-four gun ship, attended by five frigates. Two vessels of war fell into his hands; the rest and all the transports fled up the river, and were burnt by the Americans themselves, who escaped through the woods. The British were left masters of the country east of the Penobscot.

Yet, notwithstanding this signal disaster, the main result of the campaign at the north promised success to America. For want of re-enforcements, Clinton had evacuated Stony Point and Rhode Island. All New England, west of the Penobscot, was free from an enemy. In Western New York, the Senecas had learned that the alliance with the English secured them gifts, but not protection. On the Hudson River, the Americans had recovered the use of King's ferry, and held all the country above it. The condition of the American army was indeed more deplorable than ever. The winter set in early and with unwonted

severity. Before the middle of December, and long before log huts could be built, the snow lay two feet deep in New Jersey, where the troops were cantoned; so that they saved themselves with difficulty from freezing by keeping up large fires. Continental money was valued at no more than thirty for one, and even at that rate the country people took it unwillingly. The credit of congress being exhausted, there could be no regularity in supplies. Sometimes, the army was five or six days together without bread; at other times, as many without meat; and, once or twice, two or three days without either. It must have been disbanded, but that such was the honor of the magistrates of New Jersey, such the good disposition of its people, that the requisitions made by the commander in chief on its several counties were punctually complied with, and in many counties exceeded. For many of the soldiers, the term of service expired with the year; and shorter enlistments, by which several states attempted to fill their quotas, were fatal to compactness and stability. Massachusetts offered a bounty of five hundred dollars to each of those who would enlist for three years or the war, and found few to accept the offer. The Americans wanted men and wanted money, and yet could not be subdued. An incalculable strength lay in reserve in the energy of the states and of their citizens individually. Though congress possessed no power of coercion, there could always be an appeal to the militia, who were the people themselves; and their patriotism, however it might seem to slumber, was prepared to show itself in every crisis of danger. The buoyancy of hope, and the readiness to make sacrifices for the public good, were never lost; and neither congress nor people harbored a doubt of their ultimate triumph. All accounts agree that, in the coldest winter of the century, the virtue of the army was put to the severest trial; and that their sufferings for want of food and of clothes and blankets were borne with the most heroic patience. 1779.

In this hour of affliction, Thomas Pownall, a member of parliament, who, from observation, research, and long civil service in the central states and as governor of Massachu-

setts, knew the United States as thoroughly as any man in Britain, published in England, in the form of a memorial to the sovereigns of Europe, these results of his experience: —

1780. Jan. "The present crisis may be wrought into the greatest blessing of peace, liberty, and happiness, which the world hath ever yet experienced." "The system of establishing colonies in various climates, to create a monopoly of the peculiar product of their labor, is at end." "It has advanced, and is every day advancing, with a steady and continually accelerating motion, of which there has never yet been any example in Europe." "Nature hath removed her far from the Old World and all its embroiled interests and wrangling politics, without an enemy, or a rival, or the entanglement of alliances." "This new system has taken its equal station with the nations upon earth." "Negotiations are of no consequence, either to the right or the fact." "The independence of America is fixed as fate."

"The government of the new empire of America is liable, indeed, to many disorders; but it is young and strong, and will struggle by the vigor of internal healing principles of life against those evils, and surmount them. Its strength will grow with its years, and it will establish its constitution."

"Whether the West Indies are naturally parts of this North American communion is a question of curious speculation, but of no doubt as to the fact. The European maritime powers may by force, perhaps for an age longer, preserve the dominion of these islands. The whole must in the course of events become parts of the great North American dominion."

"The continent of South America is much further advanced to a natural independence of Europe as to its state of supply than the powers of Europe or its own inhabitants are conscious of." "Whatever sovereignty the Spanish monarch holds is a mere tenure at good-will. South America is growing too much for Spain to manage: it is in power independent, and will be so in act as soon as any occasion shall call forth that power."

"In North America, the civilizing activity of the human race forms the growth of state." "In this New World, we see all the inhabitants not only free, but allowing an universal naturalization to all who wish to be so." 1780. Jan.
"In a country like this, where every man has the full and free exertion of his powers, an unabated application and a perpetual struggle sharpens the wits, and gives constant training to the mind." "The acquirement of information gives the mind thus exercised a turn of inquiry and investigation, which forms a character peculiar to these people. This inquisitiveness, which, when exerted about trifles, goes even to a degree of ridicule, is yet in matters of business and commerce most useful and efficient. Whoever has viewed these people in this light will consider them as animated with the spirit of the new philosophy. Their system of life is a course of experiments; and, standing on that high ground of improvement up to which the most enlightened parts of Europe have advanced, like eaglets they commence the first efforts of their pinions from a towering advantage."

"America is peculiarly a poor man's country. The wisdom and not the man is attended to. In this wilderness of woods, the settlers move but as nature calls forth their activity." "They try experiments, and the advantages of their discoveries are their own. They supply the islands of the West Indies, and even Europe itself. The inhabitants, where nothing particular directs their course, are all landworkers. One sees them laboring after the plough, or with the spade and hoe, as though they had not an idea beyond the ground they dwell upon; yet is their mind all the while enlarging all its powers, and their spirit rises as their improvements advance. This is no fancy drawing of what may be: it is an exact portrait of what actually exists. Many a real philosopher, a politician, a warrior, emerge out of this wilderness, as the seed rises out of the ground where it hath lain buried for its season."

"In agriculture, in mechanic handicrafts, the New World hath been led to many improvements of implements, tools, and machines, leading experience by the hand to many a new invention. This spirit of thus analyzing the mechanic

powers hath established a kind of instauration of science in that branch. The settlers find fragments of time in which they make most of the articles of personal wear and household use for home consumption. Here, no laws frame conditions on which a man is to exercise this or that trade. Here, no laws lock him up in that trade. Here are no oppressing, obstructing, dead-doing laws. The moment that the progress of civilization is ripe for it, manufactures will grow and increase with an astonishing exuberancy."

1780. Jan. "The same ingenuity is exerted in ship-building; their commerce hath been striking deep root." "The nature of the coast and of the winds renders marine navigation a perpetually moving intercourse of communion; and the nature of the rivers renders inland navigation but a further process of that communion; all which becomes, as it were, a one vital principle of life, extended through a one organized being, one nation." "Will that most enterprising spirit be stopped at Cape Horn, or not pass the Cape of Good Hope? Before long, they will be found trading in the South Sea, in Spice Islands, and in China."

"This fostering happiness in North America doth produce progressive population. They have increased nearly the double in eighteen years."

"Commerce will open the door to emigration. By constant intercommunion, America will every day approach nearer and nearer to Europe." "Unless the great potentates of Europe can station cherubim at every avenue with a flaming sword that turns every way, to prevent man's quitting this Old World, multitudes of their people, many of the most useful, enterprising spirits, will emigrate to the new one. Much of the active property will go there also."

"North America is become a new primary planet, which, while it takes its own course in its own orbit, must shift the common centre of gravity."

"Those sovereigns of Europe, who shall find this new empire crossing all their settled maxims and accustomed measures, will call upon their ministers and wise men: 'Come, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me.' These statesmen will be dumb, but the spirit of truth

will answer: 'How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed.'"

"Those sovereigns of Europe, who shall call upon their ministers to state to them things as they really do exist in nature, shall form the earliest, the most sure and natural connection with North America, as being, what she is, an independent state." "The new empire of America is like a giant ready to run its course. The fostering care with which the rival powers of Europe will nurse it insures its establishment beyond all doubt or danger."

So prophesied Pownall to the English world and to Europe in the first month of 1780. Since the issue of the war is to proceed in a great part from the influence of European powers, it behooves us now to study the course of their intervention. 1780. Jan.

CHAPTER XL.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN EUROPE.

1779.

FREDERIC of Prussia had raised the hope that he would follow France in recognising the independence of the
1779. United States; but the question of the Bavarian succession, of which the just solution also affected the cause of human progress, compelled him to stand forth as the protector of his own dominions against mortal danger, and as the champion of Germany; so that in his late old age, broken as he was in every thing but spirit, he joined with Saxony to stay the aggressions of Austria on Bavarian territory. "At this moment," wrote he to his envoys, "the affairs of England with her colonies disappear from
1778. my eyes." To William Lee, who in March, 1778, importuned his minister Schulenburg for leave to reside at Berlin as an American functionary, he minuted this answer: "We are so occupied with Germany that we cannot think of the Americans: we should be heartily glad to recognise them; but at this present moment it could do them no good, and to us might be very detrimental."

The unseasonable importunities of Lee in the year of war continued till he was dismissed from office by congress. Their effect was only to make Frederic more reserved. From his camp he always put them aside, yet with gentleness and caution. He could not receive the prizes of the Americans at Embden, because he had no means to protect that harbor against aggression: they might purchase in his dominions munitions of war; and their merchants would be received in his ports on the same terms as the merchants of all other countries.

Meantime, the British ministry, abandoning the scheme of destroying Prussian influence at Petersburg, sought rather to propitiate Frederic, as the best means of gaining favor in Russia; and authorized its minister at Berlin to propose an alliance. But Frederic saw that the influence which had ruled England in 1762 was still paramount, and that the offers of friendship were insincere. "I have no wish to dissemble," so he answered in January, 1778; "whatever pains may be taken, I will never lend myself to an alliance with England. I am not like so many German princes, to be gained by money. My unalterable principle is not to contract relations with a power which, like England in the last war, has once deceived me so unworthily."

Nevertheless, the British cabinet persisted in seeking aid from Russia and the friendship of the king of Prussia. But from Petersburg Harris wrote: "They never will be brought to subscribe to any stipulations in favor of our contest with the colonies." "Our influence, never very high, has quite vanished." Frederic relented so far as to allow a few recruits for the English army to pass through his dominions; and, as a German prince, he let it be known that he would save Hanover from French aggression; but proposals for closer relations with England were inflexibly declined. "He is hostile," wrote Suffolk, "to that kingdom to whose liberal support in the last war he owes his present existence amongst the powers of Europe;" and the British ministry of that day looked upon the aid which he had received in the time of the elder Pitt as a very grave mistake. Prussia should have been left to perish. 1778.

Through his minister in France, Frederic sent word to Maurepas and Vergennes: "All the pains which the king of England may take to make an alliance with me will be entirely thrown away. The interests of the state and my own views turn in another direction." "Peace is as dear and precious to me as to the ministry of Versailles; but, as nothing less is at stake than the liberty and constitutions of all the Germanic body, I, one of their principal bulwarks, should fail in duty as an elector, if I were willing to acquiesce in the despotism of Austria. Rather than be guilty of

such weakness, I should prefer eternal war to peace." "Now is the moment," he warned his minister, "to exert all your power: the deaf must hear; the blind see; the lethargic wake up." "Last year," he continued, "I saw that France could not avoid war with England; I offer my vows for the success of the French;" and he added in his own hand: "The Austrians wish openly to subjugate the empire, abolish the constitutions, tyrannize the liberty of voices, and establish their own absolute and unlimited power on the ruins of the ancient government. Let him who will bear such violences: I shall oppose them till death closes my eyes." Since France would not fulfil her guarantee of the peace of Westphalia, Frederic desired at least a formal and positive assurance of her neutrality. "As to the French ministers," said he, "I admire their apathy; but, if I were to imitate it, I should surely be lost." The queen of France besought her husband, even with tears, to favor the designs of the court of Vienna, and bitterly complained that neutrality had been promised by his cabinet; but the king turned aside her entreaties, remarking that these affairs ought never to become the subject of their conversation. The interference made the ministry more dissembling and more inflexible. For himself, Louis XVI. had no partiality for Austria; and Maurepas retained the old traditions of the French monarchy. Moreover, he was willing to see Prussia and Austria enfeeble each other, and exhibit to the world France in the proud position of arbiter between them.

The promptness with which Frederic interposed for the rescue of Bavaria, his disinterestedness, the fact that he had justice as well as the laws of the empire on his side, and his right by treaty to call upon his ally, Russia, for aid,
1779. enabled him under the mediation of France and Russia to bring his war with Austria to an end, almost before France and Spain had come to an understanding.

Joseph of Austria, like Frederic, had liberal aspirations, but with unequal results. The one was sovereign over men substantially of one nationality. The other was a monarch not only over Germans, but over men of many languages and races. Frederic acted for and with his people; and

what he accomplished was sure to live, for it had its root in them. The reforms of Joseph were acts of power which had their root only in his own mind, were never identified with his subject nations, and therefore, for the most part, had not a life even as long as his own. Frederic bounded his efforts by his means; Joseph, by his desires. Frederic attempted but one thing at once, and for that awaited the favoring moment; the unrest of Joseph stirred up every power to ill wishes, by seeking to acquire territory alike from German princes, in Italy, on the coast of the Adriatic, and on the Danube; and he never could abide his opportunity, and never confine himself to one enterprise long enough for success. He kept up, at least in name, his alliance with France; while he inclined to the ancient connection of the Hapsburgs with England, and was pleased at the insignificance of the successes of the Bourbons. Vergennes, on the other side, aware of his insincerity, pronounced Austria to be in name an ally, in fact a rival. Austria and Prussia resumed their places among European powers, each to have an influence on American affairs: the former to embarrass the independence of the United States; the latter to adopt the system of neutrality, just when that system could benefit them most. The benefit, however, came not from any intention of Frederic to subordinate the interests of his own dominions to those of a republic in another hemisphere, but from the coincidence of the interests of the two new powers.

With the restoration of peace, Austria and Russia 1779.
contested the honor of becoming mediators between the Bourbons and England. Their interference was desired by neither party; yet both France and England were unwilling to wound the self-love of either of them. Austria, though the nominal ally of France, excluded the question of American independence; on the contrary, Catharine, in whose esteem Fox and the English liberal party stood higher than the king and the ministry, inclined to propositions friendly to America. Maria Theresa, who truly loved peace, was the first to declare herself. On the fifteenth of May, she wrote in her own hand to Charles III. of Spain, in the hope

still to be able to hold him back from war; and she sent a like letter to her son-in-law at Versailles. Kaunitz followed with formal proposals of mediation to France and England. In an autograph letter, the king of Spain put aside the interference of the empress, under the plea that the conduct of England had made his acceptance of it inconsistent with his honor: and on the sixteenth of June, between twelve and one o'clock, his ambassador in London delivered to Lord Weymouth a declaration of war; but neither there nor in his manifesto was there one word relating to the war in America.

1779. June 16.

Now that Great Britain, without a single ally, was to confront Spain and France and the United States, no man showed more resoluteness than its king. He was impatient at the "over-caution" of his admirals, and sought to breathe his own courage into his ministers. Spain stood self-condemned; for an offer of mediation implies impartiality, and her declaration of war showed the malice of a predetermined enemy. In reply to that declaration, Burke, Fox, and their friends, joined in pledging the house of commons and the nation to the support of the crown. Fifty thousand troops defended the coasts, and as many more of the militia were enrolled to repel invasion. The oscillation of the funds did not exceed one per cent. But opinion more and more condemned the war of England with her children, denied to parliament the right of taxing unrepresented colonies, and prepared to accept the necessity of recognising their independence. In the commons, Lord John Cavendish, true to the idea of Chatham, moved for orders to withdraw the British forces employed in America; to the lords, the Duke of Richmond proposed a total change of measures in America and Ireland; and both were supported by increasing numbers. The great land-owners were grown sick of taxing America. Lord North was frequently dropping hints to the king that the advantage to be gained by continuing the contest would never repay the expenses; and the king, though unrelenting in his purpose of reducing the colonies to obedience, owned that the man who should approve the taxing of them in connection with

all its consequences was more fit for a mad-house than for a seat in parliament.

On the twenty-first of June, he summoned his ministers to his library; and at a table, at which all were seated, he expressed to them in a speech of an hour and a half "the dictates of his frequent and severe self-examination." Inviting the friends of Grenville to the support of the administration, he declared his unchanging resolution to carry on the war against America, France, and Spain. Before he would hear of any man's readiness to come into office, he would expect to see it signed under his hand, that he was resolved to keep the empire entire, and that consequently no troops should be withdrawn from America nor its independence ever be allowed. "If his ministers would act with vigor and firmness, he would support them against wind and tide." Yet the ministry was not united; and, far from obtaining recruits from the friends of Grenville, it was about to lose its members of the Bedford connection. The chief minister, cowering before the storm, and incapable of forming a plan for the conduct of the war, repeatedly offered his resignation, as an excuse for remaining in office without assuming the proper responsibility of his station. Confiding in the ruin of the American finances and in recruiting successfully within the states, the king was certain that, but for the intervention of Spain, the colonies would have sued to the mother country for pardon; and "he did not despair that, with the activity of Clinton and the Indians in their rear, the provinces would even now submit." But his demands for an unconditional compliance with his American policy riveted every able statesman in a united opposition. He had no choice of ministers but among weak men. So the office made vacant by the death of Lord Suffolk, the representative of the Grenville party, was reserved for Hillsborough. "His American sentiments," said the king, "make him acceptable to me." Yet it would have been hard to find a public man more ignorant or more narrow, more confused in judgment or faltering in action; nor was he allowed to take his seat till Weymouth had withdrawn. 1779 June 21.

To unite the house of Bourbon in the war, France had

bound herself to the invasion of England. True to her covenant, she moved troops to the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, and engaged more than sixty transport vessels of sixteen thousand tons' burden. The king of Spain would not listen to a whisper on the hazard of the undertaking, for which he was to furnish no contingent, and only the temporary use of twenty ships to help in crossing the channel. Florida Blanca, who dared not dispute his unreasoning impatience, insisted on an immediate descent on England without regard to risk. Vergennes, on the other hand, held the landing of a French army in England to be rash, until a naval victory over the British should have won the dominion of the water.

The fitting out of the expedition had been intrusted to Sartine, the marine minister, and to D'Orvilliers, its commander. Early in June, the French fleet of thirty-one ships of the line yielded to Spanish importunities, and, before they could be ready with men or provisions, put to sea from Brest; and yet they were obliged to wait off the coast of Spain for the Spaniards. After a great loss of time in the best season of the year, a junction was effected with more than twenty ships-of-war under the separate command of Count Gaston; and the combined fleet sailed for the British channel. Never before had so large a force been seen afloat; and in construction the Spanish ships were equal or superior to the English. Charles of Spain pictured to himself the British escaping in terror from their houses before the invaders. King George longed to hear that Sir Charles Hardy, who had under his command more than forty ships of the line, had dared with inferior numbers to bring the new armada to battle. "Every thing," wrote Marie Antoinette, "depends on the present moment. Our fleets being united, we have a great superiority. They are in the channel; and I cannot think without a shudder that, from one moment to the next, our destiny will be decided."

The united fleet rode unmolested by the British: Sir Charles Hardy either did not or would not see them.
1779. Aug. 18. On the sixteenth of August, they appeared off Plymouth, but did not attack the town. After two idle

days, a strong wind drove them to the west. Montmorin had written to Vergennes: "I hope the Spanish marine will fight well; but I should like it better if the English, frightened at their number, would retreat to their own harbors without fighting." When the gale had abated, the allies rallied, returned up the channel, and the British retreated before them. 1779.

No harmony existed between the French and Spanish officers. A deadly malady ravaged the French ships and infected the Spaniards. The combined fleet never had one chief. The French returned to port, where they remained; the Spaniards, under their independent commander, sailed for Cadiz, execrating their allies. The wrath of their admiral was so great that he was ready to give his parole of honor never to serve against England, while he would with pleasure serve against France. It was the sentiment of them all.

The immense preparations of the two powers had not even harmed British merchant vessels on their homeward voyages. The troops that were to have embarked for England were wasted by dysentery in their camps in Normandy and Brittany. There was a general desolation. The French public complained relentlessly of D'Orvilliers. "The doing of nothing at all will have cost us a great deal of money," wrote Marie Antoinette to her mother. There was nothing but the capture of the little island of Grenada for which a Te Deum could be chanted in Paris. Maria Theresa continued to offer her mediation, whenever it should best suit the king. "We shall feel it very sensibly if any other offer of mediation should be preferred to ours." So she wrote to her daughter, who could only answer: "The nothingness of the campaign removes every idea of peace."

During the attempt at an invasion of England, the allied belligerents considered the condition of Ireland. "To separate Ireland from England, and form it into an independent government like that of America," wrote Vergennes, "I would not count upon the Catholics, although they form the largest and the most oppressed part of the nation. But the principle of their religion attaches them specially to the

monarchical system. It is otherwise with the numerous Presbyterians who inhabit the north of Ireland. Their fanaticism makes them enemies of all civil or religious authority concentrated in a chief. They aspire to nothing but to give themselves a form of government like that of the united provinces of America." "It is not easy to find a suitable emissary. Irishmen enough press around me; but, being all Catholics, they have no connection except among their countrymen of their own communion, who have not energy enough to attempt a revolution. The Presbyterians, being by their principles and by their characters more enterprising, more daring, more inimical to royal authority, and even more opposed to us, it is to them that I ought to address myself; for, if they determine to rise, our hand will not be recognised in the work." An American was selected as the agent of France, and instructed to form close relations with the principal Presbyterians, especially with the ministers. After gaining their confidence, he might offer to become their mediator with France.

1779. The French ambassador at Madrid advised Florida Blanca to send an agent to the Irish Catholics. At the same time, he reported to his government wisely: "The troubles in Ireland can be regarded only as a diversion, useful by dividing the attention of England. An insurrection in Ireland cannot have success as in America." The emissary selected in Spain was a Catholic priest, who was promised a bishopric if he should succeed in his undertaking. He could have no success. After the first shedding of American blood in 1775, one hundred and twenty-one Irish Catholics, having indeed no formal representative authority, yet professing to speak not for themselves only, but "for all their fellow Roman Catholic Irish subjects," had addressed the English secretary in Ireland, "in proof of their grateful attachment to the best of kings, and their just abhorrence of the unnatural American rebellion," and had "made a tender of two millions of faithful and affectionate hearts and hands in defence of his person and government in any part of the world."

Vergennes learned from his agent, as well as from other sources, that the Irish association aimed only to extort the concession of free trade, and was combined with readiness to oppose foreign invasion. "The movements of the Irish," he wrote, towards the close of the year, "are those of a people who wish to profit by circumstances to redeem themselves from oppressions; but there is no design of separating from the crown of England." "The Irish nation seems to wish to depend on the royal prerogative alone, and to throw off the yoke of the British parliament. This is aiming at independence, not by breaking all bonds as America has done, but by making them so weak that they become precarious. The irreconcilable interests of the two peoples can but keep them in a continual state of rivalry and even of quarrel. It will be difficult for a king of Great Britain to hold the balance even; and, as the scale of England will be the best taken care of, the less favored people will naturally tend to a complete secession. We have nothing better to do than tranquilly to watch the movement."

Greater energy was displayed by Spain in her separate acts. As soon as the existence of war between that power and Great Britain was known at New Orleans, Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, drew together all the troops under his command to drive the British from the Mississippi. Their posts were protected by less than five hundred men; Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, abandoning Manchac as untenable, sustained a siege of nine days at Baton Rouge, and on the twenty-first of September made an honor- 1779.
able capitulation. The Spaniards planned the recovery of East Florida, prepared to take the posts of Pensacola and Mobile, and captured or expelled from Honduras the British logwood cutters. In Europe, their first act was the siege of Gibraltar.

Still more important were the consequences of the imperious manner in which Great Britain violated the maritime rights of neutrals, substituting its own will alike for its treaties and the law of nations. But these events, which for half a century scattered the seeds of war, need to be explained at large.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE ARMED NEUTRALITY.

1778–1780.

THE immunity of neutral flags is unknown to barbarous powers. The usages of the middle ages condemned as lawful booty the property of an enemy, though under the flag of a friend; but spared the property of a friend, though under the flag of an enemy. Ships, except they belonged to the enemy, were never confiscated. When the Dutch republic took its place among the powers of the earth, crowned with the honors of martyrdom in the fight against superstition, this daughter of the sea, whose carrying trade exceeded that of any other nation, became the champion of the more humane maritime code, which protected the neutral flag everywhere on the great deep. In the year 1646, these principles were imbodied in a commercial treaty between the republic and France. When Cromwell was protector, when Milton was Latin secretary, the rights of neutrals found their just place in the treaties of England, in 1654 with Portugal, in 1655 with France, in 1656 with Sweden. After the return of the Stuarts, they were recognised, in 1674, in their fullest extent by the commercial convention between England and the Netherlands.

In 1689, after the stadholder of the United Provinces had been elected king of England, his overpowering influence drew the Netherlands into an acquiescence in a declaration that all ships going to or coming from a French port were good prizes; but it was recalled upon the remonstrance of neutral states. The rights of neutral flags were confirmed by France and England in the peace of Utrecht. The benefits of the agreement extended to Denmark, as

entitled to all favors granted to other powers. Between 1604 and 1713, the principle had been accepted in nearly twenty treaties. When, in 1745, Prussian ships, laden with wood and corn, were captured on the high seas and condemned in English courts, Frederic, without a navy and even without one deep harbor, without a treaty, resting only on the law of nations, exacted full indemnity from England. The neutral flag found protection in the commercial treaty negotiated in 1766 by the Rockingham ministry with Russia, whose interests as the chief producer of hemp required the strictest definition of contraband. Of thirty-seven European treaties made between 1745 and 1780, but two have been found which contain conditions contravening neutral rights.

In 1778, after France became connected with the United States, England looked to Russia for aid, the United States to the Dutch republic for good-will. The former, though aware of the disinclination of Russia and of Frederic, was so anxious to counterbalance the family compact of the Bourbons that it risked the proposal of an offensive and defensive alliance with them both. Count Panin, the only statesman much listened to by the empress in the discussion of foreign affairs, "was beyond the reach of corruption, and, in all transactions where he moved alone, acted with integrity and honor." To the renewed overture of Harris, he frankly replied that Russia never would stipulate advantages to Great Britain in its contest with its colonies, and "never would guarantee its American dominions." 1778.

After the avowal by France of its treaties with the colonies, the British minister at Petersburg asked an audience of the empress; his request was refused, and all his complaints of the "court of Versailles drew from her only civil words and lukewarm expressions of friendship." But when, in the summer, the "General Mifflin," an American privateer, hovered off the North Cape, and took seven or more British vessels bound for Archangel, Panin informed Harris ministerially, that although the vessels which were taken were foreign, yet it was the Russian trade which was molested; that, so long as the British treated the Americans

as rebels, the court of Petersburg would look upon them as a people not yet entitled to recognition. For the
1778. next year, the empress proposed the equipment of a line of cruisers to ply between Revel and Archangel, for the protection of all ships of foreign nations coming to trade in her dominions.

Long years of peace had enriched the Netherlands by prosperous manufactures and commerce, so that they became the bankers of all nations. Their own funds, bearing but two and a half per cent interest, rose from six to ten per cent above par; but of their importance the words of Lord North were: "When the Dutch say, 'we maritime powers,' it reminds me of the cobbler who lived next door to the lord mayor, and used to say, 'my neighbor and I.'"

In the American war, the Dutch republic was the leading neutral power; but the honor of its flag was endangered by the defects in its constitution. Its forms of procedure made legislation dilatory, and tended to anarchy. Each of the seven provinces was represented in the states-general, which had jurisdiction over questions relating to the union; but the limit of their powers was not clearly defined. The provinces voted by states, but before the vote any state might insist on referring the subject of discussion to the several provinces, which again might consult the towns. When these delays were overcome, there still remained a doubt in what cases absolute unanimity of the states was required. The presidency changed every week, passing by turns through the several provinces. The ancient subordination of the stadholder to the king of Spain became in the republic a subordination to the states-general, on whose acts he had a veto. In the council of state, he was the first member with the right of voting, but not the president; his authority was chiefly executive, and was greatest in the army and navy.

From the vast superiority of Holland in wealth and numbers, the first minister of that province, called the Grand Pensionary, had access to the states-general as well as to the states of Holland, and was the first minister of the republic, transacting its affairs with all envoys resident at the

Hague. It was very common for him to bring business in the first instance before the states of Holland, by whom it might be recommended to the states-general. To this latter body the Dutch envoys abroad addressed their despatches.

One party in the republic looked upon the states-general as imbodying the sovereignty of the United Provinces; others attributed sovereignty to each state, and even to the several cities and communes.

The republic was further distracted by foreign influence. Some of its public men still lingeringly leaned on England; others longed to recover the independence of the nation by friendship with France. It would have been a happiness for the United Provinces if its stadholder had been true to them. But William V., of the house of Orange, a young, weak, and incompetent prince, without self-reliance and without nobleness of nature, was haunted by the belief that his own position was obtained and could be preserved only by the influence of Great Britain; and from dynastic selfishness he followed the counsels of that power. Nor was his sense of honor so nice as to save him from asking and accepting pecuniary aid to quiet internal discontent.

The chief personal counsellor of the stadholder was his former guardian, Prince Louis of Brunswick. No man could be less influenced by motives of morality or fidelity to the land in whose army he served, and he was always at the beck of the British ambassador at the Hague. The secretary Fagel was, like his ancestors, devoted to England. The grand pensionary, Van Bleiswijck, had been the selection of Prince Louis. He was a weak politician, and inclined to England, but never meant to betray his country.

Thus all the principal executive officers were attached to Great Britain; Prince Louis and the secretary Fagel as obsequious vassals.

France had a controlling influence in no one of the provinces; but, in the city of Amsterdam, Van Berckel, its pensionary, was her "friend." In January, 1778, before her rupture with England, the French ambassador at the Hague was instructed to suggest a convention between the states-general, France, and Spain, for liberty of

1778. Jan.

navigation. As the proposal was put aside by the grand pensionary, Vergennes asked no more than that the Netherlands in the coming contest would announce to the court of London their neutrality, and support it without concessions. The treaties of alliance with England promised it no support in an aggressive war, and no guarantee of its colonies in America. Besides, "the Dutch," as Vergennes observed, "will find in their own history an apology for the French treaty with America." The interior condition of the Netherlands, their excessive taxes, their weakness on sea and land, the decay of their military spirit, the precarious condition of their possessions in the two Indies, imposed upon them the most perfect neutrality. But neutrality to be respected needs to be strong. As England did not disguise her aggressive intentions, the city of Amsterdam and Van Berckel sought to strengthen the Dutch navy, but were thwarted by Prince Louis, Fagel, and the stadholder. The English party favored an increase of the army; and, to the great discontent of the stadholder, they were defeated by the deputies of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Dort, and Delft. The Dutch were still brave, provident, and capable of acts of magnanimity; but they were betrayed by their selfish executive and the consequent want of unity of action.

1778. Apr. 28. In April, 1778, the American commissioners at Paris, — Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, — in a letter to the grand pensionary, Van Bleiswijck, proposed a good understanding and commerce between the two nations, and promised to communicate to the states-general their commercial treaty with France. The Dutch government through all its organs met this only overture of the Americans by silence and total neglect. It was neither put in deliberation nor answered. The British secretary of state could find no ground for complaint whatever.

Still the merchants of Amsterdam saw in the independence of the United States a virtual repeal of the British navigation acts; and the most pleasing historical recollections of the Dutch people were revived by the rise of the new republic.

In July, the king of France published a declaration

protecting neutral ships, though bound to or from hostile ports, and though carrying contraband goods, unless the contraband exceeded in value three fourths of the cargo. But the right was reserved to revoke these orders, if Great Britain should not within six months grant reciprocity.

The commercial treaty between France and the United States was, about the same time, delivered to the grand pensionary and to the pensionary of Amsterdam. The former took no notice of it whatever. Van Berckel, in the name of the regency of Amsterdam, wrote to an American correspondent at the Hague: "With the new republic, clearly raised up by the help of Providence, we desire leagues of amity and commerce, which shall last to the end of time." Yet he acknowledged that these wishes were the wishes of a single city, which could not bind even the province to which it belonged. Not one province, nor one city; not Holland, nor Amsterdam; no, not even one single man, whether in authority or in humble life, — appears to have expected, planned, or wished a breach with England; and they always to the last rejected the idea of a war with that power as an impossibility. The American commissioners at Paris, being indirectly invited by Van Berckel to renew the offer of a treaty of commerce between the two republics, declined to do so; for, as the grand pensionary had not replied to their letter written some months before, "they apprehended that any further motion of that kind on their part would not at present be agreeable."

Meantime, one Jan de Neufville, an Amsterdam merchant, who wished his house recommended to good American merchants, and who had promised more about an American loan than he could make good, had come in some way to know William Lee, an alderman of London as well as an American commissioner to Vienna and Berlin, and with the leave of the burgomasters of Amsterdam met him at Aix-la-Chapelle, and concerted terms for a commercial convention, proper in due time to be entered into between the two republics. When Lee communicated to the commissioners at Paris this project of a convention, they re- 1778.

minded him that the authority for treating with their high mightinesses belonged exclusively to themselves, and they looked upon his act as a nullity. The American congress likewise took no notice of his intermeddling, and in the following June dismissed him from its service. Amsterdam disclaimed "the absurd design of concluding a convention independent of their high mightinesses." "The burgomasters only promised their influence in favor of a treaty of amity between the two powers, when the independence of the United States of America should be recognised by the English."

1778. Sept. To get rid of every thing of which England could complain, the offer made in April by Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, to negotiate a treaty of commerce between America and the Netherlands, together with a copy of the commercial treaty between the United Oct. States and France, was, near the end of October, communicated to the states-general. They promptly consigned the whole matter to rest in the manner which the stadholder had concerted, and which met exactly the "hope" of the British secretary of state.

During the summer of 1778, British cruisers and privateers, swept on by the greed that masters the mind of those whose only object is spoil, scoured the seas in quest of booty. Other nations suffered, but none like the Netherlands. To the complaints of the Dutch that the clearest language of treaties was disregarded, the Earl of Suffolk answered that the British ambassador at the Hague should have instructions to negotiate with the republic new stipulations for the future; but for the present, treaty or no treaty, England would not suffer materials for ship-building to be taken by the Dutch to any French port; and its cruisers and its admiralty were instructed accordingly. Had the stadholder been of an heroic nature, the nation might have shown once more their greatness of soul as of old; but, to complete the tribulations of the Dutch, he brought all his influence to the side of England. On the thirtieth Dec. 30 of December, 1778, the states-general asserted their right to the commercial freedom guaranteed by the

law of nations and by treaties; and yet of their own choice voted to withhold convoys, where the use of them would involve a conflict with Great Britain.

During the summer, the flag of Denmark, of Sweden, of Prussia, had been disregarded by British privateers, and they severally demanded of England explanations. Vergennes seized the opportunity to fix the attention of Count Panin. "The empress," so he wrote towards the end of the year to the French minister in Russia, "will give a great proof of her dignity and equity, if she will make common cause with Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and the king of Prussia." "She would render to Europe a great service, if she would bring the king of England to juster principles on the freedom of navigation of neutral ships. Holland arms its vessels to convoy its merchant fleet; Denmark announces that in the spring it will send out a squadron for the same object; Sweden will be obliged to take the like resolution. So many arrangements can easily give rise to troublesome incidents, and kindle a general maritime war. It would be easy for the empress to secure the prosperity of the commerce of Russia by supporting with energetic representations those of other neutral nations." 1778.

In an interview with Panin, the Swedish envoy invited the Russian court to join that of Stockholm in forming a combined fleet to protect the trade of the north. Denmark, he said, would no doubt subscribe to the plan, and the commerce of the three countries, now so interrupted, would no longer be molested. The summons was heard willingly by Panin, who, on one of the last days of December, spoke to the British minister very plainly: "Denmark, Sweden, and Holland have respectively solicited the empress to join with them in a representation to you on this subject; and she cannot see with indifference the commerce of the north so much molested by your privateers. The vague and uncertain definition given by you to naval and warlike stores exposes almost all the productions of these parts to be sequestered. It becomes the empress, as a leading power on this side Europe, to expostulate with you, and express her desire of some alteration in your regulations, and that you

would put more circumspection in your mode of proceeding against the ships of neutral states." The British minister defended the British definition of "naval stores." Count Panin answered with a smile: "Accustomed to command at sea, your language on maritime subjects is always too positive." Harris deprecated any formal remonstrance against the British treatment of neutral powers as an appearance of disunion between the two courts. Panin replied: "I am sorry to hear you say what you do, as I have the orders of the empress to prepare a representation."

Thus far had Russia moved for the protection of neutral commerce before the end of 1778. But her plan for 1779. 1779 did not equal the grandeur of her conceptions; for it aimed at no more than an agreement with Denmark and Sweden to exclude privateers from the North Sea near their coasts and from the Baltic, and jointly to keep up a chain of cruisers for the safety of ships bound to their ports. As the Russian trade was for the most part in the hands of the English, this action of Catharine would in practice be little more than a safeguard of English commerce. The cabinet of France was dissatisfied, and feared that the consolidated group of northern states might be drawn into connection with England. At this stage, Frederic, who through the mediation of Russia and France was just emerging from his Austrian war, intervened. Russia had acted precipitately, without intending to offend France and without proper concert with the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen. Through the explanations of the king of Prussia, every displeasure was removed from the mind of Vergennes; and his answer to the Russian note drew from Count Panin the remark to the French minister at Petersburg: "Once more I give you my word that we have no engagement with England whatever."

The oppressed maritime powers continued to lay their complaints before the empress of Russia; so that the study of neutral rights occupied her mind till she came to consider herself singled out to take the lead in their defence, and could with difficulty be withheld from sending to England very disagreeable remonstrances on the subject. The

extraordinary prosperity of the Russians confirmed them in their notions of their own greatness and power.

When, in the middle of July, Harris presented the Spanish declaration of war against England to Count Panin, he replied ministerially: "Great Britain has by its own haughty conduct brought down all its misfortunes on itself; they are now at their height; you must consent to any concessions to obtain peace; and you can expect neither assistance from your friends nor forbearance from your enemies." In subsequent conversations, Panin ever held the same language and advanced the same opinions. 1779.

"Count Panin," wrote Harris, "receives every idea from his Prussian majesty, and adopts it without reflection;" and the indefatigable envoy, giving up all hope of reclaiming him, undertook to circumvent him through the influence of Prince Potemkin, who had passed through the love of the empress to a position of undefined and almost unlimited influence with the army, the Greek church, and the nobility. Possessing uncommon talents and address, he would, with a better education, have held a high position in any country. By descent and character, he was the truest representative of Russian nationality. Leaving the two chief maritime powers of Western Europe, both of whom wished to preserve the Ottoman empire in its integrity, to wear out each other, Potemkin, who was no dreamer, used the moment of the American war to annex the Crimea.

Harris professed to believe that for eighty thousand pounds he could purchase the influence of this extraordinary man; but Potemkin could not be reached. He almost never appeared at court or in company. It was his habit to lie in bed till near noon, and on his rising his ante-rooms were thronged with clients of all sorts. No foreign minister could see him except by asking specially for an interview; no one of them was ever admitted to his domestic society or his confidence. Those who knew him best agree that he was too proud to take money from a foreign power, and he never deviated from his Russian policy; so that the enormous bribes which were designed to gain him were squandered on his chief mistress and his intimates. At the same

time, he was aware how much he would gain by lulling the British government into acquiescence in his Oriental schemes of aggrandizement.

Without loss of time, Harris proposed to Potemkin that the empress should make a strong declaration at Versailles and Madrid, and second it by arming all her naval force. To this, Potemkin objected that both the Russian ministers who would be concerned in executing the project would oppose it. Harris next gained leave to plead his cause in person before Catharine herself. On Monday the second of August, the favorite of the time conducted him by a back way into her private dressing-room, and immediately retired. The empress discomposed him by asking if he was acting under instructions. He had none; and yet he renewed his request for her armed mediation. She excused herself from plunging her empire into fresh troubles; then discoursed on the American war, and hinted that England could in a moment restore peace by renouncing its colonies.

The question was referred to the council of state; and that body, after deliberation, unanimously refused to change its foreign policy. To the Count of Goertz, the new and very able envoy of Frederic at Petersburg, Panin unfolded his innermost thoughts. "The British minister," said he, "as he makes no impression on me by sounding the tocsin, applies to others less well informed; but be not disquieted; in spite of the brilliant appearances of others, I answer for my ability to sustain my system. The powers ought not to suffer England to be crushed; but she is very far from that; and there would be no harm in her meeting with some loss." Such was the opinion of Frederic, who had just written: "The balance of power in Europe will not be disturbed by England's losing possessions here and there in other parts of the world."

1779. During the whole of the year 1779, the Netherlands continued to suffer from the conflicting aggressions of France and Great Britain. The former sought to influence the states-general, by confining its concession of commercial advantages in French ports to the towns which voted for unlimited convoy. In the states of Holland, it was carried for all merchant vessels destined to the ports of France by

a great majority, Rotterdam and the other chief cities joining Amsterdam, and the nobles being equally divided; but the states-general, in which Zealand took the lead, and was followed by Gelderland, Groningen, and Overyssel, from motives of prudence rejected the resolution. Notwithstanding this moderation, a memorial from the British ambassador announced that Dutch vessels carrying timber to ports of France, as by treaty with England they had the right to do, would be seized, even though escorted by ships-of-war. Indignation within the provinces, at the want of patriotism in the Prince of Orange, menaced the prerogatives of the stadholder, and even the union itself. On one occasion, five towns went so far as to vote in the states of Holland for withholding the quota of their province.

Great Britain next adopted another measure, for which she had some better support. In July, she demanded of the states-general the succor stipulated in the treaties of 1678 and the separate article of 1716, and argued that "the stipulations of a treaty founded on the interests of trade only must give way to those founded on the dearest interests of the two nations, on liberty and religion." But the Dutch would not concede that the case provided for by treaty had arisen, and denied the right of England to disregard one treaty at will and then claim the benefit of others. 1779.

While the British were complaining that nine or ten American merchant vessels had entered the port of Amsterdam, a new cause of irritation arose. Near the end of July, Paul Jones, a Scot by birth, in the service of the United States, sailed from l'Orient as commander of a squadron, consisting of the "Poor Richard" of forty guns, many of them unserviceable; the "Alliance" of thirty-six guns, both American ships-of-war; the "Pallas," a French frigate of thirty-two; and the "Vengeance," a French brig of twelve guns. They ranged the western coast of Ireland, turned Scotland, and, cruising off Flamborough Head, descried the British merchant fleet from the Baltic, under the convoy of the "Serapis" of forty-four guns, and the "Countess of Scarborough" of twenty guns.

1779. Sept. 23. An hour after sunset, on the twenty-third of September, the "Serapis," having a great superiority in strength, engaged the "Poor Richard." With marvellous hardihood, Paul Jones, after suffering exceedingly in a contest of an hour and a half within musket-shot, bore down upon his adversary, whose anchor he hooked to his own quarter. The muzzles of their guns touched each other's sides. Jones could use only three nine-pounders and muskets from the round-tops, but combustible matters were thrown into every part of the "Serapis," which was on fire no less than ten or twelve times. There were moments when both ships were on fire together. After a two hours' conflict in the first watch of the night, the "Serapis" struck its flag. Jones raised his pendant on the captured frigate, and the next day had but time to transfer to it his wounded men and his crew before the "Poor Richard" went down. The French frigate engaged and captured the "Countess of Scarborough." The "Alliance," which from a distance had raked the "Serapis" during the action, not without injuring the "Poor Richard" as well, had not a man injured. On the fourth of October, the squadron entered the Texel with its prizes.

Oct. 4.

On hearing of their arrival, the British ambassador, of himself and again under instructions, reclaimed the captured British ships and their crews, "who had been taken by the pirate Paul Jones, of Scotland, a rebel and a traitor." "They," he insisted, "are to be treated as pirates whose letters of marque have not emanated from a sovereign power." The grand pensionary would not have the name of pirate applied to officers bearing the commissions of congress. In spite of the stadholder, the squadron enjoyed the protection of a neutral port. Under an antedated commission from the French king, the flag of France was raised over the two prizes and every ship but the "Alliance;" and, four days before the end of the year, Paul Jones with his English captures left the Texel.

Oct. 29.

Dec. 7.

Sept. An American frigate, near the end of September, had entered the port of Bergen with two rich prizes.

Yielding to the British envoy at Copenhagen, Bernstorff, the Danish minister, seized the occasion to publish an ordinance forbidding the sale of prizes, until they should have been condemned in a court of admiralty of the nation of the privateer; and he slipped into the ordinance the declaration that, as the king of Denmark had recognised neither the independence nor the flag of America, its vessels could not be suffered to bring their prizes into Danish harbors. The two which had been brought into Bergen were set free; but, to avoid continual reclamations, two others, which in December were taken to Christiansand, were only forced to leave the harbor.

Wrapt up in the belief that he had "brought the empress to the verge of standing forth as the professed friend of Great Britain," Harris thought he had only to meet her objection of his having acted without instructions; and, at his instance, George III., in November, by an autograph letter, entreated her armed mediation against the house of Bourbon. "I admire," so he addressed her, "the grandeur of your talents, the nobleness of your sentiments, and the extent of your intelligence." "The employ, the mere show of naval force could break up the league formed against me, and maintain the balance of power which this league seeks to destroy." The letter was accompanied by a writing from Harris, in which he was lavish of flattery; and he offered, unconditionally, an alliance with Great Britain, including even a guarantee against the Ottoman Porte. 1779. Nov.

The answer was prepared by Panin without delay. The empress loves peace, and therefore refuses an armed intervention, which could only prolong the war. She holds the time ill chosen for a defensive alliance, since England is engaged in a war not appertaining to possessions in Europe; but, if the court of London will offer terms which can serve as a basis of reconciliation between the belligerent powers, she will eagerly employ her mediation.

In very bad humor, Harris rushed to Potemkin for consolation. "What can have operated so singular a revolution?" demanded he, with eagerness and anxiety. 1780.

Potemkin, cajoling him, replied: "You have chosen an unlucky moment. The new favorite lies dangerously sick. The empress is absorbed in this one passion. She repugns every exertion. Count Panin times his councils with address; my influence is at an end." Harris fell ill. Everybody knew that Panin and Osterman of the foreign office, and the grand duke, afterwards Paul III., were discontented with his intrigues; and Catharine herself, meeting Goertz, asked playfully: "What can have given Sir James Harris the jaundice? Has any thing happened to vex him? And is he so choleric?"

1779. Unremitted attention was all the while given to the defence of neutral rights; and the Russian envoy at London, no less than the envoys of Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Prussia, delivered a memorial to the British government. To detach Russia from the

1780. number of the complainants, Harris, in January, 1780, gave a written promise "that the navigation of the subjects of the empress should never be interrupted by vessels of Great Britain."

1779. To the end of 1779, the spirit of moderation prevailed in the councils of the Netherlands. Even the province of Holland had unreservedly withdrawn its obnoxious demands. On the evening before the twenty-

Dec. 27. seventh of December, seventeen Dutch merchant vessels, laden with hemp, iron, pitch, and tar, left the Texel under the escort of five ships-of-war, commanded by the Count de Bylandt. In the English Channel,

Dec. 30. on the morning of the thirtieth, they descried a British fleet, by which they were surrounded just before sunset. The Dutch admiral, refusing to permit his convoy to be visited, Fielding, the British commander, replied that it would then be done by force. During the parley, night came on; and twelve of the seventeen ships, taking advantage of the darkness and a fair wind, escaped through the British lines to French ports. The English shallop, which the next morning at nine would have

Dec. 31. visited the remaining five ships, was fired upon. At this, the British flag-ship and two others fired on the

Dutch flag-ship. The ship was hit, but no one was killed or wounded. "Let us go down," said the Dutch crews to one another, "rather than fall into a shameful captivity;" but their admiral, considering that the British force was more than three times greater than his own, after returning the broadside, struck his flag. Fielding carried the five merchant ships as prizes into Portsmouth.

This outrage on the Netherlands tended to rouse and unite all parties and all provinces. Everywhere in Europe, and especially in Petersburg, it was the subject of conversation; and the conduct of the Dutch was watched with the intensest curiosity. But another power beside England had disturbed neutral rights. Fearing that supplies might be carried to Gibraltar, Spain had given an order to bring into Cadiz all neutral ships bound with provisions for the Mediterranean, and to sell their cargoes to the highest bidder. In the last part of the year 1779, the order was applied to the "Concordia," a Russian vessel carrying wheat to Barcelona. Harris, who received the news in advance, hurried to Potemkin with a paper, in which he proved from this example what terrible things might be expected from the house of Bourbon, if they should acquire maritime superiority. On reading this paragraph, Potemkin 1780. cried out with an oath: "You have got her now. The empress abhors the inquisition, and will never suffer its precepts to be exercised on the high seas." On the confirmation of the report, a strong memorial was drawn up under the inspection of the empress herself; and a reference to the just reproaches of the courts of Madrid and Versailles against Great Britain for troubling the liberty of commerce was added by her own express order.

Hardly had the Spanish representative at Petersburg forwarded the memorial by a courier to his government, when letters from the Russian consul at Cadiz announced that the "St. Nicholas," bearing the Russian flag and bound with corn to Malaga, had been brought into Cadiz, its cargo disposed of by auction, and its crew treated with inhumanity. The empress felt this second aggression as a deliberate outrage on her flag; and, following the impulses of her own

mind, she seized the opportunity to adopt, seemingly on the urgency of Great Britain, a general measure for the protection of the commerce of Russia as a neutral power against all the belligerents and on every sea. She preceded the measure by signing an order for arming fifteen ships of the line and five frigates for service early in the spring.

Loving always to be seen leading in great and bold undertakings, she further signed letters prepared by her private secretary to her envoys in Sweden, Denmark, and the Hague, before she informed her minister for foreign affairs of what had been done. A Russian courier was expedited to Stockholm, and thence to Copenhagen, the Hague, Paris, and Madrid. On the twenty-second of February, Potemkin announced the measure to his *protégé*, Harris, by the special command of the empress. "The ships," said the prince, "will be supposed to protect the Russian trade against every power, but they are meant to chastise the Spaniards, whose insolence the empress cannot brook." Harris "told him he was not so sanguine. In short, that it was no more than the system of giving protection to trade, suggested last year by the three northern courts, now carried into execution." Potemkin, professing to be "almost out of humor with his objections and with his backwardness to admit the great advantage England would derive from the step," rejoined: "I am just come from the empress; it is her particular order that I tell it to you. She commanded me to lose no time in finding you out. She said she knew it would give you pleasure; and, besides myself, you are at this moment the only person acquainted with her design." He ended by expressing his impatience that the event should be known, and urging Harris to despatch his messenger immediately with the news. So Harris was made the instrument of communicating to his own government what the other powers received directly from Russia; and the measure, so opposite to the policy of England, was reported to that power by its own envoy as a friendly act performed at its own request.

1780. But, before the despatches of Harris were on the road, the conduct of the affair was intrusted to Panin,

who, although suffering from the physical and moral depression consequent on the disease which was slowly bringing him to the grave, took the subject in hand. The last deed of the dying statesman was his best. Cast down as he was by illness, before the end of February he thus unbosomed himself to the Prussian minister: "In truth, the envoy of England has found means for a miserable trifle to excite my sovereign to a step of *éclat*, yet always combined with the principle of neutrality. The court of Spain will probably yield to just representations; the measure which he has occasioned will turn against himself, and he will have himself to reproach for every thing that he shall have brought upon his court. I had thought Sir James Harris understood his business; but he acts like a boy." 1780. Feb.

To Frederic, Goertz made his reports: "Every thing will now depend on the reply of the court of Spain. At so important a moment, your majesty has the right to speak to it with frankness." "There will result from the intrigue a matter the execution of which no power has thus far been able to permit itself to think of. All have believed it necessary to establish and to fix a public law for neutral powers in a maritime war; the moment has come for attaining that end." March.

These letters reached Frederic by express; and on the fourteenth of March, by the swiftest messenger, he instructed his minister at Paris as follows: "Immediately on receiving the present order, you will demand a particular audience of the ministry at Versailles; and you will say that in my opinion every thing depends on procuring for Russia without the least loss of time the satisfaction she exacts, and which Spain can the less refuse, because it has plainly acted with too much precipitation. Make the ministry feel all the importance of this warning, and the absolute necessity of satisfying Russia without the slightest delay on an article where the honor of her flag is so greatly interested. In truth, it is necessary not to palter in a moment so pressing."

Vergennes read the letter of Frederic, and by a courier despatched a copy of it to the French ambassador at Madrid, with the instruction: "I should wrong your penetration and

the sagacity of the cabinet of Madrid, if I were to take pains to demonstrate the importance for the two crowns to spare nothing in order that the empress of Russia may not depart from the system of neutrality which she has embraced." The letter of Frederic was communicated to Florida Blanca, and it was impossible to resist its advice.

The distance between Madrid and Petersburg prolonged the violent crisis; but, before a letter could have reached even the nearest power, Count Panin laid before the empress his plan for deducing out of the passing negotiation a system of permanent protection to neutral flags in a maritime war. He advised her to present herself to Europe in an impartial attitude, as the defender of the rights of neutrals before all the world. She would thus gain a glorious name as the lawgiver of the seas, imparting to commerce in time of war a security such as it had never yet enjoyed. Thus she would gather around her all civilized states, and be honored through coming centuries as the benefactress of the human race, entitled to the veneration of the nations and of coming ages.[1]

1780. March. The opinions of her minister coinciding exactly with her own, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1780, that is on the eighth of March, new style, Catharine and Panin set their names to the declaration, of which the fixed principles are: Neutral ships shall enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers. Free ships free all goods except contraband. Contraband are arms and ammunitions of war, and nothing else. No port is blockaded, unless the enemy's ships, in adequate number, are near enough to make the entry dangerous. These principles shall rule decisions on the legality of prizes. "Her imperial majesty," so ran the state paper, "in manifesting these principles before all Europe, is firmly resolved to maintain them. She has therefore given an order to fit out a considerable portion of her naval forces, to act as her honor, her interest, and necessity may require."

[1] Compare Goertz, Denkwürdigkeiten, i. 154; Dohm, Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, ii. 113.

Frederic received the news of the declaration in advance of others, and with all speed used his influence in its behalf at Versailles; so that for the maritime code, which came upon Great Britain as a surprise, a welcome was prepared in France and Madrid.

The empress made haste to invite Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and the Netherlands to unite with her in supporting the rules which she had proclaimed. 1780. The voice of the United States on the subject was uttered immediately by John Adams. He applauded the justice, the wisdom, and the humanity of an association of maritime powers against violences at sea, and added as his advice to congress: "The abolition of the whole doctrine of contraband would be for the peace and happiness of mankind; and I doubt not, as human reason advances and men come to be more sensible of the benefits of peace and less enthusiastic for the savage glories of war, all neutral nations will be allowed by universal consent to carry what goods they please in their own ships, provided they are not bound to places actually invested by an enemy."

For the moment, the attention of Europe was riveted on the Netherlands; but, before we can further trace their connections with the war, we must relate its events in the south and in the north of the United States.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

1778–1779.

THE plan for the southern campaign of 1778 was prepared by Germain with great minuteness of detail. Pensacola was to be strengthened by a thousand men from
1778. New York. On the banks of the Mississippi, near the channel of Iberville, a considerable post was to be established by the commander in West Florida, partly to protect property and trade, but more to preserve the communication with the Indian nations. From the army at New York, men were to be detached sufficient for the conquest and permanent occupation of Georgia and South Carolina, where the American custom of calling out the militia for short periods of service was to be introduced. The Florida rangers and a party of Indians were to attack the southern frontier, while the British agent was to bring down a large body of savages towards Augusta. A line of communication was to be established across South and North Carolina, and the planters on the sea-coast were to be reduced to the necessity of abandoning or being abandoned by their slaves. Five thousand additional men were at a later date to be sent to take Charleston; and, on the landing of a small corps at Cape Fear, Germain believed that "large numbers of the inhabitants would doubtless flock to the standard of the king, whose government would be restored in North Carolina." Then, by proper diversions in Virginia and Maryland, he said it might not be too much to expect that all America to the south of the Susquehannah would return to its allegiance. Sir Henry Clinton was no favorite of the minister's; these brilliant achievements were designed for Cornwallis.

During the autumn of 1778, two expeditions were sent out by Prevost from East Florida. They were composed in part of regulars; the rest were vindictive refugees from Georgia and South Carolina, called troopers, though having only "a few horses that were kept to go plundering into Georgia." Brown, their commander, held directly from the governor of East Florida the rank of lieutenant-colonel, so that the general was prevented "from reducing them to some order and regulation." One of these mixed parties of invaders summoned the fort at Sunbury to surrender. But when Colonel Mackintosh answered, "Come and take it," they retreated. The other corps was stopped at the Ogeechee. On their return, they burned at Midway the church, almost every dwelling-house, and all stores of rice and other cereals within their reach; and they carried off with them all negroes, horses, cattle, and plate that could be removed by land or water. Screven, a gallant American officer, beloved for his virtues in private life, was killed by them after he became their prisoner.

Roused by these incursions into Georgia, Robert Howe, the American commander in the southern district, meditated an expedition against St. Augustine. This scheme had no chance of success. At St. Mary's River, an epidemic swept away one quarter of his men; and, after slight skirmishes, he led back the survivors to Savannah.

Immediately after his return, on the twenty-third of December, three thousand men, despatched from New York under Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, arrived off the Island of Tybee; and soon afterwards, passing the bar, approached Savannah. Relying on the difficulties of the ground, Howe offered resistance to a disciplined corps, ably commanded, and more than three times as numerous as his own. But, on the twenty-ninth, one party of British, guided by a negro through a swamp, turned his position. A simultaneous attack on the Americans in front and rear drove them into a disorderly and precipitate retreat. With a loss of but twenty-four in killed and wounded, the British gained the capital of Georgia, four hundred and fifty-three prisoners, forty-eight pieces of can-

1778. Dec. 23.

Dec. 29.

non, several mortars, a field-piece, the fort with its military magazines, and large stores of provisions. No victory was ever more complete; but Germain was not satisfied, for no Indian parties had been called to take part in the expedition.

Flushed with his rapid success, Campbell promised protection to the inhabitants, but only on condition that "they would support the royal government with their arms." In this way, the people of the low country of Georgia had no choice but to join the British standard, or flee to the upland or to South Carolina. The captive soldiers, refusing to enlist in the British service, were crowded on board prison-ships, to be swept away by infection. The war was plainly to be conducted without mercy, and terror was to compensate for the want of numbers. Many submitted; but determined republicans sought an asylum in the western parts of the state.

1779. Jan. Early in January, 1779, Brigadier-general Prevost marched as a conqueror across lower Georgia to Savannah, reducing Sunbury on the way and capturing its garrison; and Campbell, with eight hundred regulars, took possession of Augusta. The province appearing to be restored to the crown, plunder became the chief thought of the British army.

From jealousy of concentrated power, congress kept the military departments independent of each other. At the request of the delegates from South Carolina, Robert Howe was superseded in the southern command by Major-general Benjamin Lincoln. In private life, this officer was most estimable; as a soldier, he was brave, but of a heavy mould and inert of will. Towards the end of 1776, he had repaired to Washington's camp as a major-general of militia; in the following February, he was transferred to the continental service, and passed the winter at Morristown. In the spring of 1777, he was completely surprised by the British, and had a narrow escape. In the summer, he was sent to the north, in the belief that his influence with the New England militia would be useful; but he never took part in any battle. Wounded by a British party

whom he mistook for Americans, he left the camp, having been in active service less than a year. He had not fully recovered, when, on the fourth of December, 1778, he entered upon the command in Charleston.

Collecting what force he could, the new commander took post on the South Carolina side of the Savannah, near Perrysburg, with at first scarcely more than eleven hundred men. As neither party ventured to cross the river, the British, who were masters of the water, detached two hundred men to Beaufort. Moultrie, sent almost alone to counteract the movement, rallied under his standard about an equal number of militia. These brave volunteers, who were supported by but nine continentals, though they were poorly supplied with ammunition and though their enemy had the advantage of position, fought for their own homes under a leader whom they trusted, and on the third of February drove the invaders with great loss to their ships. 1779. Feb. 3.

The continental regiments of North Carolina were with Washington's army; the legislature of that state promptly called out two thousand of its people, and sent them, though without arms, to serve for five months under Ashe and Rutherford. The scanty stores of South Carolina were exhausted in arming them. In the last days of January, 1779, they joined the camp of Lincoln, whose troops thus became respectable as to numbers, though only six hundred of them were continentals.

Meantime, the assembly of South Carolina, superseding Rawlins Lowndes by an almost unanimous vote, recalled John Rutledge to be their governor. They ordered a regiment of light dragoons to be raised, offered a bounty of five hundred dollars to every one who would enlist for sixteen months, and gave large powers to the governor and council to draft the militia of the state, and "do every thing necessary for the public good."

The British, having carried their arms into the upper country of Georgia, sent emissaries to encourage a rising in South Carolina. A party of abandoned men, whose chief object was rapine, put themselves in motion to join the

British, gathering on the way every kind of booty that could be transported. They were pursued across the Savannah by Colonel Andrew Pickens, with about three hundred of the citizens of Ninety-Six; and, on the fourteenth of February, were overtaken, surprised, and completely routed. Their commander and forty others fell in battle, and many prisoners were taken. About two hundred escaped to the British lines. The republican government, which since 1776 had maintained its jurisdiction without dispute in every part of the commonwealth, arraigned some of them in the civil court; and, by a jury of their fellow-citizens, seventy of them were convicted of treason and rebellion against the state of South Carolina. Of these, no more than five were executed: the rest were pardoned.

1779. Feb. 14.

On hearing that Lincoln from ill-health had asked of congress leave to retire, Greene, who began to be impatient of his position as quartermaster-general, requested of the commander in chief the southern command. Washington answered that Greene would be his choice, but he was not consulted. The army of Lincoln, whose offer to retire was not accepted, was greatly inferior to the British in number, and far more so in quality; yet he ventured to detach Ashe, with fifteen hundred of the North Carolina militia, on separate service. This inexperienced general crossed the Savannah at Augusta which the British had abandoned, and descended the river with the view to confine the enemy within narrower limits. Following his orders, he encamped his party at Brier Creek, on the Savannah, beyond supporting distance. The post seemed to him strong, as it had but one approach. The British amused Lincoln by a feint; while Lieutenant-colonel Prevost turned the position of Ashe who seemed never to have heard of military discipline or vigilance, and on the third day of March fell upon his party. The few continentals, about sixty in number, alone made a brave but vain defence. By wading through swamps and swimming the Savannah, four hundred and fifty of the militia were able to rejoin the American camp; the rest perished, or were captured or

Mar. 3.

returned to their homes. So quickly was one fourth of the troops of Lincoln lost. The British captured seven pieces of cannon, and more than one thousand stand of arms. After this success, General Prevost proclaimed a sort of civil government in Georgia.

Re-enforced from the South Carolina militia, of whom Rutledge had assembled great numbers at Orangeburg, Lincoln, who had neither the means of conducting a siege, nor a soldiery that could encounter veterans, nor the command of the river, undertook to lead his troops against Savannah by way of Augusta, leaving only a thousand militia under Moultrie at Perrysburg. The British general had the choice between awaiting an attack or invading the richest part of Carolina. His decision was for the side which promised booty. On the twenty-eighth of April, when the American army was distant five days' march, General Prevost, this time supported by Indians, crossed the river with three thousand men, and drove Moultrie before him. The approach of the savage allies who spared neither child nor woman, and the waste and plunder of the plantations, spread terror through the land. Many of Moultrie's militia left him to protect their own families. Timid planters, to save their property, made professions of loyalty; and sudden converts represented to Prevost that Charleston lay defenceless at his mercy. After two or three days of doubt, the hope of seizing the wealthy city lured him on; and upon the eleventh of May, two days too late, he appeared before the town. While he hesitated, the men of Charleston had protected the neck by sudden but well-planned works; on the ninth and tenth, Rutledge arrived with the militia, and Moultrie with all of his party that remained true to him, as well as a body of three hundred men whom Lincoln had detached and who had marched forty miles a day. While the British crossed the Ashley, Pulaski and a corps were ferried over the Cooper into Charleston.

1779. Apr. 28.

May 11.

The besiegers and the besieged were nearly equal in numbers; the issue of the campaign might depend on the slaves. No sooner was the danger of South Carolina

known in the camp of Washington, than young Laurens became impatient to fly to his native state, and levy and command a regiment of blacks. Alexander Hamilton recommended the project to the president of congress in these words: "The negroes will make very excellent soldiers. This project will have to combat prejudice and self-interest. Contempt for the blacks makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience. Their natural faculties are as good as ours. Give them their freedom with their muskets: this will secure their fidelity, animate their courage, and have a good influence upon those who remain, by opening a door for their emancipation. This circumstance has weight in inducing me to wish the success of the project; for the dictates of humanity and true policy equally interest me in favor of this unfortunate class of men." Two days later, the elder Laurens wrote to Washington: "Had we arms for three thousand such black men as I could select in Carolina, I should have no doubt of success in driving the British out of Georgia, and subduing East Florida before the end of July." To this Washington answered: "The policy of our arming slaves is in my opinion a moot point, unless the enemy set the example. For, should we begin to form battalions of them, I have not the smallest doubt, if the war is to be prosecuted, of their following us in it and justifying the measure upon our own ground. The contest then must be, who can arm fastest. And where are our arms?"

Congress listened to Huger, the agent from South Carolina, as he explained that his state was weak, because many of its citizens must remain at home to prevent revolts among the negroes, or their desertion to the enemy; and it recommended as a remedy that the two southernmost of the thirteen states should detach the most vigorous and enterprising of the negroes from the rest, by arming three thousand of them under command of white officers.

1779. A few days before the British came near Charleston, young Laurens arrived, bringing no relief from the north beyond the advice of congress for the Carolinians to save themselves by arming their slaves. The advice was

heard in anger, and rejected with disdain. The state felt itself cast off and alone. Georgia had fallen; the country between Savannah and Charleston was overrun; the British confiscated all negroes whom they could seize; their emissaries were urging the rest to rise against their owners or to run away; the United States seemed indifferent, and Washington's army was too weak to protect so remote a government. Many began to regret the struggle for independence. Moved, therefore, by their insulation and by a dread of exposing Charleston to be taken by storm, and sure at least of gaining time by protracted parleys, the executive government sent a flag to ask of the invaders their terms for a capitulation. In answer, the British general offered peace to the inhabitants who would accept protection; to all others, the condition of prisoners of war. The council, at its next meeting, debated giving up the town; Moultrie, Laurens, and Pulaski, who were called in, declared that they had men enough to beat the invaders; and yet, against the voice of Gadsden, of Ferguson, of John Edwards, who was moved even to tears, the majority, at heart irritated by the advice of congress to emancipate and arm slaves, "proposed a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America; the question whether the state shall belong to Great Britain or remain one of the United States to be determined by the treaty of peace between the two powers." Laurens, being called upon to bear this message, scornfully refused, and another was selected. The British general declined to treat with the civil government of South Carolina, but made answer to Moultrie that the garrison must surrender as prisoners of war. "Then we will fight it out," said Moultrie to the governor and council, and left their tent. Gadsden and Ferguson followed him, to say: 1779.
"Act according to your own judgment, and we will support you;" and Moultrie waved the flag from the gate as a signal that the conference was at an end.

The citizens of Charleston knew nothing of the deliberations of the council, and seemed resolved to stand to the lines in defence of their country; parleys had carried

them over the only moment of danger. At daylight, the cry ran along the line: "The enemy is gone." The British, having intercepted a letter from Lincoln, — in which he charged Moultrie "not to give up the city, nor suffer the people to despair," for he was hastening to their relief, — escaped an encounter by retreating to the islands. The Americans, for want of boats, could not prevent
1779. their embarkation, nor their establishing a post at Beaufort. The Carolina militia returned to their homes; Lincoln, left with but about eight hundred men, passed the great heats of summer at Sheldon.

The invasion of South Carolina by the army of General Prevost proved nothing more than a raid through the richest plantations of the state. The British forced their way into almost every house in a wide extent of country; sparing in some measure those who professed loyalty to the king, they rifled all others of their money, rings, personal ornaments and plate, stripped houses of furniture and linen, and even broke open tombs in search of hidden treasure. Objects of value, not transportable by land or water, were destroyed. Porcelain, mirrors, windows, were dashed in pieces; gardens carefully planted with exotics were laid waste. Domestic animals, which could not be used nor carried off, were wantonly shot, and in some places not even a chicken was left alive. A thousand fugitive slaves perished of want in the woods, or of fever in the British camp; about three thousand passed with the army into Georgia.

The southernmost states looked for relief to the French fleet in America. In September, 1778, the Marquis de Bouillé, the gallant governor-general of the French windward islands, in a single day wrested from Great Britain the strongly fortified island of Dominica; but D'Estaing, with a greatly increased fleet and a land force of nine thousand men, came in sight of the Island of St. Lucia just as its last French flag had been struck to a corps of fifteen hundred British troops. A landing for its recovery was repulsed, with a loss to D'Estaing of nearly fifteen hundred men.

Early in January, 1779, re-enforcements under Admiral Byron transferred maritime superiority to the British; and D'Estaing for six months sheltered his fleet within the bay of Port Royal. At the end of June, Byron 1779. June. having left St. Lucia to convoy a company of British merchant ships through the passages, D'Estaing detached a force against St. Vincent, which, with the aid of the oppressed and enslaved Caribs, its native inhabitants, was easily taken. This is the only instance in the war where insurgent slaves acted efficiently. At the same time, the French admiral made an attack on the Island of Grenada, whose garrison on the fourth of July sur- July 4. rendered at discretion. Two days later, the fleet of Byron arrived within sight of the French; and, though reduced in number, sought a general close action, which his adversary knew how to avoid. In the running fight which ensued, the British ships suffered so much in their masts and rigging that the French recovered the superiority.

To a direct co-operation with the United States, D'Estaing was drawn by the wish of congress, the entreaties of South Carolina, and his own never-failing good-will. On the first day of September, he approached Georgia so Sept. 1. suddenly that he took by surprise four British ships-of-war. To the government of South Carolina he announced his readiness to assist in reducing Savannah; but as there was neither harbor, nor road, nor offing to receive his twenty ships of the line, he made it a condition that his fleet, which consisted of thirty-three sail, should not be detained long off so dangerous a coast. South Carolina glowed with joy in the fixed belief that the garrison of Savannah would lay down their arms. In ten days, Sept. 12. the French troops, though unassisted, effected their landing. Meantime, the British commander worked day and night with relays of hundreds of negroes to strengthen his defences; and Maitland, regardless of malaria, hastened with troops from Beaufort through the swamps of the low country.

On the sixteenth, D'Estaing summoned General Sept. 16. Prevost to surrender to the arms of the king of

France. While Prevost gained time by a triple interchange of notes, Maitland, flushed with a mortal fever caught on the march, brought to his aid through the inland channels the first division of about four hundred men from Beaufort. The second division followed a few hours later; and, when both had arrived, the British gave their answer of defiance.

Swiftly as the summons had been borne through South Carolina, and gladly as its people ran to arms, it was 1779 Sept. 23. the twenty-third of September when the Americans under Lincoln joined the French in the siege of the Oct. 8. city. On the eighth of October, the reduction of Savannah seemed still so far distant that the naval officers insisted on the rashness of leaving the fleet longer exposed to autumnal gales, or to an attack, with so much of its strength on land. An assault was therefore resolved on for the next day, an hour before sunrise, by two feigned and two real attacks.

The only chance of success lay in the precise execution of the plan. The column under Count Dillon, which was to have attacked the rear of the British lines, became entangled in a swamp, of which it should only have skirted the edge, was helplessly exposed to the British batteries, and could not even be formed. It was broad day when the party with D'Estaing, accompanied by a part of the Carolinians, advanced fearlessly, but only to become huddled together near the parapet under a destructive fire from musketry and cannon. The American standard was planted on the ramparts by Hume and by Bush, lieutenants of the second South Carolina regiment, but both of them fell; at their side Sergeant Jasper was mortally wounded, but he used the last moments of his life to bring off the colors which he supported. A French standard was also planted.

After an obstinate struggle of fifty-five minutes to carry the redoubt, the assailants retreated before a charge of grenadiers and marines, led gallantly by Maitland. The injury sustained by the British was trifling; the loss of the Americans was about two hundred; of the French, thrice as many. D'Estaing was twice wounded; Pulaski once,

and mortally. "The cries of the dying," so wrote the Baron de Stedingk to his king, Gustavus III. of Sweden, "pierced me to the heart. I desired death, and might have found it, but for the necessity of thinking how to save four hundred men whose retreat was stopped by a broken bridge." He himself was badly wounded. At Paris, as he moved about on crutches, he became the delight of the highest social circles; and at one of the theatres he was personated on the stage, leading a party to storm. The French withdrew to their ships and sailed for France; the patriots of Georgia who had joined them fled to the backwoods or across the river. 1779.

Lincoln repaired to Charleston, and was followed by what remained of his army; the militia of South Carolina returned to their homes; its continental regiments were melting away; and its paper money became so nearly worthless that a bounty of twenty-five hundred dollars for twenty-one months' service had no attraction. The dwellers near the sea between Charleston and Savannah were shaken in their allegiance, not knowing where to find protection. Throughout the state, the people were disheartened, and foreboded its desolation.

The permanence of the power of the British in the southern Atlantic states depended on their treatment of the negro. Now that they held Georgia and Beaufort in South Carolina, they might have gained an enduring mastery by emancipating and arming the blacks. But the idea that slavery was a sin against humanity was unknown to parliament and to the ministry, and would have been hooted at by the army. The thought of universal emancipation had not yet conquered the convictions of the ruling class in England, nor touched the life and conscience of the nation. The English of that day rioted in the lucrative slave-trade, and the zeal of the government in upholding it had been one of the causes that provoked the American war. So the advice to organize an army of liberated negroes, though persisted in by the royal governor of Virginia, was crushed by the mad eagerness of the British officers and soldiers in America for plunder!

In this they were encouraged by the cordial approbation of the king and his ministers. The instructions from Germain authorized the confiscation and sale, not only of negroes employed in the American army, but of those who
1779. voluntarily followed the British troops and took sanctuary under British jurisdiction. Many of them were shipped to the markets of the West Indies.

Before the end of three months after the capture of Savannah, all the property, real and personal, of the rebels in Georgia, was disposed of. For further gains, Indians were encouraged to catch slaves wherever they could find them, and bring them in. All families in South Carolina were subjected to the visits of successive sets of banditti, who received commissions to act as volunteers with no pay or emolument but that derived from rapine, and who, roaming about at pleasure, robbed the widely scattered plantations, without regard to the patriotism or the loyalty of their owners. Negroes were the spoil most coveted; on the average, they were valued at two hundred and fifty silver dollars each. When Sir James Wright returned to the government of Georgia, he found several thousands of them awaiting distribution among their claimants. The name of the British grew hateful, where it had before been cherished; their approach was dreaded as the coming of ruin; their greed quelled every hope of the slave for enfranchisement.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.

1779–1780.

Armies were encouraged by the government in England to pillage and lay waste the plantations of South Carolina, and confiscate the property of the greatest part of her inhabitants. Families were divided; patriots outlawed and savagely assassinated; houses burned, and women and children driven shelterless into the forests; districts so desolated that they seemed the abode only of orphans and widows; and the retaliation provoked by the unrelenting rancor of loyalists threatened the extermination of her people. Left mainly to her own resources, it was through bloodshed and devastation and the depths of wretchedness that her citizens were to bring her back to her place in the republic by their own heroic courage and self-devotion, having suffered more, and dared more, and achieved more than the men of any other state. 1779.

Sir Henry Clinton, in whose breast his failure before Charleston in 1776 still rankled, resolved in person to carry out the order for its reduction. In August, an English fleet, commanded by Arbuthnot, an old and inefficient admiral, brought him re-enforcements and stores; in September, fifteen hundred men arrived from Ireland; in October, Rhode Island was evacuated, and the troops which had so long been stationed there in inactivity were incorporated into his army. It had been his intention to acquire Charleston before the end of the year. The uncertain destination of the superior fleet of D'Estaing held him at bay, till he became assured that it had sailed for Europe.

Leaving the command in New York to the veteran Knyp-

hausen, Clinton, in the extreme cold of the severest winter, embarked eight thousand five hundred officers and men; and on the day after Christmas, 1779, set sail for the conquest of South Carolina. The admiral led the van into the adverse current of the gulf-stream; glacial storms scattered the fleet; an ordnance vessel foundered; American
1780. Jan. privateers captured some of the transports; a bark, carrying Hessian troops, lost its masts, was driven by gales across the ocean, and broke in pieces just as it had landed its famished passengers near St. Ives in England. Most of the horses perished. Few of the transports arrived at Tybee in Georgia, the place of rendezvous, before the end of January. After the junction of the troops, Clinton had ten thousand men under his command; and yet he instantly ordered from New York Lord Rawdon's brigade of eight regiments, or about three thousand more.

Charleston was an opulent town of fifteen thousand inhabitants, free and slave, including a large population of traders and others, strongly attached to England and hating independence. The city, which was not deserted by its private families, had no considerable store of provisions. The paper money of the province was worth but five per cent of its nominal value. The town, like the country, was flat and low. On three sides it lay upon the water; and, for its complete investment, an enemy who commanded the sea needed only to occupy the neck between the Cooper and the Ashley Rivers. It had neither citadel, nor fort, nor ramparts, nor stone, nor materials for building any thing more than field-works of loose sand, kept together by boards and logs. The ground to be defended within the limits of the city was very extensive; and Lincoln commanded less than two thousand
Feb. 3. effective men. On the third of February, 1780, the general assembly of South Carolina intrusted the executive of the state with power "to do all things necessary to secure its liberty, safety, and happiness, except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial." But the calls on the militia were little heeded; the defeat before Savannah had disheartened the people. The southern part

of the state needed all its men for its own protection; the middle part was disaffected; the frontiers were menaced by savage tribes. Yet, without taking counsel of his officers, Lincoln, reluctant to abandon public property which he had not means to transport, yielded to the threats and urgency of the inhabitants of Charleston, and remained in their city, which no experienced engineer regarded as tenable.

On the twenty-sixth, the British forces from the eastern side of St. John's Island gained a view of the town, its harbor, the sea, and carefully cultivated plantations, which, after their fatigues, seemed to them a paradise. The best defence of the harbor was the bar at its outlet; and already, on the twenty-seventh, the officers of the continental squadron, which carried a hundred and fifty guns, reported their inability to guard it. "Then," in the opinion of Washington, "the attempt to defend the town ought to have been relinquished." But Lincoln was intent only on strengthening its fortifications. Setting the example of labor, he was the first to go to work on them in the morning, and would not return till late in the evening. Of the guns of the squadron and its seamen, he formed and manned batteries on shore; and ships were sunk to close the entrance to the Ashley River. 1780. Feb. 26. Feb. 27.

Clinton, trusting nothing to hazard, moved slowly along a coast intersected by creeks and checkered with islands. The delay brought greater disasters on the state. Lincoln used the time to draw into Charleston all the resources of the southern department of which he could dispose. "Collecting the whole force for the defence of Charleston," thought Washington, "is putting much to hazard;" and he dreaded the event. But he was too remote to be heard in time.

The period of enlistment of the North Carolina militia having expired, most of them returned home. On the seventh of April, the remains of the Virginia line, seven hundred veterans, entered Charleston, having in twenty-eight days marched five hundred miles to certain captivity. April 7.

1780. April 9. On the ninth, Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a gentle east wind, brought his ships into the harbor, without suffering from Fort Moultrie or returning
Apr. 10. its fire. The next day, the first parallel being completed, Clinton and Arbuthnot summoned the town to surrender. Lincoln answered: "From duty and inclination, I shall support the town to the last extremity."

Apr. 13. On the thirteenth, the American officers insisted that Governor Rutledge should withdraw from Charleston, leaving Gadsden, the lieutenant-governor, with five of the council. On the same morning, Lincoln for the first time called a council of war, and, revealing to its members his want of resources, suggested an evacuation. "We should not lose an hour," said Mackintosh, "in attempting to get the continental troops over the Cooper River; for on their safety depends the salvation of the state." But Lincoln only invited them to consider the measure maturely, till the time when he should send for them again. Before he met them again, the American cavalry, which kept up some connection between the town and the country, had been surprised and dispersed; Cornwallis had arrived
Apr. 19. with nearly three thousand men from New York; and the British had occupied the peninsula from the Cooper to the Wando; so that an evacuation was no
May 6. longer possible. On the sixth of May, Fort Moultrie surrendered without firing a gun. That field intrenchments supported a siege for six weeks was due to the caution of the besiegers more than to the vigor of the defence, which languished from an almost general disaffection of the citizens.

May 12. On the twelfth, after the British had mounted cannon in their third parallel, had crossed the wet ditch and advanced within twenty-five yards of the American works, ready to assault the town by land and water, Lincoln signed a capitulation. A proposal to allow the men of South Carolina, who did not choose to reside under British rule, twelve months to dispose of their property, was not accepted. The continental troops and sailors became prisoners of war until exchanged; the militia from the country

were to return home as prisoners of war on parole, and to be secured in their property so long as their parole should be observed. All free male adults in Charleston, including the aged, the infirm, and even the loyalists, who a few days later offered their congratulations on the reduction of South Carolina, were counted and paroled as prisoners. In this vain-glorious way, Clinton could report over five thousand prisoners.

Less property was wasted than in the preceding year, but there was not less greediness for plunder. The value of the spoil, which was distributed by English and Hessian commissaries of captures, amounted to about three hundred thousand pounds sterling; the dividend of a major-general exceeded four thousand guineas. There was no restraint on private rapine; the silver plate of the planters was carried off; all negroes that had belonged to rebels were seized, even though they had themselves sought an asylum within the British lines; and at one embarkation two thousand were shipped to a market in the West Indies. British and German officers thought more of amassing fortunes than of reuniting the empire. The patriots were not allowed to appoint attorneys to manage or to sell their estates. A sentence of confiscation hung over the whole land, and British protection was granted only in return for the unconditional promise of loyalty.

For six weeks all opposition ceased in South Carolina. One expedition was sent by Clinton up the Savannah to encourage the loyal and reduce the disaffected in the neighborhood of Augusta; another proceeded for the like purpose to the district of Ninety-Six, where Williamson surrendered his post and accepted British protection; Pickens was reduced to inactivity; alone of the leaders of the patriot militia, Colonel James Williams escaped pursuit and preserved his freedom of action. A third and larger party under Cornwallis moved across the Santee towards Camden. The rear of the old Virginia line, commanded by Colonel Buford, arriving too late to re-enforce the garrison of Charleston, had retreated towards the north-east of the state. They were pursued, and on the twenty-ninth 1780. May 29.

of May were overtaken by Tarleton with seven hundred cavalry and mounted infantry. Buford did not surrender, yet gave no order to engage. He himself, a few who were mounted, and about a hundred of the infantry, saved themselves by a precipitate flight. The rest, making no resistance, sued for quarter. None was granted. A hundred and thirteen were killed on the spot; a hundred and fifty were too badly hacked to be moved; fifty-three only could be brought into Camden as prisoners. The tidings of this massacre carried through the southern forests mingled horror and anger; but Tarleton received from Cornwallis the highest encomiums.

The universal panic consequent on the capture of Charleston had suspended all resistance to the British army. The men of Beaufort, of Ninety-Six, and of Camden, had capitulated under the promise of security. They believed that they were to be treated as neutrals or as prisoners on parole. There remained to them no possibility of flight with their families; and, if they were inclined to take up arms, there was no American army around which they could rally.

The attempt was now made to crush the spirit of independence in the heart of a people of courage and honor, to drive every man of Carolina into active service in the British army, and to force the dwellers in the land of the sun, which ripened passions as fierce as the clime, to become the instruments of their own subjection.

1780. May 22. On the twenty-second of May, confiscation of property and other punishments were denounced against all who should thereafter oppose the king in arms, or hinder any one from joining his forces. On the

June 1. first of June, a proclamation by the commissioners, Clinton and Arbuthnot, offered pardon to the penitent, on their immediate return to allegiance; to the loyal, the promise of their former political immunities, including freedom from taxation except by their own legislature. This policy of moderation might have familiarized the Carolinians once more to the British government; but the proclamation was not communicated to Cornwallis: so that

when, three weeks later, two leading men, one of whom had been in a high station and both principally concerned in the "rebellion," went to that officer to surrender themselves under its provisions, he could only answer that he had no knowledge of its existence.

On the third of June, Clinton, by a proclamation which he alone signed, cut up British authority in Carolina by the roots. He required all the inhabitants of the province, even those outside of Charleston "who were now prisoners on parole," to take an active part in securing the royal government. "Should they neglect to return to their allegiance," so ran the proclamation, "they will be treated as rebels to the government of the king." He never reflected that many who accepted protection from fear or convenience did so in the expectation of living in a state of neutrality, and that they might say: "If we must fight, let us fight on the side of our friends, of our countrymen, of America." On the eve of his departure for New York, he reported to Germain: "The inhabitants from every quarter declare their allegiance to the king, and offer their services in arms. There are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us." 1780. June 3.

CHAPTER XLIV.

WAR IN THE SOUTH: CORNWALLIS AND GATES.

1780.

RIVALRY and dissension between Clinton and Cornwallis already glowed under the ashes. The former had
1780. written home more of truth than was willingly listened to; and, though he clung with tenacity to his commission, he intimated conditionally a wish to be recalled. Germain took him so far at his word as to give him leave to transfer to Cornwallis, the new favorite, the chief command in North America.

All opposition in South Carolina was for the moment at an end, when Cornwallis entered on his separate command. He proposed to himself no less than to keep possession of all that had been gained, and to advance as a conqueror at least to the Chesapeake. Clinton had left with him more than five thousand effective troops, besides more than a thousand in Georgia; to these were to be added the regiments which he was determined to organize out of the southern people.

As fast as the districts submitted, the new commander enrolled all the inhabitants, and appointed field-officers with civil as well as military power. The men of property above forty were made responsible for order, but were not to be called out except in case of insurrection or of actual invasion; the younger men who composed the second class were held liable to serve six months in each year. Some hundreds of commissions were issued for the militia regiments. Major Patrick Ferguson, known from his services in New Jersey and greatly valued, was deputed to visit each district in South Carolina, to procure on the spot lists of its militia, and to see that the orders of Cornwallis were carried

into execution. Any Carolinian thereafter taken in arms might be sentenced to death for desertion and bearing arms against his country. The proposals of those who offered to raise provincial corps were accepted; and men of the province, void of honor and compassion, received commissions, gathered about them profligate ruffians, and roamed through Carolina, indulging in rapine, and ready to put patriots to death as outlaws. Cornwallis himself never regarded a deserter, or any whom a court-martial sentenced to death, as subjects of mercy. A quartermaster of Tarleton's legion entered the house of Samuel Wyly near Camden, and, because he had served as a volunteer in the defence of Charleston, cut him in pieces. The Presbyterians supported the cause of independence; and indeed the American revolution was but the application of the principles of the Reformation to civil government. One Huck, a captain of British militia, fired the library and dwelling-house of the clergyman at Williams's plantation in the upper part of South Carolina, and burned every Bible into which the Scottish translation of the psalms was bound. Under the immediate eye of Cornwallis, the prisoners who had capitulated in Charleston were the subjects of perpetual persecution, unless they would exchange their paroles for oaths of allegiance; and some of those who had been accustomed to live in affluence from the produce of lands cultivated by slaves had not fortitude enough to dare to be poor. Mechanics and shopkeepers could not collect their dues, except after promises of loyalty.

Lord Rawdon, who had the very important command on the Santee, raged equally against deserters from his Irish regiment and against the inhabitants. To Rugely, at that time a major of militia in the British service and an aspirant for higher promotion, he on the first of July addressed the following order: "If any person shall meet a soldier straggling, and shall not secure him or spread an alarm for that purpose; or if any person shall shelter or guide or furnish assistance to soldiers straggling, the persons so offending may assure themselves of rigorous punishment, either by whipping, imprisonment, or being sent to serve

1780. July 1.

in the West Indies. I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the volunteers of Ireland, and five guineas only if they bring him in alive."

The chain of posts for holding South Carolina consisted of Georgetown, Charleston, Beaufort, and Savannah on the sea; Augusta, Ninety-Six, and Camden in the interior. Of these, Camden was the most important, for it was the key between the north and south; by a smaller post at Rocky Mount, it kept up a communication with Ninety-Six.

1780. July. In the opinion of Clinton, six thousand men were required to hold Carolina and Georgia; yet, at the end of June, Cornwallis reported that he had put an end to all resistance in those states, and in September, after the harvest, would march into North Carolina to reduce that province. But the violence of his measures roused the courage of despair. On hearing of the acts of the British, Houston, the delegate in congress from Georgia, wrote to Jay: "Our misfortunes are, under God, the source of our safety. Our captive soldiers will, as usual, be poisoned, starved, and insulted, — will be scourged into the service of the enemy; the citizens will suffer pillaging, violences, and conflagrations; a fruitful country will be desolated; but the loss of Charleston will promote the general cause. The enemy have overrun a considerable part of the state in the hour of its nakedness and debility; but, as their measures seem as usual to be dictated by infatuation, when they have wrought up the spirit of the people to fury and desperation, they will be expelled from the country."

Determined patriots of South Carolina took refuge in the state on their north. Among them was Sumter, who in the command of a continental regiment had shown courage and ability. To punish his flight, a British detachment turned his wife out of doors, and burned his house with every thing which it contained. The exiles, banding themselves together, chose him for their leader. For their use, the smiths of the neighborhood wrought iron tools into rude weapons; bullets were cast of pewter, collected from housekeepers. With scarcely three rounds of cartridges to a man, they could obtain no more but from their foes; and

the arms of the dead and wounded in one engagement must equip them for another.

On the rumor of an advancing American army, Rawdon called on all the inhabitants round Camden to join him in arms. One hundred and sixty who refused he shut up during the heat of midsummer in one prison, though some of them were protected by the capitulation of Charleston. More than twenty were loaded with chains.

On the twelfth day of July, Captain Huck was sent out with thirty-five dragoons, twenty mounted infantry, and sixty militia, on a patrol. His troops were posted in a lane at the village of Cross Roads, near the source of Fishing Creek; and women were on their knees to him, vainly begging mercy for their families and their homes; when suddenly Sumter and his men, though inferior in number, dashed into the lane at both ends, killed the commander, and destroyed nearly all his party. This was the first advantage gained over the royal forces since the beginning of the year. 1780. July 12.

The order by which all the men of Carolina were enrolled in the militia drove into the British service prisoners on parole and all who had wished to remain neutral. One Lisle, who thus suffered compulsion in the districts bordering on the rivers Tyger and Enoree, waited till his battalion was supplied with arms and ammunition, and then conducted it to its old commander, who was with Sumter in the Catawba settlement.

Thus strengthened, Sumter, on the thirtieth of July, made a spirited though unsuccessful attack on Rocky Mount. Having repaired his losses, on the sixth of August he surprised the British post at Hanging Rock. A regiment of refugees from North Carolina fled with precipitation; their panic spread to the provincial regiment of the Prince of Wales, which suffered severely. In the beginning of the action, not one of the Americans had more than ten bullets; before its end, they used the arms and ammunition of the fallen. Among the partisans who were present in this fight was Andrew Jackson, an orphan boy of Scotch-Irish descent, whom hatred July 30. Aug. 6.

of oppression and love of country drove to deeds beyond his years. Sumter drew back to the Catawba settlement, and from all parts of South Carolina patriots flocked to his standard.

Thus far, the south rested on its own exertions. Relying on the internal strength of New England and the central states for their protection, Washington was willing to incur hazard for the relief of the Carolinas; and, with the approval of congress, from his army of less than ten and a half thousand men, of whom twenty-eight hundred were to be discharged in April, he detached General Kalb with the Maryland division of nearly two thousand men and the Delaware regiment. Marching orders for the southward were also given to the corps of Major Lee.

1780. May.

The movement of Kalb was slow for want of transportation. At Petersburg in Virginia, he added to his command a regiment of artillery with twelve cannon.

Of all the states, Virginia, of which Jefferson was then the governor, lay most exposed to invasion from the sea, and was in constant danger from the savages on the west; yet it was unmindful of its own perils. Its legislature met on the ninth of May. Within ten minutes after the house was formed, Richard Henry Lee proposed to raise and send twenty-five hundred men to serve for three months in Carolina, and to be paid in tobacco, which had a real value. Major Nelson with sixty horse, and Colonel Armand with his corps, were already moving to the south. The force assembled at Williamsburg for the protection of the country on the James River consisted of no more than three hundred men; but they, too, were sent to Carolina before the end of the month. North Carolina made a requisition on Virginia for arms, and received them. With a magnanimity which knew nothing of fear, Virginia laid herself bare for the protection of the Carolinas.

May 9.

The news that Charleston had capitulated found Kalb still in Virginia. In the regular European service, he had proved himself an efficient officer; but his mind was neither rapid nor creative, and was unsuited to the exigencies

of a campaign in America. On the twentieth of June he entered North Carolina, and halted at Hillsborough to repose his wayworn soldiers. He found no magazines, nor did the governor of the state much heed his requisitions or his remonstrances. Caswell, who was in command of the militia, disregarded his orders from the vanity of acting separately. "Officers of European experience alone," wrote Kalb on the seventh of July to his wife, "do not know what it is to contend against difficulties and vexations. My present condition makes me doubly anxious to return to you." Yet, under all privations, the officers and men of his command vied with each other in maintaining order and harmony. In his camp at Buffalo Ford on Deep River, while he was still doubting how to direct his march, he received news of measures adopted by congress for the southern campaign. 1780. June 20.

Washington wished Greene to succeed Lincoln; congress, not asking his advice, and not ignorant of his opinion, on the thirteenth of June unanimously appointed Gates to the command of the southern army, and constituted him independent of the commander in chief. He received his orders from congress and was to make his reports directly to that body, which bestowed on him unusual powers and all its confidence. He might address himself directly to Virginia and the states beyond it for supplies; of himself alone appoint all staff-officers; and take such measures as he should think most proper for the defence of the south. June 13.

From his plantation in Virginia, Gates made his acknowledgment to congress without elation; to Lincoln he wrote in modest and affectionate language. His first important act was the request to congress for the appointment of Morgan as a brigadier-general in the continental service, and in this he was supported by Jefferson and Rutledge. He enjoined on the corps of White and Washington, and on all remnants of continental troops in Virginia, to repair to the southern army with all possible diligence.

Upon information received at Hillsborough from Huger, of South Carolina, Gates formed his plan to march directly

to Camden, confident of its easy capture and the consequent recovery of the country. To Kalb he wrote: "Enough has already been lost in a vain defence of Charleston; if more is sacrificed, the southern states are undone; and this may go nearly to undo the rest."

Arriving in the camp of Kalb, he was confirmed in his purpose by Thomas Pinckney, who was his aid, and by Marion. It was the opinion of Kalb that the enemy would not make a stand at Camden. His first words ordered the troops to be prepared to march at a moment's warning. The safest route, recommended by a memorial of the principal officers, was by way of Salisbury and Charlotte, through a most fertile, salubrious, and well-cultivated country, inhabited by Presbyterians who were heartily attached to the cause of independence, and among whom a post for defence might have been established in case of disaster. But Gates was impatient; and, having detached Marion towards the interior of South Carolina to watch the motions of the enemy and furnish intelligence, he, on the morning
1780. July 27. of the twenty-seventh of July, put what he called the "grand army" on its march by the shortest route to Camden, through a barren country which could offer no food but lean cattle, fruit, and unripe maize.

Aug. 3. On the third of August, the army crossed the Pedee River, making a junction on its southern bank with Lieutenant-colonel Porterfield of Virginia, an excellent officer, who had been sent to the relief of Charleston, and had kept his small command on the frontier of South Carolina, having found means to subsist them and to maintain the appearance of holding that part of the country.

The force of which Gates could dispose was greater than that which could be brought against him; it revived the hopes of the South Carolinians, who were writhing under the insolence of an army in which every soldier was a licensed plunderer, and every officer a functionary with power to outlaw peaceful citizens at will. The British commander on the Pedee called in his detachments, abandoned his post on the Cheraw Hill, and repaired to Lord Rawdon at Camden. An escort of Carolinians, who had been forced to

take up arms on the British side, rose against their officers, and made prisoners of a hundred and six British invalids who were descending the Pedee River. A large boat from Georgetown, laden with stores for the British at Cheraw, was seized by Americans. A general revolt in the public mind against British authority invited Gates onwards. To the encouragements of others, the general added his own illusions; he was confident that Cornwallis, with detached troops from his main body, was gone to Savannah, and from his camp on the Pedee he announced on the fourth, by a proclamation, that their late triumphant and insulting foes had retreated with precipitation and dismay on the approach of his numerous, well-appointed, and formidable army; forgiveness was promised to those who had been forced to profess allegiance, and pardon was withheld only from those apostate sons of America who should hereafter support the enemy. 1780. Aug. 4.

On the seventh, at the Cross Roads, the troops with Gates made a junction with the North Carolina militia under Caswell, and proceeded towards the enemy at Lynch's Creek. Aug. 7.

In the following night, that post was abandoned; and Lord Rawdon occupied another on the southern bank of Little Lynch's Creek, unassailable from the deep, muddy channel of the river, and within a day's march of Camden. Here he was joined by Tarleton with a small detachment of cavalry, who on their way had mercilessly ravaged the country on the Black River as a punishment to its patriot inhabitants, and as a terror to the dwellers on the Wateree and Santee. By a forced march up the stream, Gates could have turned Lord Rawdon's flank, and made an easy conquest of Camden. Missing his only opportunity, on the eleventh, after a useless halt of two days, he defiled by the right, and, marching to the north of Camden, on the thirteenth encamped at Clermont, which the British had just abandoned. The time thus allowed, Rawdon used to strengthen himself by four companies from Ninety-Six, as well as by the troops from Clermont, and to throw up redoubts at Camden. Aug. 11. Aug. 13.

1780. Aug. 10. On the evening of the tenth, Cornwallis left Charleston, and arrived at Camden before the dawn of the
Aug. 14. fourteenth. At ten o'clock on the night of the
Aug. 15. fifteenth, he set his troops in motion, in the hope of joining battle with the Americans at the break of day.

Aug. 14. On the fourteenth, Gates had been joined by seven hundred Virginia militia under the command of Stevens. On the same day, Sumter, appearing in camp with four hundred men, asked for as many more to intercept a convoy with its stores on the road from Charleston to Camden. Gates, who believed himself at the head of seven thousand men, granted his request. Sumter left the camp, taking with him eight hundred men, and on the next morning captured the wagons and their escort.

An exact field return proved to Gates that he had but three thousand and fifty-two rank and file present and fit for duty. "These are enough," said he, "for our
Aug. 15. purpose;" and on the fifteenth he communicated to a council of officers an order to begin their march at ten o'clock in the evening of that day. He was listened to in silence. Many wondered at a night march of an army of which more than two thirds were militia, that had never even been paraded together; but Gates, who had the "most sanguine confidence of victory and the dispersion of the enemy," appointed no place for rendezvous, and began his march before his baggage was sufficiently in the rear.

Aug. 16. At half-past two on the morning of the sixteenth, about nine miles from Camden, the advance-guard of Cornwallis fell in with the advance-guard of the Americans. To the latter, the collision was a surprise. Their cavalry was in front, but Armand, its commander, who disliked his orders, was insubordinate; the horsemen in his command turned suddenly and fled; and neither he nor they did any service that night or the next day. The retreat of Armand's legion produced confusion in the first Maryland brigade, and spread consternation throughout the army, till the light infantry on the right, under the command of Colonel Porterfield, threw back the party that

made the attack and restored order; but at a great price, for Porterfield received a wound which proved mortal.

To a council of the American general officers, held immediately in the rear of the lines, Gates communicated the report of a prisoner, that a large regular force of British troops under Cornwallis was five or six hundred yards in their front, and submitted the question whether it would be proper to retreat. Stevens declared himself eager for battle, saying that "the information was but a stratagem of Rawdon to escape the attack." No other advice being offered, Gates desired them to form in line of battle. 1780. Aug. 16.

The position of Lord Cornwallis was most favorable. A swamp on each side secured his flanks against the superior numbers of the Americans. At daybreak, his last dispositions were made. The front line, to which were attached two six-pounders and two three-pounders, was commanded on the right by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, on the left by Lord Rawdon; a battalion with a six-pounder was posted behind each wing as a reserve; the cavalry were in the rear, ready to charge or to pursue.

On the American side, the second Maryland brigade, of which Gist was brigadier, and the men of Delaware, occupied the right under Kalb; the North Carolina division with Caswell, the centre; and Stevens with the newly arrived Virginia militia, the left: the best troops on the side strongest by nature, the worst on the weakest. The first Maryland brigade, at the head of which Smallwood should have appeared, formed a second line about two hundred yards in the rear of the first. The artillery was divided between the two brigades.

Gates took his place in the rear of the second line. He gave no order till Otho Williams proposed to him to begin the attack with the brigade of Stevens, his worst troops, who had been with the army only one day. Stevens gave the word; and, as they prepared to move forward, Cornwallis ordered Webster, whose division contained his best troops, to assail them, while Rawdon was to engage the American right. As the British with Webster rushed on, firing and shouting huzza, Stevens reminded his militia that

they had bayonets; but they had received them only the day before, and knew not how to use them; so, dropping their muskets, they escaped to the woods with such speed that not more than three of them were killed or wounded.

Caswell and the militia of North Carolina, except the few who had Gregory for their brigadier, followed the example; so that nearly two thirds of the army fled without firing a shot.

1780. Aug. Gates writes of them, as an eye-witness: "The British cavalry continuing to harass their rear, they ran like a torrent and bore all before them;" that is to say, the general himself was borne with them. They took to the woods and dispersed in every direction, while Gates disappeared entirely from the scene, taking no thought for the continental troops whom he left at their posts in the field, and flying, or, as he called it, retiring, as fast as possible to Charlotte.

The militia having been routed, Webster came round the flank of the first Maryland brigade, and attacked them in front and on their side. Though Smallwood was nowhere to be found, they were sustained by the reserve, till the brigade was outflanked by greatly superior numbers, and obliged to give ground. After being twice rallied, they finally retreated. The division which Kalb commanded continued long in action, and never did troops show greater courage than these men of Maryland and Delaware. The horse of Kalb had been killed under him, and he had been badly wounded; yet he continued the fight on foot. At last, in the hope that victory was on his side, he led a charge, drove the division under Rawdon, took fifty prisoners, and would not believe that he was not about to gain the day, when Cornwallis poured against him a party of dragoons and infantry. Even then he did not yield, until disabled by many wounds.

The victory cost the British about five hundred of their best troops; "their great loss," wrote Marion, "is equal to a defeat." How many Americans perished on the field or surrendered is not accurately known. They saved none of their artillery and little of their baggage. Except one hundred continental soldiers whom Gist conducted across

the swamps, through which the cavalry could not follow, every corps was dispersed. The canes and underwood that hid them from their pursuers separated them from one another.

Kalb lingered for three days; but, before he closed his eyes, he bore an affectionate testimony to the exemplary conduct of the division which he had commanded, and of which two fifths had fallen in battle. Opulent, and happy in his wife and children, he gave to the United States his life and his example. Congress voted him a monument. The British parliament voted thanks to Cornwallis.

Gates and Caswell, who took to flight with the militia, gave up all for lost; and, leaving the army without orders, rode in all haste to Clermont, which they reached ahead of all the fugitives, and then pressed on and still on, until, late in the night, the two generals escorted each other into Charlotte. The next morning, Gates, who was a petty intriguer, not a soldier, left Caswell to rally such troops as might come in; and himself sped to Hillsborough, where the North Carolina legislature was soon to meet, riding altogether more than two hundred miles in three days and a half, and running away from his army so fast and so far that he knew nothing about its condition. Caswell, after spending one day at Charlotte, disobeyed the order of his chief and followed his example.

On the nineteenth, American officers, coming into Charlotte, placed their hopes of a happier turn of events on Sumter, who commanded the largest American force that now remained in the Carolinas. 1780. Aug. 19.

That detachment had, on the fifteenth, captured more than forty British wagons laden with stores, and secured more than a hundred prisoners. On hearing of the misfortunes of the army of Gates, Sumter retreated slowly and carelessly up the Wateree. On the seventeenth, he remained through the whole night at Rocky Mount, though he knew that the British were on the opposite side of the river, and in possession of boats and the ford. On the eighteenth, he advanced only eight miles; and on Aug. 15. Aug. 16. Aug. 17. Aug. 18.

the north bank of Fishing Creek, at bright mid-day his troops stacked their arms; some took repose; some went to the river to bathe; some strolled in search of supplies; and Sumter himself fell fast asleep in the shade of a wagon. In this state, a party under Tarleton cut them off from their arms and put them to rout, taking two or three hundred of them captive, and recovering the British
1780. Aug. 20. prisoners and wagons. On the twentieth, Sumter rode into Charlotte alone, without hat or saddle.

CHAPTER XLV.

CORNWALLIS AND THE MEN OF THE SOUTH AND WEST.

1780.

From the moment of his victory near Camden, Cornwallis became the principal figure in the British service in America, — the pride and delight of Germain, the 1780. desired commander in chief, the one man on whom rested the hopes of the ministry for the successful termination of the war. His friends disparaged the ability of Sir Henry Clinton, accused him of hating his younger and more enterprising compeer, and censured him for leaving at the south forces disproportioned to the service for which they were required.

We are come to the series of events which closed the American contest and restored peace to the world. In Europe, the sovereigns of Prussia, of Austria, of Russia, were offering their mediation; the united Netherlands were struggling to preserve their neutrality; France was straining every nerve to cope with her rival in the four quarters of the globe; Spain was exhausting her resources for the conquest of Gibraltar; but the incidents which overthrew the ministry of North, and reconciled Great Britain to America, had their springs in South Carolina.

Cornwallis, elated with success and hope, prepared for the northward march, which was to conduct him from victory to victory, till he should restore all America south of Delaware to its allegiance. He was made to believe that North Carolina would rise to welcome him; and, in the train of his flatterers, he carried Martin, its former governor, who was to re-enter on his office. He requested Clinton to detach three thousand men to establish a post on

the Chesapeake Bay; and Clinton knew too well the wishes of the British government to venture to refuse.

In carrying out his plan, the first measure of Cornwallis was a reign of terror. Professing to regard South Carolina as restored to the dominion of George III., he accepted the suggestions of Martin and Tarleton, and the like, that severity was the true mode to hold the recovered province. He therefore addressed the most stringent orders to the commandants at Ninety-Six and other posts, to imprison all who would not take up arms for the king, and to seize or destroy their whole property. He most positively enjoined that every militia-man who had borne arms with the British and had afterwards joined the Americans should be hanged immediately. He set up the gallows at Camden for the indiscriminate execution of those among his prisoners who had formerly given their parole, even when it had been kept till it was cancelled by the proclamation of Clinton. To bring these men to the gibbet was an act of military murder.

The destruction of property and life assumed still more hideous forms, when the peremptory orders and example of Cornwallis were followed by subordinates in remote districts away from supervision. Cruel measures seek and are sure to find cruel executive agents; officers whose delight was in blood patrolled the country, burned houses, ravaged estates, and put to death whom they would. The wives and daughters of the opulent were left with no fit clothing, no shelter but a hovel too mean to attract the destroyer. Of a sudden, the woodman in his cabin would find his house surrounded, and he himself or his guest might be shot, because he was not in arms for the king. There was no question of proofs and no trial. For two years, cold-blooded assassinations, often in the house of the victim and in the presence of his wife and little children, were perpetrated by men holding the king's commission; and they obtained not indem-
1780. nity merely, but rewards for their zeal. The enemy were determined to break every man's spirit, or to ruin him. No engagement by proclamation or by capitulation was respected.

The ruthless administration of Cornwallis met the hearty and repeated applause of Lord George Germain, who declared himself convinced that "to punish rebellion would have the best consequences." As to the rebels, his orders to Clinton and Cornwallis were: "No good faith or justice is to be expected from them, and we ought in all our transactions with them to act upon that supposition." In this manner, the minister released his generals from their pledges to those on whom they made war.

In violation of agreements, the continental soldiers who capitulated at Charleston, nineteen hundred in number, were transferred from buildings in the town to prison-ships, where they were joined by several hundred prisoners from Camden. In thirteen months, one third of the whole number perished by malignant fevers; others were impressed into the British service as mariners; several hundred young men were taken by violence on board transports, and forced to serve in a British regiment in Jamaica, leaving wives and young children to want. Of more than three thousand confined in prison-ships, all but about seven hundred were made away with. 1780

On the capitulation of Charleston, eminent patriots remained prisoners on parole. Foremost among these stood the aged Christopher Gadsden, whose unselfish love of country was a constant encouragement to his countrymen never to yield. Their silent example restrained the timid from exchanging their paroles for the protection of British subjects. To overcome this influence, eleven days after the victory at Camden, he, and thirty-six of his most resolute associates, in flagrant disregard of the conditions on which they had surrendered, were early in the morning taken from their houses and beds and transported to St. Augustine. Gadsden and others, refusing to give a new parole, were immured in the castle of St. Mark. After some weeks, a like cargo was shipped to the same place.

The system of slaveholding kept away from defensive service not only more than half the population, whom the planters would not suffer to be armed, but the numerous whites, needed to watch the black men, if they were to be

kept in bondage while war was raging. Moreover, the moral force of their owners was apt to become enervated. Men deriving their livelihood from the labor of slaves ceased to respect labor, and shunned it as a disgrace. Some had not the courage to face the idea of poverty for themselves, still less for their wives and children. Many fainted at the hard option between submission and ruin. Charles Pinckney, lately president of the South Carolina senate, classing himself among those who from the hurry and confusion of the times had been misled, desired to show every mark of allegiance. Rawlins Lowndes, who but a few months before had been president of the state of South Carolina, excused himself for having reluctantly given way to necessity, and accepted any test that might be required to prove that, with the unrestrained dictates of his own mind, he now attached himself to the royal government. Henry Middleton, president of the first American congress, though still "partial to a cause for which he had been so long engaged," promised to do nothing to keep up the spirit of independence, and to demean himself as a faithful subject.

But the people of South Carolina were never conquered. From the moment of the fall of Charleston, Colonel James Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, did not rest in gathering the armed friends of the union. From the region above Camden, Sumter and his band hovered over all British movements. "Sumter certainly has been our greatest plague in this country," writes Cornwallis.

In the swamps between the Pedee and the Santee, Marion and his men kept watch. Of a delicate organization, sensitive to truth and honor and right, humane, averse to bloodshed, never wreaking vengeance nor suffering those around him to do so, scrupulously respecting private property, he had the love and confidence of all people in that part of the country. Tarleton's legion had laid it waste to inspire terror; and volunteer partisans gathered round Marion to redeem their land.

A body of three hundred royalist militia and two hundred regular troops had established a post at Musgrove's Mills on the Enoree River. On the eighteenth of

1780. Aug. 18.

August, they were attacked by inferior numbers under Williams of Ninety-Six, and routed, with sixty killed and more than that number wounded. Williams lost but eleven. 1780. Aug. 18.

At dawn of the twentieth, a party, convoying a hundred and fifty prisoners of the Maryland line, were crossing the great savanna near Nelson's ferry over the Santee, upon the route from Camden to Charleston, when Marion and his men sprang upon the guard, liberated the prisoners, and captured twenty-six of the escort. Aug. 20.

"Colonel Marion," wrote Cornwallis, "so wrought on the minds of the people that there was scarcely an inhabitant between the Pedee and the Santee that was not in arms against us. Some parties even crossed the Santee and carried terror to the gates of Charleston." Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, wrote home: "In vain we expected loyalty and attachment from the inhabitants; they are the same stuff as compose all Americans." The British historian of the war, who was then in South Carolina, relates that "almost the whole country seemed upon the eve of a revolt."

In the second week of September, when the heats of summer had abated, the earlier cereal grains had been harvested, and the maize was nearly ripe, Cornwallis began his projected march. He relied on the loyalists of North Carolina to recruit his army. On his left, Major Patrick Ferguson, the ablest British partisan, was sent with two hundred of the best troops to the uplands of South Carolina, where he enlisted young men of that country, loyalists who had fled to the mountains for security, and fugitives of the worst character who sought his standard for safety and the chances of plundering with impunity. Sept.

The Cherokees had been encouraged during the summer to join insurgent loyalists in ravaging the American settlements west of the mountains as far as Chiswell's lead mines. Against this danger, Jefferson organized, in the southwestern counties of the state of which he was the governor, a regiment of four hundred backwoodsmen under the command of Colonel William Campbell, brother-in-law of Pat-

rick Henry; and in an interview with William Preston, the lieutenant of Washington county, as the south-west of Virginia was then called, he dwelt on the resources of the country, the spirit of congress, and the character of the people; and for himself and for his state would admit no doubt that, in spite of all disasters, a continued vigorous resistance would bring the war to a happy issue.

At Waxhaw, Cornwallis halted for a few days, and, that he might eradicate the spirit of patriotism from South Carolina before he passed beyond its borders, he, on the sixteenth day of September, sequestered by proclamation all estates belonging to the friends of America, and appointed a commissioner for the seizure of such estates both real and personal. The concealment, removal, or injury of property doomed to confiscation, was punishable as an abetting of rebellion. The sequestration extended to debts due to the person whose possessions were confiscated; and, to prevent collusive practices, a great reward was offered to those who should make discovery of the concealment of negroes, horses, cattle, plate, household furniture, books, bonds, deeds, and other property. To patriots, no alternative was left but to fight against their country and their consciences, or to encounter exile and poverty.

1780. Sept. 16.

The custom of military executions of Carolinians taken in arms was vigorously maintained, and the chiefs of the Cherokees were at that very time on their way to Augusta to receive the presents which were to stimulate their activity. Aware of their coming, Clark, a fugitive from Georgia, forced his way back with one hundred riflemen; having joined to them a body of woodsmen, he defeated the British garrison under Colonel Brown at Augusta, and captured the costly presents designed for the Cherokees. The moment was critical; for Cornwallis, in his eagerness to draw strength to his own army, had not left a post or a soldier between Augusta and Savannah, and the alienated people had returned most reluctantly to a state of obedience. With a corps of one hundred provincials and one hundred Cherokees, Brown maintained a position on Garden Hill for nearly a week, when he was rescued by Cruger from

Ninety-Six. At his approach, the Americans retired. On the pursuit, some of them were scalped and some taken prisoners. Of the latter, Captain Ashby and twelve others were hanged under the eyes of Brown; thirteen who were delivered to the Cherokees were killed by tortures, or by the tomahawk, or were thrown into fires. Thirty in all were put to death by the orders of Brown. 1780, Sept.

Cruger desired to waylay and capture the retreating party, and Ferguson eagerly accepted his invitation to join in the enterprise. Cruger moved with circumspection, taking care not to be led too far from the fortress of Ninety-Six; Ferguson was more adventurous, having always the army of Cornwallis on his right. Near the Broad River, his party encountered Macdowell with one hundred and sixty militia from Burk and Rutherford counties in North Carolina, pursued them to the foot of the mountains, and left them no chance of safety but by fleeing beyond the Alleghanies.

During these events, Cornwallis encountered no serious impediment till he approached Charlotte. There his van was driven back by the fire of a small body of mounted men, commanded by Colonel William Richardson Davie of North Carolina. The general rode up in person, and the American party was dislodged by Webster's brigade; but not till the mounted Americans, scarcely forty in number, had for several minutes kept the British army at bay.

From Charlotte, Cornwallis pursued his course towards Salisbury. Meantime, the fugitives under Macdowell recounted the sorrows of their families to the emigrant freemen on the Watauga, among whom slavery was scarcely known. The backwoodsmen, though remote from the world, love their fellow-men. In the pure air and life of the mountain and the forest, they join serenity with courage. They felt for those who had fled to them; with one heart, they resolved to restore the suppliants to their homes, and for that purpose formed themselves into regiments under Isaac Shelby and John Sevier. Shelby despatched a messenger to William Campbell on the forks of Holston; and the field-officers of South-western Virginia unanimously

resolved that he, with four hundred men, should join in the expedition. An express was sent to Colonel Cleaveland of North Carolina; and all were to meet at Burk county court-house, on the waters of the Catawba. The three regiments from the west of the Alleghanies under Campbell, Shelby, and Sevier, and the North Carolina fugitives under
1780. Sept. 25. Macdowell, assembled on the twenty-fifth of Septem-
Sept. 26. ber at Watauga. On the next day, each man mounted on his own horse, armed with his own rifle, and carrying his own store of provisions, they began the ride over the mountains, where the passes through the Alleghanies are the highest. Not even a bridle-path led through the forest, nor was there a house for forty miles between the Watauga and the Catawba. The men left their families in secluded valleys, distant one from the other, exposed not only to parties of royalists, but of Indians. In the
Sept. 30. evening of the thirtieth, they formed a junction with the regiment of Colonel Benjamin Cleaveland, consisting of three hundred and fifty men from the North Carolina counties of Wilkes and Surry. The next
Oct. 1. day, Macdowell was despatched to request Gates to send them a general officer; "till he should arrive, Campbell was chosen to act as commandant."

Ferguson, who had pursued the party of Macdowell to the foot of the Alleghanies, and had spread the terror of invasion beyond them, moved eastwardly towards Cornwallis by a road from Buffalo ford to King's Mountain, which offered ground for a strong encampment. Of the parties against him, he thus wrote to Cornwallis: "They are become an object of consequence. I should hope for success against them myself; but, numbers compared, that must be doubtful. Three or four hundred good soldiers, part dragoons, would finish the business. Something must be done soon. This is their last push in this quarter."

On receiving this letter, Cornwallis ordered Tarleton to march with the light infantry, the British legion, and a three-pounder to his assistance.

At that time, Colonel James Williams was about seventy miles from Salisbury, in the forks of the Catawba, with

nearly four hundred and fifty horsemen, in pursuit of Ferguson. Wise and vigilant, he kept out scouts on every side; and, on the second of October, one of them "rejoiced his heart," by bringing him the news that one half of the whole population beyond the mountains were drawing near. 1780. Oct. 2.

Following a path between King's Mountain and the main ridge of the Alleghanies, "the western army," so they called themselves, under Campbell, already more than thirteen hundred strong, marched to the Cowpens on Broad River, where, on the evening of the sixth, they were joined by Williams with four hundred men. Oct. 6. From Williams, they learned nearly where Ferguson's party was encamped; and a council of the principal officers decided to go that very night to strike them by surprise. For this end, they picked out nine hundred of their best horsemen; at eight o'clock on that same evening, they began their march. Riding all night, with the moon two days past its first quarter, on the afternoon of the seventh they were at the foot of King's Mountain. Oct. 7.

The little brook that ripples through the narrow valley flows in an easterly direction. The mountain, which rises a mile and a half south of the line of North Carolina, is the termination of a ridge that branches from the north-west to the south-east from a spur of the Alleghanies. The British, in number eleven hundred and twenty-five, of whom one hundred and twenty-five were regulars, were posted on its summit, "confident that they could not be forced from so advantageous a post," to which the approach was precipitously steep, the slaty rock cropping out in craggy cliffs and forming natural breastworks along its sides and on its heights.

The Americans dismounted, and, though inferior in numbers, formed themselves into four columns. A part of Cleaveland's regiment, headed by Major Winston, and Colonel Sevier's regiment, formed a large column on the right wing. The other part of Cleaveland's regiment, headed by Cleaveland himself, and the regiment of Williams, composed the left wing. The post of extreme danger

was assigned to the column formed by Campbell's regiment on the right centre, and Shelby's regiment on the left centre; so that Sevier's right nearly adjoined Shelby's left. The right and left wings were to pass the position of Ferguson, and from opposite sides climb the ridge in his rear; while the two central columns were to attack in front. In this order, "the western army" advanced to within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before they were discovered.

The two centre columns, headed by Campbell and Shelby, climbing the mountain, began the attack. Shelby, a man of the hardiest make, stiff as iron, among the dauntless singled out for dauntlessness, went right onward and upward like a man who had but one thing to do, and but one thought, — to do it. The British regulars with fixed bayonets charged Campbell; and his riflemen, who had no bayonets, were obliged to give way for a short distance; but "they were soon rallied by their gallant commander and some of his active officers," and "returned to the attack with additional ardor."

1780. Oct.

The two centre columns, with no aid but from a part of Sevier's regiment, kept up a furious and bloody battle with the British for ten minutes, when the right and left wings of the Americans, advancing upon their flank and rear, "the fire became general all around." For fifty-five minutes longer the fire on both sides was heavy and almost incessant. The regulars with bayonets could only make a momentary impression. At last, the right wing gained the summit of the eminence, and the position of the British was no longer tenable. Ferguson having been killed, the enemy attempted to retreat along the top of the ridge; but, finding themselves held in check by the brave men of Williams and Cleaveland, Captain Depeyster, the commanding officer of the British, hoisted a flag. The firing immediately ceased; the enemy laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion.

The loss of the British on that day was at least eleven hundred and four. Four hundred and fifty-six of them were either killed, or too severely wounded to leave the ground; the number of prisoners was six hundred and forty-

eight. On the American side, the regiment of Campbell suffered more than any other in the action; the total loss was twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. Among those who fell was Colonel James Williams of Ninety-Six, a man of an exalted character, of a career brief but glorious. An ungenerous enemy revenged themselves for his virtues by nearly extirpating his family; they could not take away his right to be remembered by his country with honor and affection to the latest time.

Among the captives there were house-burners and assassins. Private soldiers — who had witnessed the sorrows of children and women, robbed and wronged, shelterless, stripped of all clothes but those they wore, nestling about fires kindled on the ground, and mourning for their fathers and husbands — executed nine or ten in retaliation for the frequent and barbarous use of the gallows at Camden, Ninety-Six, and Augusta; but Campbell at once intervened, and in general orders, by threatening the delinquents with certain and effectual punishment, secured protection to the prisoners. 1780. Oct.

Just below the forks of the Catawba, the tidings of the defeat reached Tarleton; his party in all haste rejoined Cornwallis. The victory at King's Mountain, which in the spirit of the American soldiers was like the rising at Concord, in its effects like the successes at Bennington, changed the aspect of the war. The loyalists of North Carolina no longer dared rise. It fired the patriots of the two Carolinas with fresh zeal. It encouraged the fragments of the defeated and scattered American army to seek each other and organize themselves anew. It quickened the North Carolina legislature to earnest efforts. It encouraged Virginia to devote her resources to the country south of her border. The appearance on the frontiers of a numerous enemy from settlements beyond the mountains, whose very names had been unknown to the British, took Cornwallis by surprise, and their success was fatal to his intended expedition. He had hoped to step with ease from one Carolina to the other, and from these to the conquest of Virginia; and he had now no choice but to retreat.

1780. Oct. 14. On the evening of the fourteenth, his troops began their march back from Charlotte to the Catawba ford. The men of Mecklenburg and Rowan counties had disputed his advance; they now harassed his foraging parties, intercepted his despatches, and cut off his communications. Soldiers of the militia hung on his rear. Twenty wagons were captured, laden with stores and the knapsacks of the light infantry legion. Single men would ride within gunshot of the retreating army, discharge their rifles, and escape.

The Catawba ford was crossed with difficulty on account of a great fall of rain. For two days, the royal forces remained in the Catawba settlement, Cornwallis suffering from fever, the army from want of forage and provisions. The command on the retreat fell to Rawdon. The soldiers had no tents. For several days, it rained incessantly. Waters and deep mud choked the roads. At night, the army bivouacked in the woods in unwholesome air. Sometimes, it was without meat; at others, without bread. For five days it lived upon Indian corn gathered from the fields, five ears being the day's allowance for two soldiers. But for the personal exertions of the militia, most of whom were mounted, the army would not have been supported in the field; and yet, in return for their exertions, they were treated with derision and even beaten by insolent British officers. After a march of fifteen days, the army encamped at Winnsborough, an intermediate station between Camden and Ninety-Six.

Sept. All the while Marion had been on the alert. Two hundred tories had been sent in September to surprise him; and with but fifty-three men he first surprised a part of his pursuers, and then drove the main body to flight.

Sept. 28. At Black Mingo, on the twenty-eighth, he made a successful attack on a guard of sixty militia, and took prisoners those who were under its escort. The British were burning houses on Little Pedee, and he permitted his men of that district to return to protect their wives and families; but he would not suffer retaliation, and wrote with truth: "There is not one house burned by my orders

or by any of my people. It is what I detest, to distress poor women and children."

"I most sincerely hope you will get at Mr. Marion," wrote Cornwallis on the fifth of November, as he despatched Tarleton in pursuit of him. This officer and his corps set fire to all the houses, and destroyed all the corn from Camden down to Nelson's ferry; beat the widow of a general officer because she could not tell where Marion was encamped, burned her dwelling, laid waste every thing about it, and did not leave her a change of raiment. The line of his march could be traced by groups of houseless women and children, once of ample fortune, sitting round fires in the open air. 1780. Nov. 5.

As for Marion, after having kept his movements secret, and varied his encampment every night, his numbers increased; then selecting a strong post "within the dark morass," he defied an attack. But just at that moment new dangers impended from another quarter.

Sumter had rallied the patriots in the country above Camden, and in frequent skirmishes kept the field. Mounting his partisans, he intercepted British supplies of all sorts, and sent parties within fourteen miles of Winnsborough. Having ascertained the number and position of his troops, Cornwallis despatched a party under Major Wemyss against him. After a march of twenty-four miles with mounted infantry, Wemyss reached Fishdam on Broad River, the camp of General Sumter, and at the head of his corps charged the picket. The attack was repelled; he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. A memorandum was found upon him of houses burned by his command. He had hanged Adam Cusack, a Carolinian, who had neither given his parole nor accepted protection nor served in the patriot army; yet his captors would not harm a man who was their prisoner.

The position of the British in the upper country became precarious. Tarleton was suddenly recalled from the pursuit of Marion, and ordered to take the nearest path against Sumter, who had passed the Broad River, formed a junction with Clark and Brennan, and threatened Ninety-Six. One

regiment was sent forward to join him on his march; another followed for his support. Apprised of Tarleton's approach, Sumter posted himself strongly on the plantation of Blackstock. At five in the afternoon of the twen-
1780. Nov. 20. tieth of November, Tarleton drew near in advance of his light infantry; and with two hundred and fifty mounted men he made a precipitate attack on Sumter's superior force. The hillside in front of the Americans was steep; their rear was protected by the rapid river Tyger; their left was covered by a large barn of logs, between which the riflemen could fire with security. The sixty-third British regiment having lost its commanding officer, two lieutenants, and one third of its privates, Tarleton retreated, leaving his wounded to the mercy of the victor. The loss of Sumter was very small; but, being himself disabled by a severe wound, he crossed the Tyger, taking his wounded men with him.

By the lavish distribution of presents, the Indian agents obtained promises from the chiefs of twenty-five hundred Cherokees, and a numerous body of Creeks, to lay waste the settlements on the Watauga, Holston, Kentucky, and Nolichucky, and even to extend their ravages to the Cumberland and Green Rivers, that the attention of the mountaineers might be diverted to their own immediate concerns. Moreover, Cornwallis gave orders to the re-enforcement of three thousand sent by Clinton into the Chesapeake to embark for Cape Fear River. So ended the first attempt of Cornwallis to penetrate to Virginia. He was driven back by the spontaneous risings of the southern and south-western people; and the unwholesome exhalations of autumn swept men from every garrison in the low country faster than Great Britain could replace them.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE RISE OF FREE COMMONWEALTHS.

1780.

FREEDOM is of all races and of all nationalities. It is older than bondage, and ever rises from the enslavements laid on by the hand of violence or custom or 1780. abuse of power; for the rights of man spring from eternal law, are kept alive by the persistent energy of constant nature, and by their own indestructibility prove their lineage as the children of omnipotence.

In an edict of the eighth of August, 1779, Louis 1779. XVI. announced "his regret that many of his subjects were still without personal liberty and the prerogatives of property, attached to the glebe, and, so to say, confounded with it." To all serfs on the estates of the crown he therefore gave back their freedom. It was his wish 1780. to do away, as with torture, so with every vestige of a rigorous feudalism; but he was restrained by his respect for the laws of property, which he held to be the groundwork of order and justice. The delivering up of a runaway serf was in all cases forbidden; for emancipation outside of his own domains, he did no more than give leave to other proprietors to follow his example, to which, from mistaken selfishness, even the clergy would not conform. But the words of the king spoken to all France deeply branded the wrong of keeping Frenchmen in bondage to Frenchmen.

In Overyssel, a province of the Netherlands, Baron 1782. van der Capellen tot den Pol, the friend of America, had seen with the deepest sorrow the survival of the ancient system of villeinage; and, in spite of the resistance and sworn hatred of almost all the nobles, he, in 1782, brought about its complete abolition.

Here the movement for emancipation during the American revolution ceased for the Old World. "He that says slavery is opposed to Christianity is a liar," wrote Luther, in the sixteenth century. "The laws of all nations sanction slavery; to condemn it is to condemn the Holy Ghost," were the words of Bossuet near the end of the seventeenth. In the last quarter of the eighteenth, the ownership of white men by white men still blighted more than the half of
1780. Europe. The evil shielded itself under a new plea, where a difference of skin set a visible mark on the victims of commercial avarice, and strengthened the ties of selfishness by the pride of race. In 1780, Edmund Burke tasked himself to find out what laws could check the new form of servitude which wrapt all quarters of the globe in its baleful influences; yet he did not see a glimmering of hope even for an abolition of the trade in slaves, and only aimed at establishing regulations for their safe and comfortable transportation. He was certain that no one of them was ever so beneficial to the master as a freeman who deals with him on equal footing by convention, that the consumer in the end is always the dupe of his own tyranny and injustice; yet for slave plantations he suggested nothing more than some supervision by the state, and some mitigation of the power of the master to divide families by partial sales. For himself, he inclined to a gradual emancipation; yet his code for the negroes was founded on the conviction that slavery was "an incurable evil." He sought no more than to make that evil as small as possible, and to draw out of it some collateral good.

George III. was the firm friend of the slave-trade; and Thurlow, one of his chancellors, so late as 1799 insisted that the proposal to terminate it was "altogether miserable and contemptible." Yet the quality of our kind is such that a government cannot degrade a race without marring the nobleness of our nature.

So long as the legislation of the several English colonies in America remained subject to the veto of the king, all hope of forbidding or even limiting the importation of negro slaves was made vain by the mother country. Now

that they were independent, the end of slavery might come either from the central government or from the several states.

We have seen that the first congress formed an association "wholly to discontinue the slave-trade," and that the denunciation of the slave-trade and of slavery by Jefferson, in his draft of the declaration of independence, was rejected by the congress of 1776, in deference to South Carolina and Georgia. 1774. 1776.

The antagonism between the northern and southern states, founded on climate, pursuits, and labor, broke out on the first effort to unite them permanently. When members from the north spoke freely of the evil of slavery, a member from South Carolina answered that, "if property in slaves should be questioned, there must be an end of confederation." In the same month, the vote on taxing persons claimed as property laid bare the existence of a territorial division of parties; the states north of Mason and Dixon's line voting compactly on the one side, and those south of that line, which were duly represented, on the other.

The clashing between the two sections fastened the attention of reflecting observers. In August, 1778, soon after the reception at Philadelphia of an envoy from France, he reported to Vergennes: "The states of the south and of the north, under existing subjects of division and estrangement, are two distinct parties, which at present count but few deserters. The division is attributed to moral and philosophical causes." He further reported that the cabal against Washington found supporters exclusively in the north. 1778.

The French minister desired to repress the ambition of congress for the acquisition of territory, because it might prove an obstacle to connection with Spain; and he found support in northern men. Their hatred of slavery was not an impulse of feeling, but an earnest conviction. No one could declare himself more strongly for the freedom of the negro than Gouverneur Morris of New York, a man of business and a man of pleasure. His hostility to slavery brought him into some agreement with the policy of Gerard, to

whom, one day in October, he said that Spain would have no cause to fear the great body of the confederation, for reciprocal jealousy and separate interests would never permit its members to unite against her; that several of the most enlightened of his colleagues were struck with the necessity of establishing a law "de coercendo imperio," setting bounds to their jurisdiction; that the provinces of the south already very much weakened the confederation; that further extension on that side would immeasurably augment this inconvenience; that the south was the seat of wealth and of weakness; that the poverty and vigor of the north would always be the safeguard of the republic; and that on this side lay the necessity to expand and to gain strength; that the navigation of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio should belong exclusively to Spain, as the only means of retaining the numerous population which would be formed between the Ohio and the lakes; that the inhabitants of these new and immense countries, be they English or be they Americans, having the outlet of the river St. Lawrence on the one side and that of the Mississippi on the other, would be in a condition to domineer over the United States and over Spain, or to make themselves independent, — that on this point there was, therefore, a common interest. Some dread of the relative increase of the south may have mixed with the impatient earnestness with which two at least of the New England states demanded the acquisition of Nova Scotia as indispensable to their safety, and therefore to be secured at the pacification with England. The leader in this policy was Samuel Adams, whom the French minister always found in his way.

The question of recruiting the army by the enlistment of black men forced itself on attention. The several states employed them as they pleased, and the slave was enfranchised by the service. Once congress touched on the
1779. delicate subject; and in March, 1779, it recommended Georgia and South Carolina to raise three thousand active, able-bodied negro men under thirty-five years of age; and the recommendation was coupled with a promise of "a full compensation to the proprietors of such negroes

for the property." The resolution appears to have been adopted without opposition, North and South Carolina having both been represented in the committee that reported it. But South Carolina refused by great majorities to give effect to the scheme.

So long as Jefferson was in congress, he kept Virginia and Massachusetts in a close and unselfish union, of which the unanimous assertion of independence was the fruit. When he withdrew to service in his native commonwealth, their friendship lost something of its disinterestedness. Virginia manifested its discontent by successive changes in its delegation, and the two great states came more and more to represent different classes of culture and ideas and interests. On observing congress thus "rent by party," Washington "raised his voice and called upon George Mason and Jefferson to come forth to save their country."

In 1779, when the prosperity of New England was thought to depend on the fisheries, and when its pathetic appeals, not unmingled with menaces, had been used prodigally and without effect, Samuel Adams said rashly that "it would become more and more necessary for the two empires to separate." On the other hand, when the north offered a preliminary resolution, that the country, even if deserted by France and Spain, would continue the war for the sake of the fisheries, we have seen four states read the draft of a protest declaring peremptorily that, if the resolution should be adopted, they would withdraw from the confederation. 1779.

In the assertion of the sovereignty of each separate state, there was no distinction between north and south. Massachusetts expressed itself as absolutely as South Carolina. As a consequence, the confederation could contain no interdict of the slave-trade, and the importation of slaves would therefore remain open to any state according to its choice. When on the seventeenth of June, 1779, a renunciation of the power to engage in the slave-trade was proposed as an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace, all the states, Georgia alone being absent, refused the concession by the votes of every member except Jay and Gerry.

1780. Luzerne, the French envoy who succeeded Gerard, soon came to the conclusion that the confederacy would run the risk of an early dissolution if it should give itself up to the hatred which began to show itself between the north and south.

Vermont, whose laws from the first rejected slavery, knocked steadily at the door of congress to be taken 1781. in as a state. In August, 1781, its envoys were present in Philadelphia, entreating admission. Their papers were in order; New York gave up its opposition; but the states of the south held that the admission of Vermont would destroy "the balance of power" between the two sections of the confederacy, and give the preponderance to the north. The idea was then started that the six states south of Mason and Dixon's line should be conciliated by a concession of a seventh vote which they were to exercise in common; but the proposal, though it formed a subject of conversation, was never brought before congress; and Vermont was left to wait till a southern state could simultaneously be received into the union.

In regard to the foreign relations of the country, congress was divided between what the French envoy named "Gallicans" and "anti-Gallicans:" the southerners were found more among the "Gallicans;" the north was suspected of a partiality for England.

There was no hope of the delivery of the country from slavery by congress. It was but a minority of them who kept in mind that an ordinance of man can never override natural law, and that in the high court of the Eternal Providence justice forges her weapon long before she strikes. What part was chosen by each separate state must be recounted.

Nowhere was slavery formally established in the organic law as a permanent social relation; the courts of Virginia did not recognise a right of property in the future increase of slaves; in no one state did its constitution abridge the power of its legislature to abolish slavery. In no one constitution did the words "slave" and "slavery" find a place, except in that of Delaware, and there only by way of a

formal and perpetual prohibition. They are found as little in that of South Carolina, which was the champion of negro bondage, as in that of Massachusetts.

In the north, the severity of the climate, the poverty of the soil, and the all-pervading habit of laborious industry among its people, set narrow limits to slavery; in the states nearest the tropics, it throve luxuriously, and its influence entered into their inmost political life. Virginia, with soil and temperature and mineral wealth inviting free and skilled labor, yet with lowland where the negro attained his perfect physical development, stood as mediator between the two. Many of her statesmen — George Mason, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Wythe, Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee — emulated each other in confessing the iniquity and the inexpediency of holding men in bondage. We have seen the legislature of colonial Virginia in 1772, in their 1772. fruitless battle with the king respecting the slave-trade, of which he was the great champion, demand its abolition as needful for their happiness and their very existence. In January, 1773, Patrick Henry threw 1773. ridicule on the clergy of Virginia for their opposition to emancipation. In the same year, George Mason foretold the blight that was to avenge negro slavery.

When the convention of Virginia adopted their 1776. declaration of rights as the foundation of government for themselves and their posterity, they set forth that all men are by nature equally free and have inherent rights to the enjoyment of life and liberty, the means of acquiring property and pursuing happiness; yet the authoritative proclamation of the equal rights of all men brought no relief to the enslaved.

In 1778, Virginia prohibited what, under the su- 1778. premacy of England, she could not have prohibited, — the introduction of any slave by land or sea, and ordered the emancipation of every slave introduced from abroad. But the bill respecting resident slaves, prepared by the commissioners for codifying the laws, was a mere digest of existing enactments. Its authors agreed in wishing that the assembly might provide by amendment for universal free-

dom; and it is the testimony of Jefferson that an amendatory bill was prepared with the concurrence of himself, Pendleton, and Wythe, "to emancipate all slaves born after passing the act;" but the proposal was blended with the idea of their deportation, and nothing came of it. The statute
1779. drafted by Jefferson, and in 1779 proposed by Mason, to define who shall be citizens of Virginia, declared the natural right of expatriation in opposition to the English assertion of perpetual allegiance, and favored naturalization; but it confined the right of expatriation and citizenship to white men.

1780. In 1780, Madison expressed the wish that black men might be set free and then made to serve in the army. This was often done by individuals; but, before the end of the same year, Virginia offered a bounty, not of money and lands only, but of a negro, to each white man who would enlist for the war.

1782. In May, 1782, just thirteen years after Jefferson had brought in a bill giving power of unconditional emancipation to the masters of slaves, the measure was adopted by the legislature of Virginia. Under this act, more slaves received their freedom than were liberated in Pennsylvania or in Massachusetts. Even had light broken in on Jefferson's mind through the gloom in which the subject was involved for him, Virginia would not have accepted from him a plan for making Virginia a free commonwealth; but there is no evidence that he ever reconciled himself to the idea of emancipated black men living side by side with white men as equal sharers in political rights and duties and powers. The result of his efforts and reflections he uttered in these ominous forebodings: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government."

In the helplessness of despair, Jefferson, so early as 1782, dismissed the problem from his thoughts, with these words: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep for ever. The way, I hope, is preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total
ncipation."

At that time, Washington was a kind and considerate master of slaves, without as yet a title to the character of an abolitionist. By slow degrees, the sentiment grew up in his mind that to hold men in bondage was a wrong; that Virginia should proceed to emancipation by general statute of the state; that, if she refused to do so, each individual should act for his own household.

Next in order comes Delaware, which on the twentieth of September, 1776, adopted its constitution as an independent state. In proportion to its numbers, it had excelled all in the voluntary emancipation of slaves. Its constitution absolutely prohibited the introduction of any slave from Africa, or any slave for sale from any part of the world, as an article which "ought never to be violated on any pretence whatever." 1776.

In the constituent convention of New York, Gouverneur Morris struggled hard for measures tending to abolish domestic slavery, "so that in future ages every human being, who breathed the air of the state, might enjoy the privileges of a freeman." The proposition, though strongly supported, especially by the interior and newer counties, was lost by the vote of the counties on the Hudson. "The constitution," wrote Jay, on its adoption in 1777, "is like a harvest cut before it is ripe; the grain has shrunk;" and he lamented the want of a clause against the continuance of domestic slavery. Still, the declaration of independence was incorporated into the constitution of New York; and all its great statesmen were abolitionists. 1779.

It has already been narrated that, in 1777, the people of Vermont, in separating themselves from the jurisdiction of New York, framed a constitution which prohibited slavery. 1777.

In July, 1778, William Livingston, the governor of New Jersey, invited the assembly to lay the foundation for the manumission of the negroes. At the request of the house, which thought the situation too critical for the immediate discussion of the measure, the message was withdrawn. "But I am determined," wrote the governor, "as far as my influence extends, to push the matter till 1778.

it is effected, being convinced that the practice is utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity; and in Americans, who have almost idolized liberty, peculiarly odious and disgraceful." Of the two Jerseys, slavery had struck deeper root in the East from the original policy of its proprietaries; the humane spirit of the Society of Friends ruled opinion in West Jersey.

The name of Pennsylvania was dear throughout the world as the symbol of freedom; her citizens proved her right to her good report by preparing to abolish slavery. The number of their slaves had grown to be about six thousand, differing little from the number in Massachusetts, and being in proportion to the whole population much less than in New York or in New Jersey. The fourteenth of April, 1775, was the day of founding the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race. In 1777, in the heads of a bill proposed by the council, a suggestion was made for ridding the state of slavery. The retreat of the British from Philadelphia, and the restoration to Pennsylvania of peace within its borders, called forth in its people a sentiment of devout gratitude. Under its influence, George Bryan, then vice-president, in a message to the assembly of the ninth of November, 1778, pressed upon their attention the bill proposed in the former year for manumitting infant negroes born of slaves, and thus in an easy mode abrogating slavery, the opprobrium of America. "In divesting the state of slaves," said Bryan, "you will equally serve the cause of humanity and policy, and offer to God one of the
1778. most proper and best returns of gratitude for his great deliverance of us and our posterity from thraldom; you will also set your character for justice and benevolence in the true point of view to all Europe, who are astonished to see a people struggling for liberty holding negroes in bondage."

On becoming president of the executive council of
1779. Pennsylvania, Joseph Reed, speaking for himself and the council, renewed the recommendation to abolish

slavery gradually and to restore and establish by the law in Pennsylvania the rights of human nature. In the autumn of 1779, George Bryan had been returned as a member of the assembly. In the committee to which on his motion the subject was referred, he prepared a new preamble and the draft of the law for gradual emancipation; and on the twenty-ninth of February, 1780, it was adopted 1780. by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-one. So Pennsylvania led the way towards introducing freedom for all. "Our bill," wrote George Bryan to Samuel Adams, "astonishes and pleases the Quakers. They looked for no such benevolent issue of our new government, exercised by Presbyterians." The Friends, well pleased at the unexpected law, became better reconciled to the form of government by which they had been grievously disfranchised.

The constitution of South Carolina of 1778 contained no bill of rights, and confined political power exclusively to white men; from the settlement of the state, slavery formed a primary element in its social organization. When Governor Rutledge in 1780 came to Philadelphia, he reported that the negroes, who in the low country outnumbered the whites as six to one, offered up their prayers in favor of England, in the hope that she would give them a chance to escape from slavery. But British officers, regarding negroes as valuable spoil, defeated every plan for employing them as soldiers on the side of England. In 1769, George III. in council "gave his consent to an act of Georgia, whereby slaves may be declared to be chattels;" and the war of the revolution made no change in their condition by law.

The Puritans of Massachusetts and their descend- 1776. ants, though they tolerated slavery, held that slaves had rights. Negroes trained with the rest in the ranks, certainly from 1651 to 1656. Laws on marriage and against adultery were applied to them; and they were allowed, like others, to give their testimony, even in capital cases. At the opening of the revolution, William Gordon, the Congregationalist minister of Roxbury, though he declined to "unsaint" every man who still yielded to the prevailing preju-

dice, declared with others against perpetuating slavery, and in November, 1776, published in the "Independent Chronicle" a plan sent from Connecticut for its gradual extermination out of that colony. In the same month and in the same newspaper, "a Son of Liberty" demanded the repeal of all laws supporting slavery, because they were "contrary
1777. to sound reason and revelation." In January, 1777, seven negro slaves joined in petitioning the general court "that they might be restored to that freedom which is the natural right of all men, and that their children might not be held as slaves after they arrive at the age of twenty-one years." This petition was referred to a very able committee, on which are the names of Sergeant and John Lowell, both zealous abolitionists; the latter then the leading lawyer in the state.

In May, 1777, just before the meeting of the general court at Boston, Gordon, finding in the multiplicity of business the only apology for their not having attended to the case of slaves, as a preliminary to total emancipation asked for a final stop to the public and private sale of them by an act of the state. Clothing the argument of Montesquieu in theological language, he said: "If God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, I can see no reason why a black rather than a white man should be a slave." A few weeks later, the first legislature elected in Massachusetts after the declaration of independence listened to the second reading of a bill which declared slavery "without justification in a government of which the people are asserting their natural rights to freedom," and had for its object "to fix a day on which all persons above twenty-one years of age then held in slavery should be free and entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities that belong to any of the subjects of this state." A committee was directed to take the opinion of congress on the subject, but no answer from congress appears on record, nor any further consideration of the bill by the Massachusetts legislature.

In his presidency, Hancock had shown proclivities to the south. When on his resignation in October a motion was

made to give him the thanks of congress for his impartiality in office, the three northernmost states of New England voted in the negative, while the south was unanimous in his favor. After his arrival in Boston, the two branches of the general court saw fit to form themselves into a constituent convention, for which some of the towns had given authority to their representatives. In the winter session of 1778, the draft of a plan of government 1778. was considered. One of the proposed clauses took from Indians, negroes, and mulattoes the right to vote. Against this disfranchisement was cited the example of Pennsylvania, which gave the suffrage to all freemen. "Should the clause not be reprobated by the convention," said an orator, "I still hope that there will be found among the people at large virtue enough to trample under foot a form of government which thus saps the foundation of civil liberty and tramples on the rights of man."

On the submission of the constitution to the people, objections were made that it contained no declaration of rights; that it gave the governor and lieutenant-governor seats in the senate; that it disfranchised the free negro, a partiality warmly denounced through the press by the historian, William Gordon. There was, moreover, dissatisfaction with the legislature for having assumed constituent powers without authority from the people. Boston, while it recommended a convention for framing a constitution, gave its vote unanimously against the work of the legislature; and the commonwealth rejected it by a vote of five to one.

The history of the world contains no record of a people which in the institution of its government moved with the caution which now marked the proceedings of Massachusetts. In February, 1779, the legislature of the 1779. year asked their constituents whether they desired a new form of government; and, a large majority of the inhabitants of the towns voting in the affirmative, a convention of delegates was elected for the sole purpose of forming a constitution. On the first day of September, the convention thus chosen came together in the meeting-house of Cam-

bridge. Their forefathers, in their zeal against the Roman superstition, had carried their reverence of the Bible even to idolatry; and some of them, like Luther, found in its letter a sanction for holding slaves. On the other hand, from principle and habit, they honored honest labor in all its forms. The inconsistencies of bondage with the principle of American independence lay in the thoughts of
1779. those who led public opinion; voices against it had come from Essex, from Worcester, from Boston, from the western counties, showing that the conscience of the people was offended by its continuance.

The first act of the constituent body was "the consideration of a declaration of rights;" and then they resolved unanimously "that the government to be framed by this convention for the people of Massachusetts Bay shall be a FREE REPUBLIC." This resolution was deemed so important that liberty was reserved for the members of a committee who were absent to record their votes upon it; and on the next morning they declared "their full and free assent." A committee of thirty, composed for the commonwealth at large and for each county excepting the unrepresented counties of Dukes and Nantucket, was appointed to prepare a declaration of rights and the form of a constitution; but the house itself continued its free conversation on these subjects till sunset of the sixth of September. The next day, it adjourned for more than seven weeks, that its committee might have time to transact the important business assigned them.

On the thirteenth of September, the committee assembled at the new court-house in Boston. Among them were Bowdoin, who was president of the convention; Samuel Adams; John Lowell; Jonathan Jackson, of Newburyport, who thought that the liberty which America achieved for itself should prevail without limitation as to color; Parsons, a young lawyer of the greatest promise, from Newburyport; and Strong, of Northampton. John Adams had arrived opportunely from France, to which he did not return till November; and was so far the "principal" agent in writing out the first draft of the constitution that it was

reputed to be his work. There are no means of distributing its parts to their several authors with certainty. No one was more determined for two branches of the legislature with a veto in the governor than John Adams. To him also more than to any other may be ascribed the complete separation of both branches from appointments to office. The provisions for the total abolition of slavery mark the influence of John Lowell. To Bowdoin was due the form of some of the sections which were most admired.

On the afternoon of the twenty-eighth of October, the committee appointed to prepare a form of government reported a draft of a constitution; and on the next day the convention adopted the first article of a declaration of rights, which was couched in the spirit and almost in the language of George Mason and Virginia: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness." The lawyers of Virginia had not considered this declaration as of itself working the emancipation of negro slaves; to accomplish that end, the men of Massachusetts, in deciding how many of their old laws should remain in full force, excepted those parts which were "repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this constitution."

As the delegates gave the closest attention to every line and word in the constitution, this clause did not come up for consideration till the last day of January, 1780, 1780. in an adjourned session. Roads having been made for a time impassable by deep snows, there were still many absentees; and, though a quorum was present, the consideration of this question was from its importance deferred. For a month, therefore, other clauses were discussed and settled; and then in a full convention, after deliberation and amendment, this most momentous article of all was adopted. So calm and effortless was the act by which slavery fell away from Massachusetts. Its people wrought with the power of nature, which never toils, never employs vio-

lence in arms, but achieves its will through the might of overruling law. There is in the world a force tending to improvement, and making itself felt in us and around us, with which we can work, but which it is above our ability to call into being or to destroy. The manner in which Massachusetts left slavery behind, as of the dead and irrevocable past, was the noblest that could have been devised. The inborn, inalienable right of man to freedom was written in the permanent constitution as the law of all coming legislation. The highest voice of morality speaks to the whole universe of moral being, and utters for all its one inflexible command. When by its all-persuasive force the men of Massachusetts abolished slavery, the decision had the character of primal justice and the seal of undying authority. Yet, had they remained dependent, the veto of the British king would have forbidden their abolition of slavery, as it had prevented every measure against the slave-trade.

In an able address to their constituents, the delegates explained the grounds on which their decisions rested, and called on them in their several towns and plantations to judge "whether they had raised their superstructure upon the principles of a FREE COMMONWEALTH." Reassembling on the first Wednesday in June, they found that the male inhabitants of twenty-one years and upwards had ratified the new constitution, and they chose the last Wednesday in October for the time on which it should take effect.

1780. At the coming in of the twenty-fifth day of October, 1780, Massachusetts became in truth a FREE COMMONWEALTH. Its people shook slavery from its garments as something that had never belonged to it. The colored inhabitants, about six thousand in number, or one in seventy of the population, equally became fellow-citizens; and, if any of them possessed the required qualifications of age, residence, and property, their right to vote admitted of no question.

As to the rights of conscience, it was agreed that "religion must at all times be a matter between God and individuals;" yet all were excluded from office who believed that a foreign prelate could have a dispensing power within

the commonwealth, and who would not "disclaim those principles of spiritual jurisdiction which are subversive of a free government established by the people." The legislature and magistrates were charged to cherish literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns. The constitution was marked by the effort at a complete separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers, that it might be a government of laws and not of men. "For a power without any restraint," said the convention, "is tyranny."

"The constitution of Massachusetts," wrote Count Matthieu Dumas, one of the French officers who served in America, "is perhaps the code of laws which does most honor to man." 1780.

As if to leave to the world a record of the contrast between the contending systems of government for colonists, the British ministry, simultaneously with the people of Massachusetts, engaged in forming its model. The part of Massachusetts between the river Saco and the St. Croix was constituted a province, under the name of New Ireland. The system adopted for Quebec and for East Florida was to receive in the New England province its full development. The marked feature of the constitution was the absolute power of the British parliament; and, to make this power secure for all coming time, every landlord on acquiring land, whether by grant from the crown, or by purchase, or by inheritance, was bound to make a test declaration of allegiance to the king in his parliament, as the supreme legislature of the province. The attorney and solicitor general of Great Britain were to report what of the laws of England would of their own authority take effect in the province, and what acts of parliament the king might introduce by his proclamation. "It has been found," said the state paper, "by sad experience, that the democratic power is predominant in all parts of British America." "To combat the prevailing disposition of the people to republicanism," there was to be by the side of the governor and council no elective assembly until the circumstances of the province should admit of it;

but a middle branch of legislature, of which every one of the members was to be named by the crown, to be distinguished by titles or emoluments, or both; and, though otherwise appointed for life, to remain ever liable to be suspended or removed by royal authority.

As a farther security to aristocratic power, the lands were to be granted in large tracts, so that there might be great landlords and a tenantry. The church of England was to be the established church; the country to be divided into parishes, each with a glebe land; and the governor, the highest judge in the ecclesiastical court, to present to all benefices. A vicar-general with a power to ordain was to open the way for a bishop. No provision was made for the establishment of schools or the education of the people. This constitution was approved by the cabinet on the tenth of August, 1780, and on the next day by the king. Pleased with their work, the ministers judged the proper time might have come to digest a system of government for all America.

Here were the two models side by side. The one would have organized self-government, the other arbitrary rule; the one a people of freeholders, the other of landlords and tenants; the one public worship according to the conscience and faith of individuals, the other a state religion subordinate to temporal power; the one education of all the people, the other indifference to human culture.

1780. It remains to be related that in the year 1780 the Methodists of the United States at their general meeting voted "slave-keeping contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature."

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE COMPLOT OF SIR HENRY CLINTON AND ARNOLD.

1780.

DESULTORY movements of the British and American troops in the north during the winter of 1780 were baffled by unwonted cold and deep snows. The 1780.
Hudson and the East River were covered with solid ice, but Knyphausen provided for the safety of New York by forming battalions of the loyal inhabitants and refugees. Besides, the American army, whose pay was in arrear and whom congress could not provide with food, was too feeble to hazard an attack. In May, the continental troops between the Chesapeake and Canada amounted only to seven thousand men; in the first week of June, those under the command of Washington, present and fit for duty, numbered but three thousand seven hundred and sixty.

On the twenty-eighth of May, the official report of May 28.
the surrender of Charleston was received. The refugees insisted that the men of New Jersey, weary of compulsory requisitions of supplies, longed to return to their old form of government; and English generals reported so great disaffection among the starved and half-clothed American officers and men that one half of them would desert to the English and the other half disperse. The moment seemed opportune for setting up the royal standard in New Jersey. Strengthening the post at King's Bridge, and leaving only three regiments in New York, Knyphausen formed nineteen regiments into three divisions under Robertson, Tryon, and Stachenberg, with an advanced guard under General Matthews. Of artillery, he took eight pieces.

The army of Washington was encamped at Morristown.

On the east of the Passaic, the Jersey brigade under General Maxwell was stationed at Connecticut Farms, and three hundred of the Jersey militia occupied Elizabeth-
1780. June 6. town. On the sixth of June, the British landed at Elizabethtown Point, but very slowly, from a scarcity of boats. The brigadier who commanded the vanguard was early wounded and disabled. Seven hours were lost in bridging a marsh which stopped their way. On the
June 7. morning of the seventh, the American militia, under Colonel Dayton, having had timely warning, retired before the enemy from Elizabethtown; but with the aid of volunteers from the country people, who flew to arms, and of small patrolling parties of continental troops, they harassed the British all the way on their march of five or six miles to Connecticut Farms. James Caldwell, the Presbyterian minister of that place, was known to have inspired his people with his own patriotic zeal. A British soldier, putting his gun to the window of the house where Caldwell's wife was sitting with her children, one of them a nursling, shot her fatally through the breast. Scarcely was time allowed to remove the children and the corpse from the house when it was set on fire. The Presbyterian meeting-house and the houses and barns of the village were burnt down. In the winter, the Presbyterian church at Newark had in like manner been burnt to the ground.

From Connecticut Farms, Maxwell, with the remnant of a brigade, retreated to strong ground near Springfield, where he awaited and repelled repeated attacks made by Colonel Wurmb with a Hessian regiment. Thrice did the Americans charge with fixed bayonets; and they retired only on the arrival of a British brigade, the Hessian yagers alone having lost more than fifty killed or wounded. Instead of men eager to return to their old allegiance, the British encountered a people risking all to preserve their independence; suffered losses all the day from determined troops; and at five in the afternoon found that Washington, on hearing that they were out in force, had brought in front of them a brave and faithful army, formed on ground of his own choice. Knyphausen, though his command outnum-

bered the Americans two to one, declined to attack, where victory must have cost dearly, and defeat would have been disastrous. Learning at this moment that Clinton with a large force might be expected at New York within a week, he resolved to attempt nothing more; and at nine o'clock in the evening his army began a retreat to Elizabethtown Point. An American detachment, sent at break of day in pursuit, drove the twenty-second English regiment out of Elizabethtown and returned without being molested. In general orders, Dayton "received particular thanks." At this time, a committee from congress was in the American camp, to whom Washington explained the hardships of his condition. Not only had congress accomplished nothing for the relief and re-enforcement of his army, it could not even tell how far the several states would comply with the requisitions made on them. While awarding liberal praise to the militia of New Jersey, he renewed his constant plea for regular troops: "Perseverance in enduring the rigors of military service is not to be expected from those who are not by profession obliged to it. Our force, from your own observation, is totally inadequate to our safety." 1780. June 8.

On the nineteenth of June, two days after his arrival in New York, Clinton repaired to New Jersey. June 19. He had now at his disposition nearly four times as many regular troops as were opposed to him; but he fretted at "the move in Jersey as premature," and what he "least expected." With civil words to the German officers, he resolved to give up the expedition; but he chose to mask his retreat by a feint, and to give it the air of a military manœuvre.

Troops sent up the Hudson River, as if to take the Americans in the rear, induced Washington to move his camp to Rockaway bridge, confiding the post at Short Hills to two brigades under the command of Greene. Early on the twenty-third, the British advanced in two com- June 23. pact divisions from Elizabethtown Point to Springfield. The column on the right had to ford the river before they could drive Major Lee from one of the bridges over

the Passaic. At the other, Colonel Angel with his regiment held the left column in check for about forty minutes. Greene prepared for action; but the British army, though it was drawn up and began a heavy cannonade, had no design to engage; and at four in the afternoon, after burning the houses in Springfield, it began its return. All the way back to Elizabethtown, it was annoyed by an incessant fire from American skirmishers and militia. Its total loss is not known; once more the Hessian yagers lost fifty in killed or wounded, among the latter one colonel, two captains, and a lieutenant. From Elizabethtown Point the fruitless expedition crossed to Staten Island by a bridge of boats, which at midnight was taken away. Clinton was never again to have so good an opportunity for offensive operations as that which he had now rejected.

On the return of D'Estaing from America, he urged the French ministry to send twelve thousand men to the United States, as the best way of pursuing the war actively; and Lafayette had of his own motion given the like advice to Vergennes, with whom he had formed relations of friendship. The cabinet adopted the measure in its principle, but vacillated as to the number of the French contingent. For the command, Count de Rochambeau was selected, not by court favor, but from the consideration in which he was held by the troops. On the tenth of July, Admiral de Ternay with a squadron of ten ships-of-war, three of them ships of the line, convoyed the detachment of about six thousand men with Rochambeau into the harbor of Newport. To an address from the general assembly of Rhode Island, then sitting in Newport, the count answered: "The French troops are restrained by the strictest discipline; and, acting under General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren. I assure the general assembly that, as brethren, not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command, are entirely devoted to their service." Washington in general orders desired the American officers to wear white and black cockades as a symbol of affection for their allies.

1780. July 10.

The British fleet at New York having received a large

re-enforcement, so that it had now a great superiority, Sir Henry Clinton embarked about eight thousand men for an expedition to Rhode Island. Supported by militia from Massachusetts and Connecticut, the French longed for the threatened attack; but the expedition proceeded no further than Huntington Bay in Long Island, where it idled away several days, and then returned to New York. Of the incapacity of Arbuthnot, the admiral, Clinton sent home bitter complaints, which were little heeded. There were those who censured the general as equally wanting energy. The sixth summer during which the British had vainly endeavored to reduce the United States was passing away, and after the arrival of French auxiliaries the British commander in chief was more than ever disheartened.

On the twenty-fifth of August, Clinton, knowing well that he had in Cornwallis a favored rival eager to supplant him, reported officially from New York: "At this new epoch in the war, when a foreign force has already landed and an addition to it is expected, I owe to my country, and I must in justice to my own fame declare to your lordship, that I become every day more sensible of the utter impossibility of prosecuting the war in this country without re-enforcements. The revolutions fondly looked for by means of friends to the British government I must represent as visionary. These, I well know, are numerous, but they are fettered. An inroad is no countenance, and to possess territory demands garrisons. The accession of friends, without we occupy the country they inhabit, is but the addition of unhappy exiles to the list of pensioned refugees. A glance at the returns of the army divided into garrisons and reduced by casualties on the one part, with the consideration of the task yet before us on the other, would, I fear, renew the too just reflection that we are by some thousands too weak to subdue this formidable rebellion." Yet for the moment the only regiments sent to the United States were three to re-enforce Lord Cornwallis. 1780. Aug. 25.

Hopeless of success in honorable warfare, Clinton stooped to fraud and corruption. From the time when officers who stood below Arnold were promoted over his head, discon-

tent rankled in his breast and found expression in threats of revenge. After the northern campaign, he complained more than ever that his services had not been sufficiently rewarded. While he held the command in Philadelphia, his extravagant mode of living tempted him to peculation and treasonable connections; and towards the end of February, 1779, he let it be known to the British commander in chief that he was desirous of exchanging the American service for that of Great Britain. His open preference for the friends of the English in Pennsylvania disgusted the patriots. The council of that state, after bearing with him for more than half a year, very justly desired his removal from the command; and, having early in 1779 given information of his conduct, against their intention they became his accusers. The court-martial before which he was arraigned, on charges that touched his honor and integrity, dealt with him leniently, and sentenced him only to be reprimanded by the commander in chief. The reprimand was marked with the greatest forbearance. The French minister, to whom Arnold applied for money, put aside his request and added wise and friendly advice. In the course of the winter of 1778–79, he was taken into the pay of Clinton, to whom he gave on every occasion most material intelligence.

The plot received the warmest encouragement from Lord George Germain, who, towards the end of September, 1779, wrote to Clinton: "Next to the destruction of Washington's army, the gaining over officers of influence and reputation among the troops would be the speediest means of subduing the rebellion and restoring the tranquillity of America. Your commission authorizes you to avail yourself of such opportunities, and there can be no doubt that the expense will be cheerfully submitted to."

1780. In 1780, the command at West Point needed to be changed. Acting in concert with Clinton and supported by the New York delegation in congress, Arnold, pleading his wounds as an excuse for declining active service, solicited and obtained orders to that post, which included all the American forts in the Highlands. Clinton entered with all his soul into the ignoble plot, which, as he

believed, was to end the war. After a correspondence of two months between him and the British commander in chief, through Major John André, adjutant-general of the army in North America, on the thirtieth of August, Arnold, insisting that the advantages which he expected to gain for himself by his surrender were "by no means unreasonable," and requiring that his conditions should "be clearly understood," laid a plan for an interview at which a person "fully authorized" was to "close with" his proposals. 1780. Aug. 30.

The rendezvous was given by him within the American lines, where Colonel Sheldon held the command; and that officer was instructed to expect the arrival "at his quarters of a person in New York to open a channel of intelligence." On the same day, André, disguising his name, wrote to Sheldon from New York, by order of Clinton: "A flag will be sent to Dobb's Ferry on Monday next, the eleventh, at twelve o'clock. Let me entreat you, sir, to favor a matter which is of so private a nature that the public on neither side can be injured by it. I trust I shall not be detained, but I would rather risk that than neglect the business in question, or assume a mysterious character to carry on an innocent affair and get to your lines by stealth." To this degree did the British commander in chief prostitute his word and a flag of truce, and lull the suspicions of the American officer by statements the most false. The letter of André being forwarded to Arnold, he "determined to go as far as Dobb's Ferry and meet the flag." As he was approaching the vessel in which André came up the river, the British guard-boats, whose officers were not in the secret, fired upon his barge and prevented the interview.

Clinton became only more interested in the project, for of a sudden he gained an illustrious assistant. At the breaking out of the war between France and England, Sir George Rodney, a British naval officer, chanced to be detained in Paris by debt. But the aged Marshal de Biron advanced him money to set himself free, and he hastened to England to ask employment of the king. He was not a member of parliament, and was devoted to no political party; he rev-

erenced the memory of Chatham, and yet held the war against the United States to be just. A man of action, quick-sighted, great in power of execution, he was the very officer whom a wise government would employ, and whom by luck the British admiralty of that day, tired of the Keppels and the Palisers, the mutinous and the incompetent, put in command of the expedition that was to relieve Gibraltar and rule the seas of the West Indies. One of the king's younger sons served on board his fleet as midshipman.

He took his squadron to sea on the twenty-ninth of
1780. Jan. 8. December, 1779. On the eighth of January, 1780, he captured seven vessels of war and fifteen sail of
Jan. 16. merchant-men. On the sixteenth, he encountered off Cape St. Vincent the Spanish squadron of Languara, very inferior to his own, and easily took or destroyed a great part of it. Having victualled the garrison of
Feb. 13. Gibraltar and relieved Minorca, on the thirteenth of February he set sail for the West Indies. At St. Lucia, he received letters from his wife, saying: "Everybody is beyond measure delighted as well as astonished at your success;" from his daughter: "Everybody almost adores you, and every mouth is full of your praise; come back when you have done some more things in that part of the world you are in now."

The thanks of both houses of parliament reached
April and May. him at Barbados. In April and May, Rodney had twice or thrice encounters with the French fleet of Admiral Guichen, and with such success that in a grateful mood the British parliament thanked him once more. Yet he did not obtain a decided superiority in the West Indian seas, and he reported to the admiralty as the reason, that his flag had not been properly supported by some of his officers.

With indifference to neutral rights, he sent frigates to seize or destroy all American vessels in St. Eustatius.
June. In June, he received a check by a junction of the Spanish squadron under Solano with the French. But the two admirals could not agree how their forces should be employed. Contagious fever attacked the Span-

iards, and reached the French. Solano returned to Havana; Guichen, whose squadron was anxiously awaited in the north, sailed for France. Rodney alone, passing to the north and recapturing a ship from Charleston, anchored off Sandy Hook, where he vexed the weak Admiral Arbuthnot by taking command of the station of New York during his short stay. To the vast superiority of the British on land was now added the undisputed dominion of the water. In aid of the enterprise by which Sir Henry Clinton expected to bring the war to an immediate close, Rodney contributed his own rare powers; and perfect harmony prevailed between the two branches of the service.

On the eighteenth of September, Washington crossed the North River on his way from head-quarters near Tappan to Hartford, where, attended by Lafayette and Hamilton, he was to hold his first interview with General Rochambeau. He was joined on the river by Arnold, who accompanied him as far as Peekskill, and endeavored, though in vain, to obtain his consent for the reception of an agent on pretended business relating to confiscated property. Had the consent been given, the interview with André would have taken place under a flag of truce, seemingly authorized by the American commander in chief. 1780. Sept. 18.

Time pressed on. Besides, Sir George Rodney had only looked in upon New York, and would soon return to the West Indies. On the evening of the eighteenth, Arnold, giving information that Washington on the following Saturday night was expected to be his guest at West Point, proposed that André should immediately come up to the "Vulture" ship-of-war, which rode at anchor just above Teller's Point in Haverstraw Bay, promising on Wednesday evening "to send a person on board with a boat and a flag of truce." Sept. 18.

This letter of Arnold reached Clinton on Tuesday evening, and he took his measures without delay. Troops were embarked on the Hudson River under the superintendence of Sir George Rodney, and the embarkation disguised by a rumor of an intended expedition into the Chesapeake. Sept. 19.

1780. Sept. 20. On the morning of the twentieth, the British adjutant-general, taking his life in his hand, prepared to carry out his orders. To diminish the dangers to which the service exposed him, "the commander in chief, before his departure, cautioned him not to change his dress, and not to take papers." At Dobb's Ferry, he embarked on the river, and, as the tide was favorable, reached the "Vulture" at about an hour after sunset, and declared to its captain "that he was ready to attend General Arnold's summons when and where he pleased."

Sept. 21. "The night the flag was first expected, he expressed much anxiety for its arrival," and, as it did not come, on the morning of the twenty-first by an ingenious artifice he let Arnold know where he was. On the ensuing Sept. 22. night, one Smith, in a boat with muffled oars, went off from the western shore of the Hudson to the "Vulture." "The instant André learned that he was wanted, he started out of bed and discovered the greatest impatience to be gone. Nor did he in any instance betray the least doubt of his safety and success." The moon, which had just passed into the third quarter, shone in a clear sky when the boat pushed for the landing-place near the upper edge of the Haverstraw Mountains. It was very near the time for day to appear, when André, dressed in regimentals, which a large blue cloak concealed, landed at the point of the Long Clove, where Arnold was waiting in the bushes to receive him. The general had brought with him a spare horse; and the two rode through the village of Haverstraw within the American lines to the house of Smith, which lay a few miles from the river. At the dawn of day, the noise of artillery was heard. An American party had brought field-pieces to bear on the "Vulture;" and Arnold, as he looked out from the window, saw her compelled to shift her anchorage. The negotiations of the two parties continued for several hours. Clinton was in person to bring his army to the siege of Fort Defiance, which enclosed about seven acres of land. The garrison was to be so distributed as to destroy its efficiency. Arnold was to send immediately to Washington for aid, and to

surrender the place in time for Sir Henry Clinton to make arrangements for surprising the re-enforcement, which it was believed Washington would conduct in person. It was no part of the plan to risk an attempt to capture Washington while a guest at West Point. The promises to Arnold were indemnities in money and the rank of brigadier in the British service. The American general returned to his quarters. Late in the afternoon, André, changing his dress for the disguise of a citizen, provided with passes from Arnold and attended by Smith, set off by land for New York.

Four years before, Washington had sailed between the Highlands, where nature blends mountains and valleys and the deep river in exceeding beauty; and he had selected for fortification the points best adapted to command the passage. In 1778, it was still a desert, nearly inaccessible; now it was covered with fortresses and artillery. Fort Defiance alone was defended by a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and was believed to be impregnable. Here were magazines of powder and ammunition, completely filled, for the use not of the post only, but of the whole army. The fortifications built by a nation just rising into notice seemingly represented a vast outlay in money. With prodigious labor, huge trunks of trees and enormous hewn stones were piled up on steep rocks. All this had been done without cost to the state by the hands of the American soldiers, who were pervaded by a spirit as enthusiastic and as determined as that of the bravest and most cultivated of their leaders; and who received for their work not the smallest gratification, even when their stated pay remained in arrear. And these works, of which every stone was a monument of humble, disinterested patriotism, were to be betrayed to the enemy, with all their garrison. 1780. Sept. 22.

On that same evening, Washington, free from suspicion, was returning to his army. He had met General Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay at Hartford. "The interview was a genuine festival for the French, who were impatient to see the hero of liberty. His noble mien, the simplicity

of his manners, his mild gravity, surpassed their expectations and gained for him their hearts." All agreed that, for want of a superiority at sea, active operations could not be begun; so that the meeting served only to establish friendship and confidence between the officers of the two nations. Washington on his return was accompanied a day's journey by Count Dumas, one of the aids of Rochambeau. The population of the town where he was to spend the night went out to meet him. A crowd of children, repeating the acclamations of their elders, gathered around him, stopping his way, all wishing to touch him and with loud cries calling him their father. Pressing the hand of Dumas, he said to him: "We may be beaten by the English in the field; it is the lot of arms: but see there the army which they will never conquer."

At this very time, André, conducted by Smith, crossed the Hudson River at King's ferry. It was already dark before they passed the American post at Verplanck's Point, under the excuse that they were going up the river, and to keep up that pretence they turned in for the night near Crompond. Very early on the twenty-third, they were in the saddle. Two miles and a half north of Pine's bridge over the Croton, Smith, assuring André that the rest of the way he would meet only British parties, or cow-boys as they were called, and having charged him to take the inner route to New York through the valley of the Bronx by way of White Plains, near which the British had an outpost, bade him farewell and rode up to dine with Arnold at his quarters. At a fork in the road about six miles below the Croton, André, quitting the road to White Plains, took that which led over the hills, and entered the highway from Albany to New York at a short distance above Tarrytown. He now thought himself beyond all danger, and according to his own account he fully believed that he was the bearer of a plan which would bring the civil war to an immediate end. The British troops, embarked by Sir George Rodney, lay waiting for Clinton to give the word and to lead them in person.

1780. Sept. 23.

It happened that John Paulding, a poor man, then about

forty-six years old, a zealous patriot who engaged in the service of his country at the breaking out of the war and was twice made captive, had lately escaped from New York and had formed a little corps of partisans to annoy roving parties taking provisions to New York, or otherwise doing service to the British. On that morning, after setting a reserve of four to keep watch in the rear, he and David Williams of Tarrytown and Isaac van Wart of Greenburg seated themselves in the thicket by the wayside just above Tarrytown, and whiled away the time by playing cards. At an hour before noon, André was just rising the hill out of Sleepy Hollow, within fifteen miles of the strong British post at King's Bridge, when Paulding got up, presented a firelock at his breast, and asked which way he was going. Full of the idea that he could meet none but friends to the English, he answered: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party?" "Which party?" asked Paulding. "The lower party," said André. Paulding answered that he did. Then said André: "I am a British officer, out on particular business, and I hope you will not detain me a minute." Upon this, Paulding ordered him to dismount. Seeing his mistake, André showed his pass from Arnold, saying: "By your stopping me, you will detain the general's business." "I hope," answered Paulding, "you will not be offended; we do not mean to take any thing from you. There are many bad people going along the road; perhaps you may be one of them;" and he asked if he had any letters about him. André answered: "No." They took him into the bushes to search for papers, and at last discovered three parcels under each stocking. Among these were a plan of the fortifications of West Point; a memorial from the engineer on the attack and defence of the place; returns of the garrison, cannon, and stores, all in the handwriting of Arnold. "This is a spy," said Paulding. André offered a hundred guineas, any sum of money, if they would but let him go. "No," cried Paulding, "not for ten thousand guineas." They then led him off, and, arriving in the evening at North Castle, they delivered him with his papers to Lieutenant-colonel

1780. Sept. 23.

Jameson who commanded the post, and then went their way, not asking a reward for their services, nor leaving their names.

What passed between André and Jameson is not known. The result of the interview was that on the twenty-
1780. Sept. 24. fourth the prisoner was ordered by Jameson to be taken to Arnold; but on the sharp remonstrance of Major Tallmadge, the next in rank, the order was countermanded, and he was confined at Old Salem, yet with permission to inform Arnold by letter of his arrest.

Sept. 25. His letter was received on the twenty-fifth, too late for an order to be given for his release, and only in time for Arnold himself to escape down the river to the "Vulture." Washington, who had turned aside to examine the condition of the works at West Point, arrived a few hours after his flight.

The first care of the commander in chief was for the safety of the post. The extent of the danger appeared from a letter of the twenty-fourth, in which André avowed himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army, and offered excuses for having been "betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise" within his posts. He added: "The request I have to make to your excellency, and I am conscious I address myself well, is that, in any rigor policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonorable, as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was unvoluntarily an impostor." This request was granted in its full extent, and in the whole progress of the affair he was treated with the most scrupulous delicacy. André further wrote: "Gentlemen at Charleston on parole were engaged in a conspiracy against us; they are objects who may be set in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect." The charge of conspiracy against Gadsden and his fellow-sufferers was groundless; and had been brought forward only as an excuse for shipping them away from the city, where their mere presence kept the love of independence alive. To seek security by a threat of retaliation on inno-

cent men was an unworthy act, which received no support from Sir Henry Clinton.

André was without loss of time conducted to the headquarters of the army at Tappan. His offence was so clear that it would have justified the promptest action; but, to prevent all possibility of complaint from any quarter, he was, on the twenty-ninth, brought before a numerous and very able board of officers. On his own confession and without the examination of a witness, the board, on which sat Greene, second only to Washington in the service; Saint-Clair, afterwards president of congress; Lafayette, of the French army; Steuben, from the staff of Frederic II.; Parsons, Clinton, Glover, Knox, Huntingdon, and others, all well known for their uprightness, — made their unanimous report that Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy and to suffer death. Throughout the inquiry, André was penetrated with the liberality of the members of the court, who showed him every mark of indulgence, and required him to answer no interrogatory which could even embarrass his feelings. He acknowledged their generosity in the strongest terms of manly gratitude, and afterwards remarked to one who visited him that, if there were any remains in his mind of prejudice against the Americans, his present experience must obliterate them. 1780. Sept. 29.

On the thirtieth, the sentence was approved by Washington, and ordered to be carried into effect the next day. Clinton had already in a note to Washington asked André's release, as one who had been protected by "a flag of truce and passports granted for his return." André had himself, in his examination before the board of officers, repelled the excuse which Clinton made for him; and indeed to have used a flag of truce for his purposes would have aggravated his offence. Washington replied by enclosing to the British commander in chief the report of the board of inquiry, and observed "that Major André was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize." Sept. 30.

At the request of Clinton, who promised to present "a true state of facts," the execution was delayed till
1780. Oct. 2. the second day of October; and General Robertson, attended by two civilians, came up the river for a conference. The civilians were not allowed to land; but Greene was deputed to meet the officer. Instead of presenting facts, Robertson, after compliments to the character of Greene, announced that he had come to treat with him. Greene answered: "The case of an acknowledged spy admits no official discussion." Robertson then proposed to free André by an exchange. Greene answered: "If André is set free, Arnold must be given up;" for the liberation of André could not be asked for except in exchange for one who was equally implicated in the complot. Robertson then forgot himself so far as to deliver an open letter from Arnold to Washington, in which, in the event André should suffer the penalty of death, he used these threats: "I shall think myself bound by every tie of duty and honor to retaliate on such unhappy persons of your army as may fall within my power. Forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina have justly forfeited their lives; Sir Henry Clinton cannot in justice extend his mercy to them any longer, if Major André suffers."

1780. Meantime, André entreated with touching earnestness that he might not die "on the gibbet." Washington and every other officer in the American army were moved to the deepest compassion; and Hamilton, who has left his opinion that no one ever suffered death with more justice and that there was in truth no way of saving him, wished that in the mode of his death his feelings as an officer and a man might be respected. But the English themselves had established the exclusive usage of the gallows. At the beginning of the war, their officers in America threatened the highest American officers and statesmen with the cord. It was the only mode of execution authorized by them. Under the orders of Clinton, Lord Cornwallis in South Carolina had set up the gallows for those whom he styled deserters, without regard to rank. Neither the sentence of the court nor the order of Washington names

death on the gallows; the execution took place in the manner that was alone in use on both sides.

In going to the place of execution, a constrained smile hid the emotions of André. Arrived at the fatal spot, the struggle in his mind was visible; but he preserved his self-control. "I am reconciled," he said, "to my fate, but not to the mode." Being asked at the last moment if he had any thing to say, he answered: "Nothing but to request you to witness to the world that I die like a brave man." 1780.

Tried by the laws of morals, it is one of the worst forms of dissimulation to achieve by corruption and treachery what cannot be gained by honorable arms. If we confine our judgment within the limits of the laws of war, it is a blemish on the character of André that he was willing to prostitute a flag, to pledge his word, even under the orders of his chief, for the innocence and private nature of his design, and to have wished to make the lives of faultless prisoners hostages for his own. About these things a man of honor and humanity ought to have had a scruple; "but the temptation was great, let his misfortunes cast a veil over his errors." The last words of André committed to the Americans the care of his reputation; and they faithfully fulfilled his request. The firmness and delicacy observed in his case was exceedingly admired on the continent of Europe. His king did right in offering honorable rank to his brother, and in granting pensions to his mother and sisters; but not in raising a memorial to his name in Westminster Abbey. Such honor belongs to other enterprises and deeds. The tablet has no fit place in a sanctuary, dear from its monuments to every friend to genius and mankind.

As for Arnold, he had not feeling enough to undergo mental torments, and his coarse nature was not sensitive to shame. Bankrupt and escaping from his creditors, he preferred claims to indemnity, and received between six and seven thousand pounds. He suffered only when he found that baffled treason is paid grudgingly; when employment was refused him; when he could neither stay in England

nor get orders for service in America; when, despised and neglected, he was pinched by want. But the king would not suffer his children to starve, and eventually their names were placed on the pension list.

Sir George Rodney returned to the West Indies, and, so far as related to himself, let the unsuccessful conspiracy sink into oblivion. For Clinton, the cup of humiliation was filled to the brim. "Thus ended," so he wrote in his anguish to Germain, "this proposed plan, from which I had conceived such great hopes and imagined such great consequences." He was, moreover, obliged to introduce into high rank in the British army, and receive at his council table, a man who had shown himself so sordid that British officers of honor hated to serve under him, or with him, or over him. Arnold, on his part, had the effrontery to make addresses to the American people respecting their alliance with France; to write insolent letters to Washington; to invite all Americans to desert the colors of their country like himself; to advise the breaking up of the American army by wholesale bribery. Nay, he even turned against his patron as wanting activity, assuring Germain that the American posts in the Highlands might be carried in a few days by a regular attack. No one knew better than Clinton that André was punished justly; yet in his private journal he aimed a stab at the fair fame of his signally humane adversary, whom he had been able to overcome neither in the field nor
1780. by intrigue; and attributed an act of public duty to personal "rancor," for which no cause whatever existed. The false accusation proves not so much malignity in its author as feebleness.[1]

[1] In my narrative, I have followed only contemporary documents, which are abundant and of the surest character, and which, taken collectively, solve every question. The most important are: The proceedings of the American court of inquiry; Clinton's elaborate letters to Lord George Germain of 11 and 12 Oct., 1780; Narrative of correspondence and transactions respecting General Arnold in Sir Henry Clinton's letter of 11 Oct., 1780; Clinton's secret letter of 30 Oct., 1780; Clinton's report to Lord Amherst of 16 Oct., 1780; Extract from Clinton's Journal in Mahon's England, vii., Appendix vii. to xi.; Journal of General Matthews; Trial of Joshua Hett Smith, edited by Henry B. Dawson, New

Washington sought out the three men who, "leaning only on their virtue and an honest sense of their duty," could not be tempted by gold; and on his report congress voted them annuities in words of respect and honor.

York, 1866; and especially Hamilton's account of André's affair in Works, i. 172–182. This last is particularly valuable, as Hamilton had the best opportunities to be well informed; and in his narrative, if there are any traces of partiality, it is towards André that he leaned. The reminiscences of men who wrote in later days are so mixed up with errors of memory and fable that they offer no sure foothold.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

STRIVING FOR UNION.

1779–1781.

"OUR respective governments which compose the union," so ran the circular of congress to the states in the
1779. opening of the year 1779, "are settled and in the vigorous exercise of uncontrolled authority." Itself without credit and unable to enforce the collection of taxes, it increased its paper money. About one hundred and six millions were then in circulation. The worth of the continental dollar, for a time buoyed up by the French alliance, had in three months fallen from twenty cents to twelve and a half. For the service of the year 1779, congress invited the states to pay by instalments their respective quotas of fifteen millions; and, further, to pay six millions annually for eighteen years, as a fund to sink all previous emissions and obligations. The two series which under British auspices had been most largely counterfeited were called in; but this act impaired the credit of them all, more than would have been done by leaving the people to discriminate for themselves. After these preliminaries, a new issue of a little more than fifty millions was authorized.

"The state of the currency was the great impediment to all vigorous measures;" it became a question whether men, if they could be raised, could be subsisted. In
April. April, when a paper dollar was worth but five cents, it was said that "a wagon-load of money would scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions. The
May. Pennsylvania farmers were unwilling to sell their wheat except for hard money. There seemed no hope of relief but from some central authority. To con-

federate without Maryland was the vote of Connecticut; with nine or more states, was the opinion at Boston; with "so many as shall be willing to do so," allowing to the rest a time during which they might come in, was the decision of Virginia.

Late in May, congress apportioned among the states forty-five millions of dollars more, though there was no chance that the former apportionment would be paid. Four times in the course of the year it sent forth addresses to the several states. Newspapers, town-meetings, legislatures, teemed with remedial plans; but the issue of paper constantly increased, and its value fell with accelerated velocity. In the middle of August, when a paper dollar was worth but three or four cents, Washington, who had suffered very heavy losses and remained willing to sacrifice his whole estate, instructed his agent that the legal-tender law countenanced dishonesty. 1779. Aug. 17.

On the second of September, congress, having ascertained that the sum of outstanding emissions was but little short of one hundred and sixty millions, limited paper money to two hundred millions; and the limit was reached before the end of the year. In October, it appointed Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, to negotiate a loan of ten millions in the Netherlands. In November, it further resolved to draw upon him for one hundred thousand pounds sterling; and to draw on Jay, at Madrid, for as much more. The two were instructed mutually to support each other; but neither of them had any resources. The king of Spain was the most determined foe to the independence of the United States; and the United Provinces had not yet acknowledged their existence. In the midst of these financial straits, the year came to an end; and a paper dollar, which in January had been worth twelve and a half cents, was in December worth less than two and a half cents. Sept. 2. Oct. Nov.

The legislature of Virginia had, on the second of June, 1779, unanimously ratified the treaties of alliance and commerce between France and the United States; and the governor had, under the seal of the commonwealth, June 2.

notified the French minister at Philadelphia of the act. On this procedure, Vergennes in September instructed the French minister at Philadelphia in these words: "During the war, it is essential both for the United States and for us that their union should be as perfect as possible. When they shall be left to themselves, the general confederation will have much difficulty in maintaining itself, and will perhaps be replaced by separate confederations. Should this revolution take place, it will weaken the United States, which have not now, and never will have, real and respectable strength except by their union. But it is for themselves alone to make these reflections. We have no right to present them for their consideration, and we have no interest whatever to see America play the part of a power. The possibility of the dissolution of the general confederation, and the consequent suppression of congress, leads us to think that nothing can be more conformable to our political interest than separate acts by which each state shall ratify the treaties concluded with France; because in this way every state will be found separately connected with us, whatever may be the fortune of the general confederation."

1779 Sept.

Maryland was the only other state to take notice of treaties, and it did no more than approve the act of its delegates in ratifying them. The sentiment of congress was strong against these seeming assumptions of a separate voice on a subject reserved exclusively for the deliberation of all. Before the war was ended, both Maryland and Virginia applied to France for assistance, which the latter received.

On the question of a closer union, Virginia hung nearly on the balance. The first of her citizens, at the head of the army, was using all his powers of persuasion to promote an efficient government; and her legislature selected Madison, a friend to union, as one of her representatives. On the other hand, as the chief claimant of north-western lands in opposition to congress, she, above all others, asserted the sovereignty of the separate states. Congress had received petitions from persons, claiming to be companies, holding

land north-west of the Ohio. "Should congress assume a jurisdiction," such was the remonstrance of the general assembly of Virginia, "it would be a violation of public faith; introduce a most dangerous precedent, which might hereafter be urged to deprive of territory or subvert the sovereignty and government of any one or more of the United States; and establish in congress a power which, in process of time, must degenerate into an intolerable despotism." "Although the general assembly of Virginia would make great sacrifices to the common interest of America (as they have already done on the subject of representation), and will be ready to listen to any just and reasonable propositions for removing the ostensible causes of delay to the complete ratification of the confederation, they do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the commonwealth of Virginia, expressly protest against any jurisdiction or right of adjudication in congress, upon the petitions of the Vandalia or Indiana companies, or on any other matter or thing subversive of the internal policy, civil government, or sovereignty of this or any other of the United American States, or unwarranted by the articles of confederation." Congress, on mature consideration, declined the discussion of the remonstrance.

To counterbalance the sturdy resistance of Virginia, 1780. the legislature of New York took the field. They founded claims to western territory on the discoveries of the Dutch; on the grant from Charles II. to the Duke of York; on the capitulation of the Dutch; on the acquisition of the rights of the Five Nations and their tributaries as the native proprietors. Desirous to accelerate the federal alliance, on the nineteenth of April, 1780, Apr. 19. they authorized congress to restrict their boundaries on the west. This is the first important act of the states in surrendering public lands to the federal union.

At the opening of the year 1780, congress found itself utterly helpless, and threw every thing upon the states. In truth, there was nothing else that it could do. On the ninth of February, it fixed the number of men Feb. 9. necessary for the service of the year at thirty-five-

thousand two hundred and eleven, and required the states to furnish by drafts or otherwise, before the first day of the coming April, the respective deficiencies in their quotas, which were prescribed with exactness. But troops need to be subsisted: congress called on the several states to furnish their respective quotas of supplies for the ensuing season; thus shoving off from itself all care for recruiting the army, and all responsibility for its support. To gain money, it directed the states to bring into the continental treasury, by taxes or otherwise, one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars every month to the month of April, 1781, inclusive, in hard money or with forty dollars in the old bills for one dollar of the tax. The bills that should be thus brought in were to be destroyed; and, for every forty dollars actually cancelled, two dollars of a new issue might be uttered, bearing five per cent interest, receivable by the continental treasury as specie, and redeemable in specie by the several states on or before the last day of December, 1786.

As fast as the new bills should be signed and emitted, the states respectively on whose funds they were to be issued were to receive three fifths of them, and the remaining two fifths were to be subject to the order of the United States, and to be duly credited to the several states. All laws on legal tender were to be adapted to the new system. The elaborate plan was generally well received, though by a mere vote it sponged out thirty-nine fortieths of the former currency. As the bills were to be issued in the names of the several states according to enactments of their own legislatures, the plan could not go into effect till each one of them should give authority for the use of its name.

1780. Meantime, the demands on the continental treasury were in part answered by warrants on the several states, which found means to discharge them, using the taxes collected for the continental treasury.

Pennsylvania was the first state that had the opportunity to accept the measure, and it adjourned without acting upon it. The legislature of Virginia rejected it by an overwhelming majority, and at last, after great persuasion, accepted

it by a majority of but two. The new emission wanted credit from the beginning; the old currency soon ceased to circulate.

A cry arose among patriotic men, especially in the army, for an efficient government. "While the powers of congress," wrote Greene, "are so incompetent to the duty required of them, I have but little hopes that the face of our affairs will mend; on the contrary, I fear they will grow worse and worse until ruin overtakes us." In the army, which had been unpaid for five months, every department was without money and without the shadow of credit. To relieve this gloomy state of things, congress, on the tenth of April, 1780, promised to make good to the officers and line the depreciation in their pay; but the promise was little worth. For a long time the troops received only from one half to one eighth of a ration of meat, and were several days without a single pound of it. Washington appealed to the president of the rich state of Pennsylvania, which, except for a few months in 1777 and 1778, had been untouched by the war; but it was in vain. "The great man," wrote Greene secretly to the president of Pennsylvania, "is confounded at his situation, but appears to be reserved and silent. Should there be a want of provisions, we cannot hold together many days in the present temper of the army." On the twenty-fifth of May, two regiments of Connecticut, worn out by want of clothes and food and pay, paraded under arms, declaring their resolution to return home, or to obtain subsistence for themselves; and they were brought back to their duty only by being reminded that they were defenders of the rights of mankind, and, as a grave writer who was then with the army relates, by the "influence of the commander in chief whom they almost adored." The enemy appeared against them in the midst of these trials; and they rallied as one man and kept him at bay. 1780. May.

"Certain I am," wrote Washington in May, to his friend Joseph Jones, a delegate from Virginia, "unless congress are vested with powers by the several states competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as matter of right,

and they and the states respectively act with more energy than they have hitherto done, our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing in the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses and derive no benefit from them. One state will comply with a requisition of congress; another neglects to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that
1780. we are always working up-hill. While such a system as the present one, or rather want of one, prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage.

"This, my dear sir, is plain language to a member of congress, but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, which, instead of looking up to congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective states. In a word, I see the powers of congress declining too fast for the consideration and respect which are due to them as the great representative body of America, and I am fearful of the consequences."

"Congress," answered his correspondent, "have scarcely a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions; for, as to the army, they are at present little more than the medium through which its wants are conveyed to the states. This body never had, or at least in few instances ever exercised, powers adequate to the purposes of war; and, indeed, such as they possessed have been frittered away to the states, and it will be found very difficult to recover them. Resolutions are now before us, by one of which the states are desired to give express powers for the common defence. Others go to the assumption of them immediately. The first will sleep with the states; the others will die where they are, so cautious are some of offending the states."

When it became certain that troops from France were on their way to assist the country, congress made not even a

semblance of direct action, and could only entreat the states to correspond severally with its committee at head-quarters, so that it might explicitly know how far they could be relied on to furnish the men and money and provisions that had been called for. The legislature of Pennsylvania, before its adjournment, vested large discretionary powers in its president; but these from motives of prudence he declined to use. It remained to be seen what private efforts could do. In June, steps were taken at Philadelphia for founding a bank with leave to issue notes. The subscribers proposed, but only on adequate security, to make purchases in advance for the suffering soldiers. Congress accepted the proffered aid, and further resolved to intrust to the company as much of its paper money as could be spared from other services. Thus began the deposit of funds of the United States in a bank. 1780. June.

Throughout the war, the women of America never grew weary of yielding up articles necessary for the comfort of their own households, to relieve the distresses of the soldiers. The women of Philadelphia, rallying round the amiable Esther Reed, wife of the president of Pennsylvania, now made a more earnest effort: they brought together large donations of clothing, and invited the ladies of other states to adopt a like plan. They thus assisted to keep alive the spirit of patriotism in the army, but their gifts could not meet its ever recurring wants.

"The congress," wrote Greene, towards the end of June, "have lost their influence. I have for a long time seen the necessity of some new plan of civil constitution. Unless there is some control over the states by the congress, we shall soon be like a broken band."

Without the impulse from a centre, there could be no good administration. Money enough had been expended for clothing the army; but large importations were left to go to waste in different parts of the country, and the troops were never seen otherwise than half-naked. When congress drew supplies in kind directly from each state for its own troops, quotas were sometimes apportioned by the states to their towns, and in towns to individuals. Men of small means

in a New England village would club together to buy an ox of a weight equal to their collective quotas, and herds of cattle gathered in this way were driven slowly to
1780. camp. All this marked an active spirit of patriotism reaching to the humblest and remotest, but it showed the want of organized power.

Even with the energy of Greene, there could be no efficient administration in the quartermaster's department, though it had been placed on a centralized system under his immediate authority with powers almost independent of congress, and with most liberal and even lucrative emoluments for himself, his assistants and subordinates. Washington was satisfied that he did all that was possible, that he "conducted the various duties of his office with capacity and diligence, and with the strictest integrity." The system itself in the hands of a bad man would have opened the way to endless abuses; and congress wisely restored its own controlling civil supervision. Dismissing a useless supernumerary, it determined to have but one head of the quartermaster's department at the seat of congress, and one at the camp; and, in paying the officers of the staff, it returned to salaries instead of commissions. The unanimous judgment of the country from that day to this has approved the reform. Greene, to whom his office had for more than a year become grievously irksome, resigned with petulant abruptness; but congress, still following its sense of public duty, conquered its well-grounded displeasure, and soon after, on the advice of Washington, appointed him to the command of the southern army. His successor in the quartermaster's department was Timothy Pickering, who excelled him as a man of business; so that the service suffered nothing by the change.

The tendency to leave all power in the hands of the separate states was a natural consequence of their historic development, and was confirmed by pressing necessity. "A single assembly," so John Adams long continued to reason, "is every way adequate to the management of all the federal concerns of the people of America; and with very good reason, because congress is not a legislative, nor a representative, but a diplomatic assembly."

Congress having invited the eight states north of Mary-

land to convene at New Haven, in January, 1778, all but Delaware appeared; but they strove in vain to regulate prices. The convention of the eastern states, which at the instance of Massachusetts assembled in the next year at Hartford, is memorable for having advised a convention of all the states at Philadelphia. In consequence, early in 1780, delegates from every state north of Virginia, except New York, met in that city, but accomplished nothing. By the meeting of the eastern states in August, 1780, at Boston, the first step was taken towards the formation of a federal constitution. After adopting a series of measures best suited to the campaign, they resolved "that the union of these states be fixed in a more solid and permanent manner; that the powers of congress be more clearly ascertained and defined; that the important national concerns of the United States be under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head; that it be recommended to the states to empower their delegates in congress to confederate with such of the states as will accede to the proposed confederation; and that they invest their delegates in congress with powers competent for the government and direction of all those common and national affairs which do not nor can come within the jurisdiction of the particular states." 1780.

To these resolutions Washington invited the attention of Bowdoin, then president of the council of Massachusetts. "If adopted," said he, "they will be the means most likely to rescue our affairs from the complicated and dreadful embarrassments under which they labor, and will do infinite honor to those with whom they originate. I sincerely wish they may meet with no opposition or delay in their progress."

The words of the convention sunk deeply into the mind of Hamilton, who for three and a half years had been Washington's most able and confidential secretary; and, under his eye and guidance, had watched the course of affairs from the central point where they could best be overseen. To these opportunities he added the resources of an inventive and fearless mind, joined to the quick impulses of youth, and the habit of steady and severe reflection. Un-

controlled by birth or inherited attachments to any one state, he fastened with superior power upon the idea of a stronger union. Of Scotch and Celtic origin, he had something of proneness to the exercise of authority. By disposition and temperament he demanded a strong and well-organized government of ever active and enduring power. Though still so young, his intellect was, and remained for his lifetime, the wellspring of ideas for the conservative politicians of New York, and of an ever increasing circle in other states. From childhood, he was unbounded in
1780. his admiration of the English constitution, and did not utterly condemn its methods of corruption in the conduct of public affairs; yet in his own nature there was nothing sordid or low; he was disinterested, and always true to the sense of personal integrity and honor. The character of his mind and his leaning to authority, combined with something of a mean opinion of his fellow-men, cut him off from the sympathy of the masses, so that he was in many ways unfit to lead a party; and the years of his life which were most productive of good were those in which he acted with Washington, who was the head, the leader, and the guide of a nation in a manner which he was not only incapable of, but could never even fully comprehend. While the weightiest testimony that has ever been borne to the ability of Hamilton is by Washington, there never fell from Hamilton's pen during the lifetime of the latter one line which adequately expressed the character of Washington, or gave proof that he had had the patience to verify the immense power that lay concealed beneath the uniform moderation and method of his chief. He had a good heart, but with it the pride and the natural arrogance of youth, combined with an almost overweening consciousness of his endowments, so that he was ready to find faults in the administration of others, and to believe that things might have gone better if the direction had rested with himself. Bold in the avowal of his own opinions, he was fearless to provoke and quick to combat opposition. It was not his habit to repine over lost opportunities; but rather to prevent what seemed to him coming evils by timely action.

The England of that day had its precocious statesmen. For stateliness of eloquence, and consummate skill in managing a legislative assembly, the palm must be given to Pitt, whom Hamilton excelled in vigor, consistency, and versatility. There were points of analogy between Hamilton and Fox. Both were warm and passionate; but Hamilton became the father of a family, while Fox wasted life as a libertine. It was remarkable of both of them that, with fiery natures, their style in debate and in writing was devoid of ornament, attractive only by strength of thought and clearness of expression.

On the third of September, 1780, Hamilton took the field as a maker of a national constitution, by inviting Duane, a member of congress from New York, to hold up to that body the example of the New England states, and to call on the first day of the next November a convention of all the states, with full authority to conclude finally upon a general confederation. He traced the causes of the want of power in congress, and censured that body for its timidity in refusing to assume authority to preserve the republic from harm. "Undefined powers," he said, "are discretionary powers, limited only by the object for which they were given," not holding in mind that congress could not have assumed such powers, even if it would. "Already," he continued, "some of the lines of the army, but for the personal influence of the general, would obey their states in opposition to congress, notwithstanding the pains taken to preserve the unity of the army. The sovereign of an empire under one simple form of government has too much power; in an empire composed of confederated states, each with a government completely organized within itself, the danger is directly the reverse." 1780. Sept. 3.

"We must, at all events, have a vigorous confederation," he said, "if we mean to succeed in the contest, and be happy thereafter. Internal police should be regulated by the legislatures. Congress should have complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, finance, foreign affairs, armies, fleets, fortifications, coining money, establishing banks, imposing a land-tax, poll-tax, duties on

trade, and the unoccupied lands." "The confederation should provide certain perpetual revenues, productive and easy of collection, — a land-tax, poll-tax, or the like; which, together with the duties on trade and the unlocated lands, would give congress a substantial existence." "Where the public good is evidently the object, more may be effected in governments like ours than in any other. It has been a constant remark that free countries have ever paid the heaviest taxes. The obedience of a free people to general laws, however hard they bear, is ever more perfect than that of slaves to the arbitrary will of a prince."

"As to the plan of confederation which congress has proposed, it is," he said, "defective, and requires to be altered. It is neither fit for war nor peace. The idea of an
1780. uncontrollable sovereignty in each state will defeat the powers given to congress, and make our union feeble and precarious."

The second step which Hamilton recommended was the appointment of great officers of state, — one for the department of foreign affairs, another for war, a third for the navy, a fourth for the treasury. These were to supersede the committees and the boards which had hitherto been usual; but his plan neither went so far as to propose a president with the chief executive power, nor two branches in the national legislature. He would have placed the army exclusively under congress, but mistook its importance as "a solid basis of authority and consequence." The precedent of the Bank of England, of which he over-estimated the influence on public credit, led him to place too much reliance on a bank of the United States.

The advice which Hamilton offered from his tent, in the midst of an unpaid, half-fed, and half-clad army, was the more remarkable from the hopefulness which beamed through his words. No doubt crossed his mind, or indeed that of any of his countrymen, that a republic of united states could be formed over a widely extended territory.

Two days later, Washington, with Duane at his side, gazed from Weehawken Heights on the half-ruined city of New York in her bondage. He may not have fully foreseen

how the wealth and commercial representatives of all the nations of the world would be gathered on that island and the neighboring shores; but he, too, never doubted of the coming prosperity and greatness of his country.

Congress toiled as before, and, if for the moment it toiled in vain, it secured the future. It urged on the states a liberal surrender of their territorial claims in the west, "to accelerate the federal alliance and lead to the happy establishment of the federal union;" and, as if its eye had pierced the glories of the coming century, it provided "that the western lands which might be ceded to the United States should be settled and formed into distinct republican states, that should become members of that federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other states." In October, in words 1780. drafted by Robert R. Livingston, it adhered with hearty good-will to the principles of the armed neutrality, and by a vote of a majority of the states it sought to quiet the discontent among the officers in the army by promising them half-pay for life. But, to relieve the embarrassments of the moment, it was helpless.

Again, on the twenty-second of October, Washington, to guide his native state towards union, poured out his heart to his early friend George Mason: "Our present distresses are so great and complicated that it is scarcely within the powers of description to give an adequate idea of them. With regard to our future prospects, unless there is a material change both in our civil and military policy, it will be in vain to contend much longer.

"We are without money; without provision and forage, except what is taken by impress; without clothing; and shortly shall be, in a manner, without men. In a word, we have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer. The history of this war is a history of temporary devices instead of system, and economy which results from it.

"If we mean to continue our struggles (and it is to be hoped we shall not relinquish our claims), we must do it upon an entire new plan. We must have a permanent force; not a force that is constantly fluctuating and sliding

from under us, as a pedestal of ice would leave a statue on a summer's day; involving us in expense that baffles all calculation, an expense which no funds are equal to. We must at the same time contrive ways and means to aid our taxes by loans, and put our finances upon a more certain and stable footing than they are at present. Our civil government must likewise undergo a reform; ample powers must be lodged in congress as the head of the federal union, adequate to all the purposes of war. Unless these things are done, our efforts will be in vain."

1780. Nov. 4. On the fourth of November, congress once more distributed among the several states a tax of six millions of silver dollars, to be paid partly in specific articles. But in truth everybody came to the conviction that the country must depend on France for aid in money. "It is now four days," wrote Glover to Massachusetts on Dec. 11. the eleventh of December, "since your line of the army has eaten one mouthful of bread. We have no money; nor will anybody trust us. The best of wheat is at this moment selling in the state of New York for three-fourths of a dollar per bushel, and your army is starving for want. On the first of January something will turn up, if not speedily prevented, which your officers cannot be answerable for."

When congress in September, 1776, had transferred the enlistment of troops to the states, the new recruits were to bind themselves to serve for the war; but in some cases the enlistment was made "for three years or for the war;" and three years had passed since that time. In the 1781. Jan. night of the first of January, 1781, a part of the Pennsylvania line, composed in a large degree of new comers from Ireland, and butted at Morristown, revolted, and, under the lead of their non-commissioned officers, marched with six field-pieces to Princeton. The want of clothes in winter, of pay for nearly a year, the not infrequent want of food, the compulsion imposed upon some of them to remain in service beyond the three years for which they believed they had engaged, were extremities which they would no longer endure.

Informed of the mutiny, Sir Henry Clinton passed over to Staten Island with a body of troops for its support; but two emissaries whom he sent to them with tempting offers were given up by the mutineers, and after trial were hanged as spies. Reed, the president of Pennsylvania, repaired to the spot, though it was beyond his jurisdiction; and without authority, and without due examination of each case, he discharged those who professed to have served out their specified term, while measures were taken by the state of Pennsylvania to clothe and pay the rest. They, for the most part, obtained no more than was due them; but it was of evil tendency that they gained it by a revolt. 1781. Jan.

In a circular letter to the New England states, of which Knox was made the bearer, Washington laid open the aggravated calamities and distresses of the army. "Without relief, the worst," he said, "that can befall us may be expected. I will continue to exert every means I am possessed of to prevent an extension of the mischief; but I can neither foretell nor be answerable for the issue."

Troops of New Jersey, whose ranks next to the Pennsylvania line included the largest proportion of foreigners, showed signs of being influenced by the bad example; but Washington interposed. The troops of New England, which had twenty regiments in the continental service, had equal reasons for discontent; but they were almost every one of them native Americans, freeholders, or sons of freeholders. In spite of their nakedness, they marched through deep snows, over mountainous roads, and suppressed the incipient revolt. The passions of the army were quieted by their patriotism; and order and discipline returned. "Human patience has its limits," wrote Lafayette to his wife on the occasion; "no European army would suffer the tenth part of what the American troops suffer. It takes citizens to support hunger, nakedness, toil, and the total want of pay, which constitute the condition of our soldiers, the hardiest and most patient that are to be found in the world."

Knox reported from New England zealous efforts to enlist men for the war. Congress could do nothing, and con-

fessed that it could do nothing. "We have required," thus it wrote to the states on the fifteenth of January, 1781, "aids of men, provisions, and money;" and it stated exactly the difficulty under which the union labored when it added: "The states alone have authority to execute."

Since congress made a public confession of its powerlessness, nothing remained for the United States but to appeal to France for rescue, not from a foreign enemy, but from the evils consequent on their own want of government. It was therefore resolved, for the moment, to despatch to Versailles as a special minister some one who had lived in the midst of the ever increasing distresses of the army, to set them before the government of France in the most striking light. Hamilton, the fittest man for the office, was not known to congress; and its choice fell on the younger Laurens of South Carolina.

1781. Jan.

To this agent Washington confided a statement of the condition of the country; and with dignity and candor avowed that it had reached a crisis out of which it could not rise by its own unassisted strength. "Without an immediate, ample, and efficacious succor in money," such were his words, "we may make a feeble and expiring effort in our next campaign, in all probability the period of our opposition. Next to a loan of money, a constant naval superiority on these coasts is the object most interesting;" and without exaggeration he explained the rapid advancement of his country in population and prosperity, and the certainty of its redeeming in a short term of years the comparatively inconsiderable debts it might have occasion to contract. To Franklin he wrote in the same strain; and Lafayette addressed a like memorial of ripe wisdom to Vergennes.

While the United States thus importuned a foreign prince for help, their people, in proportion to numbers, were richer than the people to whose king they, from their own want of government, were obliged to appeal. Can Louis XVI. organize the resources of France, and is republican America incapable of doing as well? Can monarchy alone give to a nation unity? Is freedom necessarily anarchical? Are

authority and the hopes of humanity for ever at variance? Are the United States, who so excel the kingdoms of the Old World in liberty, doomed to hopeless inferiority in respect of administration? For the eye of Robert R. Livingston, then the most influential member from New York, Washington traced to their source the evils under which the country was sinking, and invited their correction. "There can be no radical cure," wrote he, "till congress is vested by the several states with full and ample powers to enact laws for general purposes, and till the executive business is placed in the hands of able and responsible men. Requisitions then will be supported by law." 1781. Jan. 31.

Congress began to be of the same opinion. On the fifth of February, Witherspoon of New Jersey, seconded by Burke of North Carolina, proposed to clothe that body with authority to regulate commerce and to lay duties upon imported articles. The proposition was negatived, but it was resolved to be indispensably necessary for the states to vest a power in congress to levy a duty of five per cent on importations of articles of foreign growth and manufacture. Yet, before that measure could become valid, the separate approval of every one of the thirteen states must be gained. Feb. 5.

The assent of Virginia was promptly given. That great commonwealth, having Jefferson for its governor, sought to promote peace and union. To advance the former, it even instructed its delegates in congress to surrender the right of navigating the Mississippi River below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, provided Spain in return would guarantee the navigation of the river above that parallel. Madison, obeying the instruction, voted for the measure contrary to his private judgment. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and North Carolina alone opposed, New York being divided. Virginia did more. Avowing her regard for a "federal union," and preferring the good of the country to every object of smaller importance, she resolved to yield her title to the lands north-west of the Ohio, on condition that they should be formed into distinct republican states, and be admitted members of the federal union; and Jeffer-

son, who from the first had pledged himself to the measure, announced to congress this great act of his administration in a letter full of hope for the completion of the American union, and the establishment of free republics in the vast country to which Virginia quitted her claim.

1781. Mar. 1. The first day of March was a great day in the history of the country. America had proceeded by petitions to the king, by a declaration of rights, by an appeal to the world on taking up arms, by her declaration of independence, onwards to the confederation which was designed to make them one people for all time; Maryland, last of the states, subscribed the articles; and "the United States of America, each and every of the thirteen, adopted, confirmed, and ratified their confederation and perpetual union."

It is terrible when a state, crushed by sufferings, on attaining that which promised relief, finds it an illusion. The people of the United States thought that they had established a government, and there was no government. In the draft of Dickinson, the confederation was an alliance of sovereign states: every change in it increased their relative weight. The original report permitted each of them to impose duties on imports and exports, provided they did not interfere with stipulations in treaties; this restriction was confined to the treaties already proposed to France and Spain. No power to prohibit the slave-trade was granted. In troops raised for the common defence, the appointment of field and inferior officers, and the filling up of vacancies, were reserved to the several states. Congress was in future to be chosen annually, and on every first Monday of November to organize itself anew. A majority of the states present had thus far decided every question; the confederation, which forthwith took effect, required the presence and assent of seven states, an absolute majority of all, to carry even the most trifling measure, and of nine states, that is two thirds of all, to carry every important measure of peace or war, of treaties or finance.

Further, each state retained its sovereignty and every attribute not expressly delegated to the United States; and by the denial of all incidental powers, the exercise of the

granted powers was rendered impracticable. By the articles of confederation, congress alone could treat with foreign nations; but it provided no method for enforcing treaties, so that the engagements on the part of the nation might be violated by any one of its members. 1781. March.

Congress was to defray expenses for the common defence or general welfare out of a common treasury; but there was no independent treasury: the taxes were to be laid and levied by the legislatures of the several states. Moreover, the quotas of the states were to be assigned in proportion to the value of all real estate within each state, and that value each state was to estimate for itself. Without overleaping its powers, congress, which had no direct power to levy any money whatever, could not even assign to the states their quotas, till every one of the thirteen should have completed its valuation. The states might tax imports as much as they pleased: congress could not tax them at all. It could declare war, but had not power to bring a single citizen into the field.

A confederation is the opposite to union; since it acts not on individuals, but only on each separate sovereignty. The states of America had formed a confederation, not a union. Room for amendment seemed to be provided for; but such amendment could not take place without the simultaneous and unanimous consent of every member. America had seated anarchy deep in the very source of legislation. No creative word could go forth: through congress, there could be no agreement in reform. With every day, men would grow more attached to their separate states; for many of these had the best governments in the world, while the confederation was one of the worst, or rather no government at all.

Washington was the first to perceive the defects of the confederation, and the first to urge its reform. On the day before it was adopted, he had explained to a young member of the Virginia legislature "the necessity of a controlling power to regulate and direct all matters of general concern. The great business of war," he said, "never can be well conducted, if it can be conducted at all, while the powers of

congress are only recommendatory. Our independence, our respectability and consequence in Europe, our greatness as a nation hereafter, depend upon vesting congress with competent powers. That body, after hearing the views of the several states fairly discussed, must dictate, and not merely recommend."

The position of the commander in chief required of him unceasing caution. Intrusted with the conduct of the war, no one could see so clearly the absolute necessity of clothing the confederation with coercive powers over its members; but the vigorous recommendation of the change, proceeding from the head of the army that in the last resort would be the instrument of coercion, would have increased and apparently justified congress in its jealousy of the camp. While, therefore, he wished to support his opinion by all the influence which he could wield, he sought to do it so circumspectly as to awaken no fear of military dictation or a baneful employment of force. The office of preparing a code of laws for Virginia, and adapting them to her new relations, had been definitively confided to Pendleton, Wythe, and Jefferson. No sooner had a groundwork for national reform been laid by the acceptance of the confederation, than Washington addressed to these three greatest civilians of his native commonwealth the most earnest arguments and entreaties that the manner of coercing a refractory or delinquent state might be clearly laid down, and the defects of the articles of confederation be seasonably considered and remedied. "Danger," he added, "may spring from delay; good, from a timely application of a remedy. The present temper of the states is friendly to the establishment of a lasting union; the moment should be improved: if suffered to pass away, it may never return; and, after gloriously and successfully contending against the usurpations of Britain, we may fall a prey to our own follies and disputes."

1781. March.

He was more particularly impelled to express his opinions with freedom, because in December, 1779, the legislature of Virginia seemed to have censured the point of enforcing obedience to requisitions. "It would give me concern," he

added, "should it be thought of me that I am desirous of enlarging the powers of congress unnecessarily, as I declare to God my only aim is the general good. Perhaps a knowledge that this power was lodged in congress might be the means to prevent its ever being exercised, and the more readily induce obedience: indeed, if congress was unquestionably possessed of the power, nothing should induce the display of it but obstinate disobedience and the urgency of the general welfare."

Of this paper a copy was taken by Joseph Jones, a member of congress from Virginia, to whom Washington had already unbosomed himself "in plain language." This copy Jones confided to Madison, leaving him to draw his own inference with regard to its author. The confederation was but a month and a half old, when a committee of congress presented a report drafted by Madison, exactly in conformity to the advice of Washington, and, as I believe, in consequence of it, proposing by "an amendment to the articles of confederation to give to the United States full authority to employ their force, as well by sea as by land, to compel any delinquent state to fulfil its federal engagements;" and the reason for the measure as assigned in the preamble was "to cement and invigorate the federal union, that it might be established on the most immutable basis." In this manner, the idea of granting to the United States power to coerce a delinquent or refractory state entered the hall of congress, strange and unwelcome and dreaded, yet never to die.

The delicacy and importance of the subject inspired the author of the report with the wish to obtain from Jefferson, now governor of Virginia, and one of those to whom Washington had addressed his paper of advice and entreaty, a judgment on the measure, before it should undergo the final decision of congress. He, therefore, on the sixteenth of April, represented to him the arming of congress with coercive powers as a necessity, arising from the shameful deficiency of some of the states most capable of yielding their apportioned supplies, and the military exactions to which others, already exhausted by the enemy and their own

troops, were in consequence exposed. "The expediency," he added, "of making the proposed application to the states, will depend on the probability of their complying with it. If they should refuse, congress will be in a worse situation than at present; for as the confederation now stands, and according to the nature even of alliances much less intimate, there is an implied right of coercion against the delinquent party, and the exercise of it by congress whenever a palpable necessity occurs will probably be acquiesced in." The instrument of coercion which he preferred was a navy.

No answer of Jefferson to these inquiries has been preserved; his opinions, as declared at a later period of the confederacy, coincide with those which were then enounced by Madison. From that time, the latter never ceased his efforts for a stronger system till it was established. In May, he continued to discuss with Pendleton by letters the proper method of investing congress with new resources; but no reflecting and far-seeing observer of the inadequacy of the relative strength allowed to congress dared hope that its members would be able to remodel the confederacy. In a pamphlet published in May, 1781, at the city in which they were assembled, Pelatiah Webster, an able though not a conspicuous citizen, pointed out to them the necessity of their calling a continental convention for the express purpose of ascertaining, defining, enlarging, and limiting the duties and powers of their constitution.

The American people were bent on having a government; but, while the United States met obstructions on every side as they slowly sounded their way to an efficient union,

1781. May. Washington on the first day of May made a note, that instead of magazines they had but a scanty pittance of provisions, scattered here and there in the different parts of the army; and poorly provided arsenals, which the workmen were leaving. The articles of field equipage were not in readiness, nor funds to defray the expenses of regular transportation. Scarce any one of the states had as yet sent an eighth part of its quota into the field; and there was no prospect of a glorious offensive campaign, unless their generous allies should help them with money and with a fleet *strong* enough to secure the superiority at sea.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GREAT BRITAIN MAKES WAR ON THE NETHERLANDS.

1780–1781.

THE successor of Lord Weymouth was Lord Stormont, the late British ambassador at Paris. He had an unbounded confidence in the spirit and resources of his country; but this confidence took the worst forms of haughty blindness to moral distinctions in dealing with foreign powers. To the complaints of the Dutch respecting the outrage on their flag, he answered by interpreting treaties directly contrary to their plain meaning, and then by saying: "We are determined to persist in the line of conduct we have taken, be the consequences what they may." 1780.

The British ministry sent the case of the Dutch merchant vessels that had been carried into Portsmouth to the court of admiralty; and Sir James Mariott, the judge, thus laid down the law: "It imports little whether the blockade be made across the narrows at Dover, or off the harbor at Brest or L'Orient. If you are taken, you are blocked. Great Britain, by her insular position, blocks naturally all the ports of Spain and France. She has a right to avail herself of this position as a gift of Providence." Influenced by the preponderating members of the republic, the stadholder addressed a representation to the empress of Russia for concert in the defence of neutral flags. Before it had been received at Petersburg, Prince Galitzin, the Russian envoy at the Hague, on the third of April invited the states-general to a union for the protection of neutral trade and navigation. "The same invitation," said the envoy, "has been made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, in order that by the joint endeavors of all neutral maritime April 3.

powers a natural system, founded on justice, may be established as a rule for future ages." The states-general desired to join in the defensive-association; but the stadholder, under English influence, contrived to make delay.

1780. Apr. 17. England acted promptly. On the seventeenth, an order of the king in council suspended all treaties between the two countries, and threw back the Netherlands upon their rights under the law of nations. In consequence of this order in council, Dutch ships were taken into English ports and condemned by the admiralty, on the principle that, French harbors being naturally blockaded by those of England, Dutch ships had no right to sail near them.

Of the belligerents, the distinction of making the first answer to the Russian declaration was conceded to Apr. 18. Spain; and Florida Blanca on the eighteenth of April adopted the measure so heartily, that in the autobiographic report which he made of his administration to his king he relates: "The honor of this successful project has been ascribed to Russia, which in fact lent to it support; but it had its origin in the cabinet of your majesty."

A week later, France, like Spain, acceded to the declaration of Russia: "The war in which the king is engaged has no other object than the liberty of the seas. The king believed he had prepared an epoch glorious for his reign, in fixing by his example the rights of neutrals. His hopes have not been deceived."

Oct. 5. On the fifth of October, the United States of America in congress, by a resolution which Robert R. Livingston had drafted, proclaimed the principles of the empress of Russia, and afterwards included them in their treaties with the Netherlands, with Sweden, and with Prussia.

The other belligerent of that day was ready to bring the question to an issue. The king and his ministry were of the opinion that to tolerate the armed neutrality was to confess that British supremacy on the high seas was broken. A half-official rumor was set afloat that England would declare war on the Netherlands, if they should accept the

invitation of Russia; and the cabinet established two points, from neither of which they would depart: the one, to attack any Netherlands convoy; the other, to prevent the association of the Netherlands with Russia at all hazards.

Even Lord Shelburne, the chief of the opposition in the upper house, condemned the Russian manifesto as an attempt by a "nation scarcely known as a maritime power thirty years ago to dictate laws of navigation to Great Britain." And Lord Camden denounced the declaration of the empress as a dangerous and arbitrary edict, subversive of the first principle of the law of nations.

Yet the British government avoided expressing any opinion on the rules which had been laid down. "An ambiguous and trimming answer was given:" such is the severe judgment of Harris. "We seemed equally afraid to accept or dismiss the new-fangled doctrines. I was instructed secretly to oppose, but avowedly to acquiesce in them."

The neutral powers on the continent from Archangel to Constantinople, one after the other, accepted the code of Catharine. Bernstorff, though very reluctant to do any thing not agreeable to the English court with which he was then conducting a private negotiation defining contraband, on the eighth of July announced the adhesion of Denmark, and the next day confirmed the declaration by a treaty with Russia. On the twenty-first, Gustavus set forth to the belligerents that the principles of Russia were his own, and Sweden acceded to the treaty between Denmark and Russia, and Denmark to that between Russia and Sweden. The three powers agreed to support each other against every attack by reprisals and other means. Each was to fit out a fleet, and the several commanders were ordered to protect every mercantile ship of the three nations against injury. When in autumn it came to light that Bernstorff in a separate treaty with Great Britain had compromised the rule respecting contraband, the minister was for the time dismissed from office. On the seventh of May, 1781, Frederic of Prussia acceded to the armed neutrality, and obtained its protection for the commerce of his people. Five

1780. July 8.

July 21.

1781. May 7.

months later, Joseph II. overcame his ill-humored demurs, and, yielding to the empress by treaty, gained advantages for the commerce of Belgium. The accession of
1782. Portugal took place in July, 1782; that of Naples, in February of the following year; that of the Ottoman Porte, in September, 1782, by its treaty with
1783. Spain, confirmed in June, 1783, by its treaty with Russia.

Even if the British had reason for suspending all treaties with the Netherlands, the republic remained an independent state, and had the rights of an unprivileged neutral; yet Stormont showed it no more respect than might have been done to a vassal. "The best way," wrote he to Yorke, "to bring the Dutch around to their senses is to wound them in their most feeling part, their carrying trade. The success of our cruisers has hitherto fallen much short
May 30. of expectation." So on the thirtieth of May, in a time of uninterrupted peace, Yorke was instructed to collect the best intelligence on the voyages of the Dutch merchants, that the British cruisers might know where to go for the richest prizes.

May 27. The condition of the Netherlands was truly difficult to be borne; their honor was trifled with; their commerce pillaged; they were weak and without promise of help from any side; their stadholder did not support them. The arrival of each English mail was waited for to learn by what new measures the British cabinet would abuse their power, and how many more Dutch ships had been seized. The republic had no part to choose but submission to Great Britain or an association with Russia. The draft of the convention, which the empress had directed to be offered to Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands, arrived in June. The grand pensionary and the country wished at once to accede to the confederacy of the North. But the stadholder, who in May, acting in the interests of England, refused to take a step till the conduct of all the other neutral powers should be thoroughly understood, in
1780. June 16. June would not listen to any treaty with Russia, unless it should include a guarantee of the possessions

of the republic in both Indies. "A better idea," wrote Yorke, "could not be started to overset the whole."

Yet Stormont, who on this subject guided the cabinet of England, wrote to the British ambassador at the Hague: "If the states-general proceed, they throw the die and leave us no alternative;" and he made the same unequivocal declaration to Welderen, the Dutch representative at London. Nor would he suffer any sentiments of attachment to the house of Orange to bias his opinion or retard extreme measures.

The commissioners for the Netherlands found in Panin a statesman who regarded the independence of America as a result very advantageous for all nations, and especially for Russia, and who did not doubt that England would be forced to recognise it. He could not grant the wished-for guarantee of the Dutch possessions in America, at the Cape of Good Hope, and in India; but, in the course of September, he drafted a convention which he held to be the only possible one between Russia and the republic. The draft did not include a general guarantee; yet, if the republic should be attacked on account of the convention, the other powers were to take her part. A separate article declared the object of the armed neutrality to be the restoration of peace. At the same time, couriers were despatched to the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen; so that, against the return of a favorable answer from the Hague, all things might be prepared for receiving the Dutch republic into the league of neutral powers. 1780. Sept.

Every step of this negotiation was watched by England. Yet the ministry, who were all the time seeking an alliance with Russia, disliked the appearance of going to war with the republic solely on account of her intention of joining the armed neutrality. In October, Henry Laurens, whom the United States had accredited to the Netherlands for the purpose of raising a loan, was taken on his passage to Europe, and among his papers was found the unauthorized project for a treaty, concerted, as we have seen, between Neufville and William Lee. To Lord Stormont, the "transaction appeared to be the act of individ- Oct.

uals;" and the Earl of Hillsborough owned "that the states-general had had no knowledge of the treaty, which had never been signed except by private persons." But the resolution was instantly taken to use the Laurens papers so as to "give the properest direction to the war." After an examination at the admiralty before the three secretaries of state, Laurens was escorted through the streets of London by a large guard, and confined as a state's prisoner in the Tower, where he was debarred from all intercourse and from the use of pen and paper, so as to produce upon the public mind a strange and startling sensation.

When the courier from Petersburg arrived at the Hague with the treaty that Panin had drafted, Stormont saw there was no time to be lost. On the last day of October, Yorke announced that the states-general, at their meeting in the first week of November, would disavow the transaction between Amsterdam and America, but would decide to join the northern league.

1780. Oct. 31. Nov.

On the third of November, this despatch was laid before the king. On that same day, the states of Holland, after full deliberation, condemned the conduct of Amsterdam for the acts which Great Britain resented, and resolved to give to the British government every reasonable satisfaction, so as to leave not the slightest ground for just complaint. Even Yorke, who saw every thing with the eyes of an Englishman, thought their conduct rather fair. Yet Stormont would brook no delay; and the British cabinet, anticipating the peaceful intentions of the states of Holland and the states-general, with the approval of the king, came to a determination to make war upon the republic, unless it should recede from its purpose of joining the northern confederacy. In the very hours in which this decision was taken, Yorke was writing that a war with the republic would be a war with a government without artillery, "in want of stores of all kinds, without fleet or army, or any one possession in a state of defence." The memorial to the states-general was drafted by Lord Stormont himself, and was designed to conceal the real motives of Great Britain under a cloud of obloquy relating

to Amsterdam, and by demands impossible to be complied with. The memorial was not to be presented if the ambassador had certain information that the majority of the provinces would refuse to join the maritime league of the north. "We do not wish," wrote Stormont, "to give a deep wound to our old and natural allies. Our object is to cure their madness by stunning them into their senses."

On the sixth, Yorke represented to the stadholder the opportunity of the republic for repentance and amendment. The prince, shrugging his shoulders, answered: "I foresee consequences which may be fatal to my house and the republic." Yorke replied that the stadholder might do a secondary and passive kind of service by starting difficulties and delaying the fresh instructions to the ministers at Petersburg. The stadholder answered: "England cannot impute a wish for war to those who are for concluding a neutral alliance with Russia, nor blame a vote of convoy from which masts and ship-timber are excluded." Yorke urged that the alliance with the north was pushed by men of warlike views. The stadholder answered: "The regents in general have not that view." Yorke turned the conversation to the negotiation with America. The stadholder observed: "I have reason to believe Holland will, as it ought to do, disavow and disapprove that transaction." "And give satisfaction too?" asked Yorke. The prince answered: "I hope they will communicate their disavowal to England." But he did not deny that the plurality of the provinces was in favor of the connection with Russia on the terms which that empire had proposed. 1780. Nov.

Just after this interview, Yorke received from Stormont an inquiry as to where blows could be struck at the republic with the most profit, and on the seventh of November Yorke replied: "This country is by no means prepared for war. It is the fashion still to suppose a war against England impossible. The executive part of the government has been averse to it all along. As to the Dutch settlements in the East and West Indies, their own avowal proves them in a deplorable state; but St. Eustatius, above all St. Eustatius, is the golden mine of the moment." Nov. 7.

This letter of Yorke was received by Stormont on
1780. Nov. 12. the twelfth; and the passage relating to St. Eustatius was secretly sent forthwith to the British admiralty for its guidance.

Nov. 10. Already on the tenth Yorke had presented to the states-general Lord Stormont's memorial. "The king insists," so ran its words, "on the exemplary punishment of the pensionary Van Berckel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace and violators of the rights of nations. His majesty flatters himself that the answer of your high mightinesses will be speedy, and to the purpose in every respect." "To pass over in silence so just a request will be deemed a denial, and his majesty will think himself obliged to take such steps as become his dignity."

Three days after the delivery of the memorial, Yorke caused it to be printed. It seemed to the patriots singular for the English to demand the punishment of Van Berckel, when they themselves did not even bring Laurens to trial. People in the towns under English influence said: "Van Berckel and accomplices deserve to be 'De-Witted.'" "If a small mob," wrote Yorke from the Hague, "receive the deputies of Amsterdam when they next come here, the affair will be soon decided. But how promise for work with the tools I have?"

"The die is thrown," wrote Stormont to Yorke on
Nov. 14. the fourteenth, as he asked him again for the best information respecting all the vulnerable parts of the republic. At that time there still reigned among the
Nov. 23. Dutch confidence in peace. On the twenty-third, the states of Holland, acting on a communication from the stadholder, entirely disavowed and disapproved whatever had been done by the burgomasters and regents of the town of Amsterdam respecting negotiations with congress. Before further proceeding, inquiry needed to be made as to the nature of Van Berckel's offence and the tribunal before which he could be brought to trial. The states-general confirmed the disavowal, and declared their wish to preserve a good understanding with England. Every post brought to the court of London concurrent proofs that the

cities, the people, every branch of the government, all the ministers, desired to continue at peace. Even the stadholder, the great partisan of England, thought that the Dutch government had done enough to remove from itself every suspicion.

Yet, on the first of December, Stormont renewed the demand for the immediate punishment of the Amsterdam offenders; and on the fifth he asked of Yorke some ideas for a manifesto, for he was preparing "to send secret orders to seize the Dutch settlements in the West Indies." Then, on the sixteenth, before he even knew that his second memorial had been presented, having been informed that on the afternoon of the eleventh the states-general had resolved to make the declaration required before admission to the armed neutrality, he sent orders to Yorke "as soon as might be to quit Holland without taking leave."

While Yorke was still negotiating at the Hague, British cruisers pounced upon the unsuspecting merchant-men of their ally of a hundred and six years, and captured two hundred ships of the republic, carrying cargoes worth fifteen millions of guilders. Four days at least before he left the Hague, a swift cutter was sent to Rodney at Barbados with orders, founded upon the ambassador's letter of the seventh of November, to seize St. Eustatius.

Suddenly, on the third of February, 1781, the British West India fleet and army, after a feint on the coasts of Martinique, appeared off the island and demanded of De Graat, the governor, its surrender within an hour. "The surprise and astonishment of the inhabitants was scarcely to be conceived." Unable to offer resistance and ignorant of a rupture between Great Britain and the republic, the governor gave up his post and its dependencies, invoking clemency for the town. The wealth of the island, which was a free port for all nations, astonished even those who had expected most, "the whole of it being one continued store of French, American, Dutch," and also English "property." In the words of Rodney: "All the magazines, the storehouses, are filled, and even the beach covered, with tobacco and sugar." The value of the mer-

1781. Feb. 3.

chandise, at a moderate estimate, considerably exceeded three millions of pounds sterling. Besides this, there were taken in the bay upwards of one hundred and fifty merchant vessels, a Dutch frigate and five smaller vessels of war, all complete and ready for service. Thirty richly freighted ships, which had left the island about thirty-six hours before, were overtaken by a detachment from Rodney's fleet, and captured with the ship of sixty guns which was their convoy. The Dutch flag was kept flying on the island, and decoyed no less than seventeen vessels into the port after its capture. Three large ships from Amsterdam, laden with all kinds of naval stores, were taken and carried into St. Christopher. At St. Eustatius, in the order of sale, English stores were, for form's sake, excepted; but all property was seized, and the confiscation was general, without discrimination between friend and foe, between neutral powers and belligerents, between Dutch and British. A remonstrance from British merchants, written by the king's solicitor-general in St. Christopher, Rodney scorned to read, and answered: "The Island of St. Eustatius is Dutch; every thing in it is Dutch; every thing is under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it shall be treated."

1781. Feb. 3.

Besides St. Eustatius, all the settlements of the republic in South America were taken during the season. Of the Dutch possessions in Africa and Asia, the undefended Cape of Good Hope, as the half-way house on the voyage to India; the feebly garrisoned Negapatam; and the unique harbor of Trincomalee on Ceylon, — were held to be most desirable objects for Great Britain.

The Dutch republic was relatively weak; yet, if her finances were impaired, it was by debts contracted during her alliance with England and in rendering service to that power. The administration of Lord North lost its remaining influence on the continent of Europe by this cruel and unjust war. With no nation had it any connection on the score of principle; to not one was it drawn by regard for the higher interests of humanity.

CHAPTER L.

FRANCE HAS NEED OF PEACE.

1780, 1781.

"ENGLAND," said Vergennes, "has declared war against the Netherlands from hatred of their accession to the neutrality. The more I reflect, the more I am perplexed to know whether we ought to be glad or sorry." A new obstacle was created to the general peace for which we must now trace the negotiations. Spain had calculated every thing for a single campaign. The invasion of England having failed, the querulous King Charles, after but seven months of hostilities, complained "that France had brought Spain into the war for its own interests alone, and had caused the first mishaps" to his flag. Florida Blanca, speaking to the French ambassador, called himself a great fool for having induced his king to the declaration against England. He was ready to assent to the conquest and division of Turkey by Austria and Russia, if these two powers would but conform as mediators to his plan of peace. With regard to the United States, Vergennes always maintained that France was held in honor to sustain their independence, but that their boundaries were contingent on events; and, to conciliate the pride of England and quiet the apprehensions of Spain, he was willing at the peace to leave to the former country Canada according to the old French claims, and the country west and north-west of the Ohio. But King Charles desired to retain the United States, if possible, in some kind of vassalage to Great Britain, or give them up to helpless anarchy. He would not receive Jay as an envoy, and declined even a visit from the late minister of France at Philadelphia, on his way back from

1780.

his mission. If American independence was to be granted, it must be only on such terms as would lead to endless quarrels with England. It was the constant reasoning of Florida Blanca that the northern colonies preserved a strong attachment for their mother country, and, if once possessed of independence, would become her useful ally; while, if they were compelled to submit to her rule, they would be only turbulent subjects. Tossed by danger and doubt
1780. from one expedient to another, Spain, through the government of Portugal, sought to open a secret negotiation with England; and the king of France, in an autograph letter, acquiesced in the attempt.

On the other hand, an unexpected ally offered itself to England. The sentiment of nationality and the influence of the Jesuits had swayed the Catholic Irish of the United States to the side of Great Britain; the same influence was to show itself in a wider sphere. Pius VI., the pope of that day, was a friend to the Jesuits, and was said even to wish the restoration of their order. No sooner had Spain declared war against England, than from Rome it was signified to the British that the natives of Mexico were notoriously disaffected toward their government, and universally hated the Spanish; that, since the suppression of the order of the Jesuits, the Spanish government had no medium of control over the natives; that ex-Jesuits, who were conversant with the Mexican and Peruvian languages, were violently incensed at their treatment, were willing to use their superior influence in the Spanish colonies in favor of Great Britain, and stood ready to take any hazard, if assured of the free exercise of their religion; that well-instructed emissaries could do more than a military force, especially if they might promise to the natives the choice of their governor and magistrates. In the course of the year, Lord North laid before the cabinet a plan for an expedition to South America, by way of India, and it was approved. But I cannot find that any thing came of it.

When in February, 1780, John Adams arrived in Paris with full powers to treat with Great Britain for peace and commerce, the French minister desired that the object of

his commission should for the present remain unknown. Adams replied by enumerating the reasons for communicating it to Great Britain without delay; but he was not obstinate, and waited for the opinion of congress. A discussion next followed on subjecting French creditors to the reduction by congress in the value of its paper money. Adams argued vigorously that the reduction must affect all nations alike, for which he obtained the approbation of congress. These points being disposed of, he not only assumed a right to give advice to the king of France on the conduct of the war, but, to a court where the sanctity of regal power formed the accepted creed, he laid it down as certain that "in this intelligent age the principle is well agreed on in the world that the people have a right to a form of government according to their own judgments and inclinations." Vergennes broke off correspondence with him, as not being accredited to France, and complained to the French minister at Philadelphia of his want of a conciliatory temper. Franklin, too, though with reluctance, suffered himself to be made the channel of communicating officially the censures which Vergennes did not spare. In the favor of congress Franklin lost ground by his compliance, while Adams was supported more heartily than before.

In midsummer, from his eagerness for peace, Maurepas forgot himself so far as to insinuate his wish in a letter to Forth, formerly secretary of the British embassy at Paris. Nothing came of the overture. "Peace will be a great good," wrote Marie Antoinette; "but, if our enemies do not demand it, I shall be very much afflicted by a humiliating one." After the capture of Charleston and the rout of the army under Gates, the British parliament, which came together in November, granted all the demands of the ministry for money and for men by vast majorities; and the dread of disorder in the cities of England gave new strength to the government. At such a moment, 1780. Dec. 1. Necker, who was ready to take every thing upon himself, wrote secretly to Lord North, proposing peace on the basis of a truce during which each party should keep possession of all that it had acquired. The terms thus clan-

destinely offered were those which Vergennes had always rejected, as inconsistent with the fidelity and honor of France. In England, they were no farther heeded than as a confession of exhaustion and weakness.

1781. In January, 1781, Vergennes said of Necker: "I will express no opinion on his financial operations; but in all other parts of the administration he is short-sighted and ignorant." Called to the conferences of the ministers, Necker continually dinned into their ears "Peace! peace!" "Peace," replied Vergennes, "is a good thing, only you should propose the means of attaining it in an honorable manner." In his clamor for peace, Necker did but echo the opinion of all Paris. Maurepas, too, gave out that peace must be restored before the close of the year; and the king declared that he was tired of the war, and that an end must be made of it before the year should go out. The negotiations for peace belonged to Vergennes, and for their success he needed mediation or great results in the field. Thus far the war had been carried on without a plan, for which the cause lay in the heart of the government itself. There could be no vigorous unity of administration with a young, feeble, and ignorant king who prided himself on personally governing, and left the government without a real head to be swayed by the different cabals which from day to day followed each other in the court. By the influence of the queen, Sartine, towards the end of the former year, had been superseded in the ministry of the marine by the Marquis de Castries, and the imbecile Montbarey by the Marquis de Ségur. All the while, France was drawing nearer to inevitable bankruptcy, its debt verging upon a fourth milliard.

Environed by difficulties, Vergennes attempted a compromise with England on the basis of a truce of at least twenty years, during which South Carolina and Georgia would remain with the English in return for the evacuation of New York. He had sounded Washington and others in America on the subject, and they all had repelled the idea. "There are none but the mediators," wrote Vergennes, "who could make to the United States so grievous

an offer. It would be hard for France to propose it, because she has guaranteed the independence of the thirteen states." Kaunitz, accordingly, set himself to work to bring the mediation to a successful issue.

In the month of April, young Laurens arrived at Versailles, preceded by importunate letters from Rochambeau and Lafayette to the ministry. His demand was for a loan of twenty-five million livres to be raised for the United States on the credit of the king of France, and in support of it he communicated to the French ministry his letter of advice from Washington. Franklin had lately written: "If the new government in America is found unable to procure the aids that are wanted, its whole system may be shaken." The French minister at Philadelphia had reported these words from Greene: "The states in the southern department may struggle a little while longer; but, without more effectual support, they must fall." Washington represented immediate and efficacious succor from abroad as indispensable to the safety of his country; but, combined with maritime superiority and "a decided effort of the allied arms on this continent," so he wrote, "it would bring the contest to a glorious issue." In pressing the demands of congress, the youthful envoy said menacingly that the failure of his mission might drive the Americans back to their old allegiance, to fight once more against France in the armies of Great Britain. The confession of the inefficiency of their own general government was suited to raise a doubt of their power finally to establish their independence; and Vergennes complained that an excessive and ever increasing proportion of the burdens of the war was thrown upon France. Yet the cabinet resolved to go far in complying with the request of the United States. Franklin had already obtained the promise of a gift 1781.
of six millions of livres and a loan of four millions; Necker consented to a loan of ten millions more, to be raised in Holland in the name of the king of France.

To insure to the United States a maritime superiority, De Grasse, who had the naval command in America, received orders to repair from the West Indies to the north in the

course of the year, and conform himself to the counsels of Washington and Rochambeau. On the other hand, the great expense of re-enforcing Rochambeau by another detachment from the French army was on Washington's recommendation avoided; and America was left to herself to find men for the struggle on land. The decision displeased Rochambeau, who understood little of the country to which he was sent, and nothing of its language, and he
1781. entreated leave to return to Europe; but he received fresh orders to regard himself as the commander of auxiliary troops, and to put them as well as himself under the orders of Washington.

To the sole direction of Washington, the French government would have gladly reserved the disbursement of its gift of six millions; but he refused a trust which would have roused the jealousy of congress. The first use made of the money was a spendthrift one. South Carolina had an unexecuted contract in Holland for supplies. Laurens, acting for his own state and for the United States, made a transfer of that contract to the latter, and, without taking the pains to understand the condition of the business and without superintending it, paid all arrears out of the fund which Franklin had obtained from France. South Carolina was relieved from a burdensome engagement; while great and, as it proved, useless expenses were thrown on the United States.

During these negotiations, Necker aspired to become the head of the administration. The octogenarian Maurepas could not be duped; he roused himself from apathy, and, when Necker was preparing through the king to take the cabinet by storm, Maurepas quietly let him know that the king expected his resignation. "The king had given his word to support me," said Necker, in recounting his fall, "and I am the victim of having counted upon it too much." He had refused all pay as minister, yet in his period of office he doubled his fortune. His hands were clean from embezzlement, but his banking house had profited enormously in its business.

While the disgrace of Necker was passionately discussed,

the government of Louis XVI. persecuted in Paris the principles which it was spending the blood and treasure of France to establish on immovable foundations in America. Just at this time, there appeared in Paris a new edition of Raynal's philosophic and political History of the Two Indies, with the name of the author on the title-page. His work abounded in declamations against priestcraft, monarchical power, and negro slavery. He described the United States of America as a country that more than renewed the simple heroism of antiquity, which otherwise, in the depravity of the laws and manners of Europe, would have been esteemed but a fiction. Here at last, especially in New England, was found a land that knew how to be happy "without kings and without priests." "Philosophy," he wrote, "desires to see all governments just and all peoples happy. If the love of justice had decided the court of Versailles to the alliance of a monarchy with a people defending its liberty, the first article of its treaty with the United States should have been, that all oppressed peoples have the right to rise against their oppressors." The advocate-general 1781.
Segur having drawn up the most minatory indictment, Raynal left his volumes to be burnt by the hangman, and fled through Brussels to Holland.

The book went into many a library, and its proscription found for it new readers. Young men of France, even of the nobility, shared its principles, which infiltrated themselves through all classes. The new minister of the marine had in the army of Rochambeau a son, and sons of the new minister of war and of the Duke de Broglie were soon to follow. But the philosophers, like the statesmen of France, would not have the United States become too great: they rather desired to preserve for England so much strength in North America that the two powers might watch, restrain, and balance each other.

Meantime, Prince Kaunitz, in preparing the preliminary articles for the peace congress at Vienna, adopted the idea of Vergennes, that the United States should be represented, so that direct negotiations between them and Great Britain might proceed simultaneously with those of the European

powers; and his paper was pronounced by Marie Antoinette to be a masterpiece of political wisdom. But all was in vain. England would still have no negotiation with France for peace till that power should give up its connection with insurgent America; John Adams was ready to go to Vienna, but only on condition of being received by the mediating powers as the plenipotentiary of an independent state; Spain shunned all mediation, knowing that no mediator would award to her Gibraltar.

Mortified at his ill success, Kaunitz threw the blame of it upon the unreasonable pretensions of the British ministry; and Austria joined herself to the powers which held
1781. that the British government owed concessions to America. He consoled his emperor for the failure of the mediation by saying: "As to us, there is more to gain than to lose by the continuation of the war, which becomes useful to us by the mutual exhaustion of those who carry it on and by the commercial advantages which accrue to us so long as it lasts."

The British ministry was willing to buy the alliance of Catharine by the cession of Minorca, and to propitiate Joseph by opening the Scheldt; but the desires of both were mainly directed to the east and south. Catharine could not conceive why Europe should be unwilling to see Christianity rise again into life and power on the Bosphorus. "We will guarantee to you," said Potemkin to Joseph, "all the conquests that you may make, except in Germany or in Poland." "Rome," wrote the empress, "is a fit acquisition for a king of the Romans." Joseph, on his part, aspired to gain the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the Danube to Belgrade, and all the country north of the straight line drawn from Belgrade to the southernmost point of the Gulf of Drina, sparing the possessions neither of Turkey nor of the republic of Venice. But he insisted that the king of Prussia should never acquire another foot of land, nor even round off his territory by exchanges. So the two eastern powers divided the Orient and Italy between them, knowing that, so long as the war lasted, neither France nor Great Britain could interfere.

Spain had just heard of an insurrection begun by ex-Jesuits in Peru, and supported by Tupac Amaru, who claimed descent from the ancient royal family of the Incas. But the first reports were not alarming, and she was still disposed to pursue the separate negotiation with Great Britain. The suggestion of Hillsborough to exchange Gibraltar for Porto Rico was rejected by Florida Blanca; and Cumberland, the British agent at Madrid, having nothing to propose which King Charles was willing to accept, returned from his fruitless expedition. It was known to the British cabinet that South America was disposed to revolt; and that especially Chili and Peru wished to shake off the Spanish yoke. 1781.

The results of the campaign outside of the United States were indecisive. The French again made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the Isle of Jersey. The garrison of Gibraltar was once more reduced to a state of famine, and, ere the middle of April, was once more relieved. The English and Dutch fleets encountered each other in August near the Dogger Bank, and for three hours and a half fought within musket-shot. Victory belonged to neither party. The Dutch, who had given proof of the hardihood of their race, bore away for the Texel; the British admiral returned to the Nore, to receive a visit from his king, and on the plea of age to refuse to serve longer under so feeble an administration. The name and fame of Hyder Ali spread from the Mysore through Europe and the United States; and he seemed with his army of one hundred thousand men about to beat back the few troops of the British; but he proved unable to withstand their discipline. On the ninth of May, Pensacola, after a most gallant defence against the many times superior force of the Spaniards, was surrendered under an honorable capitulation. The British garrison were made to promise not to serve during the war against Spain or her allies, but they were left free to be employed against the United States.

Meantime, Vergennes, through the French minister at Philadelphia, complained of John Adams as an embarrassing negotiator. At first, a majority of congress was dis-

posed to insist on Adams as their sole plenipotentiary for peace; Virginia, with Madison for one of her delegates, being unanimous in his favor. But, on reflection, it was wisely decided to associate with the New England man other commissioners selected from the chief sections of the country. In advance of their election, they were empowered to conduct the negotiation under the mediation of the emperor of Austria and the empress of Russia. In case "of the backwardness of Great Britain to make a formal acknowledgment of independence, they were at liberty to agree to a truce, provided that that power be not left in possession of any part of the thirteen United States." But Luzerne further insisted on making their instructions such as Vergennes might have drafted, and such as would leave the negotiation for both countries in the hands of the king of France. In repeated interviews with a special committee of congress, he sounded the alarm, that a war on the continent of Europe might disable France from continuing the powerful diversions which thus far had been the salvation of the United States, so that England would be left at liberty to fall upon them with her undivided strength; that, while in their ultimatum they should include every concession to which they could ever consent, they should still hope that at the peace France would procure for them complete satisfaction.

1781. On the eleventh of June, the instructions as amended by Luzerne, were laid before Congress for its acceptance. The commissioners of the United States were to insist on no points but independence and the validity of the treaties with Louis XVI. "As to disputed boundaries," — that is, whether New England should extend to the Kennebec, the Penobscot, or the St. Croix, whether New York should resign all lands within the water-shed of the St. Lawrence, whether the republic should touch the Mississippi or stop at the crest of the Alleghanies, — "and as to other particulars," — that is, the fisheries and the compensation of loyalists for their confiscated property, — the commissioners were left at liberty to act "as the state of the belligerent" France "might require." For this purpose, they were

charged "to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without the knowledge and concurrence of the ministers of France, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion."

These amendments were debated in a body which was conscious of its want of power, and of its dependence on France for the chances of victory in the coming campaign; and they were accepted by Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and New Jersey, all of which were wholly or in part held by the enemy. Jenifer, who was always disinclined to an extended boundary, was dragged from a sick bed to assist in casting the vote of Maryland. A seventh state was still needed, and was sought in New England. Luzerne had made a personal appeal to Huntington of Connecticut, then president of congress; but though he showed great moderation, and would have sacrificed the western lands of his own commonwealth rather than delay the peace, neither he nor Sherman could brook the thought of the British sweeping down in the rear of the country, and occupying as their province the lands which now form the state of Ohio. It fell, therefore, to Sullivan, who was in the pay of France, to carry the amendments by the vote of his state. Luzerne ascribed the result to the absence of all the delegates from the state of New York, the absence of Samuel Adams, and the success of Sullivan in dividing the vote of New England. In requital, Sullivan was recommended by the French envoy to the cabinet of Versailles for prolonged rewards.[1] 1781.

[1] Je regarde en effet la négociation comme étant actuellement entre les mains de S. M. sauf l'indépendance et les traités, et j'ai applaudi moi-même à ces deux réserves. Je désire que vous accordiez votre approbation à ces mesures qui me paraissent remplir les ordres que vous m'avez donné le 9 mars dernier. J'attribue la promptitude avec laquelle le congrès s'est rendu à mes représentations à deux causes principales: la première est l'absence de M. Samuel Adams; je crois être parvenu par le moyen de mon correspondant à le faire connaître aux principaux de ses commettants, et si les dispositions présentes se soutiennent, il ne sera plus renvoyé au congrès. La seconde est la rupture de la ligue des États de la Nouvelle Angleterre, et l'anéantissement du système qu'elle s'était proposé pour la prolongation de la guerre: c'est au général Sullivan seul que j'en ai l'obligation; ce délégué a developpé

On the ballot, Jay, Franklin, Henry Laurens, and Jefferson were chosen colleagues of John Adams in the commission. In securing the election of Franklin, Sullivan, acting in concert with Luzerne, rendered excellent service. Jefferson was detained in America by the illness of his wife. "Congress have done very well," wrote John Adams to Franklin, "to join others in the commission for peace, who have some faculties for it. My talent, if I have one, lies in making war." At the same time, he saw so wide a dissemination of the principles of the American revolution that, in his
1781. opinion, "despotisms, monarchies, and aristocracies must conform to them in some degree in practice, or hazard a total revolution in religion and government throughout all Europe."

The kingdom of Ireland had been subjected to all the restrictions of the colonial system, and others of her own. Yet the Irish refused to follow the example of resisting evil laws by force; and, taking skilful advantage of the habitual, indolent want of forethought of Lord North, they gained more complete emancipation than could have been won through insurrection. When the tidings from Lexington and Bunker Hill reached them, their parliament voted that "it heard of the rebellion with abhorrence, and was ready to show to the world its attachment to the sacred person of the king." Taking advantage of its eminently loyal disposition, Lord North obtained its leave to employ four thousand men of the Irish army for service in America. That army should, by law, have consisted of twelve thousand men; but it mustered scarcely more than nine thousand. Out of these, the strongest and best, with-

dans toute cette affaire autant de patriotisme que d'attachement à l'alliance et je crois pouvoir compter que les efforts de ce délégué [S. Adams] pour rétablir cette association seront inutiles aussi longtemps qu'il restera dans le congrès. Je pense même qu'il sera avantageux pour l'alliance de nourrir son attachement pour nous-mêmes après qu'il sera retourné dans l'état de New Hampshire, où il jouit de beaucoup d'influence. Il a renoncé au projet dont il est fait mention dans ma dépêche No. 140. L'absence de tous les délégués de l'état de New York a été une autre circonstance heureuse, vu qu'ils sont encore moins traitables que les Virginiens, sur l'étendue des limites qu'ils ont imaginé de fixer au Canada dans l'ouest. Extract of Luzerne to Vergennes, 11 June, 1781.

out regard to the prescribed limitation of numbers, were selected; and eight regiments, all that could be formed, were shipped across the Atlantic. Ireland itself being left defenceless, its parliament offered the national remedy of a militia. This was refused by Lord North; and in consequence, instead of a force organized and controlled by the government, self-formed bands of volunteers started into being. After reflection, the militia bill was sent over for enactment: but the opportunity had been missed; the Irish parliament had learned to prefer volunteer corps supported by the Irish themselves. When, in 1778, it appeared how much the commissioners sent to America had been willing to concede to insurgents for the sake of reconciliation, the patriots of Ireland awoke to a sense of what they might demand. The man who had obtained the lead of them was Henry Grattan, who, in a venal age and in a venal house of commons, was incorruptible. No one heard the eloquence of Chatham with more delight; and no one has sketched in more vivid words the character of the greatest Englishman of that age. At the opening of the session of October, 1779, Grattan, then but thirty-three years of age, and for hardly four years a member of the house, moved an amendment to the address, that the nation could be saved only by free export and free import, or, according to the terser words that were finally chosen, by free trade. The friends of government dared not resist the amendment, and it was carried unanimously. New taxes were refused. The ordinary supplies, usually granted for two years, were granted for six months. The house was in earnest; the people were in earnest; an inextinguishable sentiment of nationality was aroused; and fifty thousand volunteers stood in arms under officers of their own choosing. Great Britain being already tasked to the uttermost, Lord North gave way, and persuaded its parliament to concede the claim to commercial equality. The Irish entered into possession of their natural rights; yet their happiness was clouded by the thought that the new freedom rested on the act of a legislature which exclusively represented another kingdom, and which yet pretended to full power to bind the kingdom of Ireland.

1781.

CHAPTER LI.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN. MORGAN AT THE COWPENS.

1780, 1781.

AFTER the defeat of Gates, congress subjected its favorite to a court of inquiry, and, conforming to
1780. Oct. 30. the advice of Washington, selected Major-general Greene for the command of the southern department. Gates had received his appointment and his instructions directly from congress, and his command had been co-ordinate and independent. On confirming the nomination of Greene, congress assigned to him all the regular troops, raised or to be raised, in Delaware and the states south of it; and conferred on him all the powers that had been vested in Gates, but "subject to the control of the commander in chief." Thus the conduct of the war obtained, for the first time, the harmony and unity essential to success.

Washington was in danger of being shortly without men; yet he detached for the service in the Carolinas Lieutenant-colonel Henry Lee, his best cavalry officer, with the corps called the legion, consisting of three troops of horse and three companies of infantry: in all, three hundred and fifty men. For Greene he prepared a welcome at the south, writing to George Mason: "I introduce this gentleman as a man of abilities, bravery, and coolness. He has a comprehensive knowledge of our affairs, and is a man of fortitude and resources. I have not the smallest doubt, therefore, of his employing all the means which may be put into his hands to the best advantage, nor of his assisting in pointing out the most likely ones to answer the purposes of his command."

As he moved south, Greene left Steuben in Virginia. At Charlotte, where he arrived on the second of December, he received a complaint from Cornwallis respecting the prisoners of King's Mountain, who had been put to death by the soldiery, coupled with a threat of retaliation. Avowing his own respect for the principles of humanity and the law of nations, Greene answered by sending him a list of about fifty men who had been hanged by Lord Cornwallis himself, and by others high in the British service; and he called on mankind to sit in judgment on the order of Lord Cornwallis to Balfour after the action near Camden, on Lord Rawdon's proclamation, and on the ravages of Tarleton. Throughout his career, he was true to the principles which he then announced. No one, except a deserter, ever died by his order. No American officer in his department ever imitated the cruelties systematically practised by the British. Sumter spared all prisoners, though the worst men were among them. Marion was famed for his mercy. Cruelty was never imputed to Williams, Pickens, or any other of the American chiefs. But the British officers continued to ridicule the idea of observing capitulations with citizens; insisting that those who claimed to be members of an independent state could derive no benefit from any solemn engagement, and were but vanquished traitors who owed their lives to British clemency. 1780. Dec. 2.

In the course of the winter, Colonel William Cunningham, under orders from Colonel Balfour at Charleston, led one hundred and fifty white men and negroes into the interior settlements. On his route, he killed all whom he suspected of being friends to the United States, to the number of about fifty, and burned their habitations. At length, he came to a house which sheltered an American party of thirty-five men under Colonel Hayes. These refusing to surrender at discretion, a fire from both sides was kept up for about three hours, when the British were able to set fire to the house. In this extremity, the besieged capitulated under the agreement that they should be treated as prisoners of war until they could be exchanged. The capitulation was formally signed and interchanged; and 1781.

yet the Americans had no sooner marched out than the British hanged Colonel Hayes to the limb of a tree. The second in command was treated in like manner; after which, Cunningham, with his own hands, slew some of the prisoners, and desired his men to follow his example. One of them traversed the ground where his old neighbors and acquaintances lay dead and dying, and ran his sword through those in whom he saw signs of life. These facts were afterwards established by a judicial investigation.

1780. Dec. On coming into a new region, Greene ordered observations to be made on the fords and capacity for transportation of the Dan, the Yadkin, and the Catawba. Before his departure, Gates had brought together two thousand three hundred and seven men, of whom only a little more than one half were militia, and "eight hundred were properly clothed and equipped." The men had been accustomed to leave the camp at their own will, and make visits to their homes. This Greene forbade as an act of desertion, and the first who was caught after the order was issued was shot in the presence of the whole army drawn up to witness the execution. Opinion among the troops approved the decision, and by degrees the discipline of the southern continental troops became equal to their courage. The campaign was sure to be one of danger and hardship; the firm and adventurous commander gained the confidence and love of his troops by sharing every peril and more than sharing every toil.

The country around Charlotte had been ravaged. Sending Kosciuszko in advance to select a site for an encampment, he marched his army to the head of boat navigation on the Pedee. There, in a fertile and unexhausted country, at the falls of the river, he established his "camp of repose" to improve the discipline and spirits of his men, and "to gain for himself an opportunity of looking about."

Greene had expected new and singular difficulties; but they exceeded all that he had feared. Shoals of militia, kept on foot since the defeat of Gates, had done little but waste the country. The power of government was far less than in the north. The inhabitants were averse to control.

Coming from all quarters of the globe, they were still from their early education so various in opinions and habits that there was a want of national character and sentiment. Yet several corps of partisans were bold and daring, and there was a great spirit of enterprise among the black people who came out as volunteers. "General Washington's influence," so he wrote to Hamilton, "will do more than all the assemblies upon the continent. I always thought him exceedingly popular; but in many places he is little less than adored, and universally admired. From being the friend of the general, I found myself exceedingly well received."

Confirmed in his detached command, Morgan with his small force crossed the Catawba just below the mouth of the Little Catawba, and, passing Broad River, on the twenty-fifth of December encamped on the north bank of the Pacolet. Here he was joined by about sixty mounted Carolinians under Colonel Pickens, and two hundred Georgians under Major Maccall. General Davidson, of North Carolina, on the twenty-ninth brought one hundred and twenty men into camp, but left immediately to collect more. 1780. Dec. 25. Dec. 29.

Hearing that about two hundred and fifty Georgia tories were plundering the neighborhood of Fair Forest, Morgan sent Lieutenant-colonel Washington with his own regiment, and two hundred mounted riflemen under Maccall, to attack them. Coming up with them at about twelve o'clock on the thirtieth, Washington extended his mounted riflemen on the wings, and charged them in front with his own cavalry. The tories fled without resistance, losing one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and about forty who were taken prisoners. Dec. 30.

Cornwallis, who, when joined by the re-enforcement sent from New York under Leslie, could advance with thirty-five hundred fighting men, was impatient of the successes of Morgan, and resolved to intercept his retreat. On the second of January, 1781, he ordered Tarleton with his detachment to pass Broad River and to push him to the utmost. "No time," wrote he, "is to be lost." Tarleton answered by promising either to destroy 1781. Jan. 2.

Morgan's corps, or push it before him over Broad River towards King's Mountain; and he wished the main army to advance, so as to be ready to capture the fugitives. "I feel bold in offering my opinion," he wrote, "as it flows from well-founded inquiry concerning the enemy's designs." To this Cornwallis replied: "You have understood my intentions perfectly."

The danger to Morgan was imminent; for the light troops were pursuing him on the one side, and the main army preparing to intercept his retreat on the other.

1781. Jan. 14. On the fourteenth, Tarleton passed the Enoree and Tyger Rivers above the Cherokee ford. On the afternoon of the fifteenth, Morgan encamped at

Jan. 15. Burr's Mills on Thickety Creek; and wrote to Greene his wish to avoid an action. "But this," he added, "will not be always in my power." His scouts, whom he kept within half a mile of the camp of his enemy, informed him that Tarleton had crossed the Tyger at Musgrove's Mills, with a force of eleven or twelve

Jan. 16. hundred men. On the sixteenth, he put himself and his party in full motion towards Broad River, while in the evening the camp which he had abandoned was occupied by Tarleton's party. The same day, Cornwallis with his army reached Turkey Creek.

In the genial clime of South Carolina, where the grass is springing through every month of winter, cattle in those days grazed all the year round; never housed, nor fed by the hand of man, but driven from time to time into cowpens, where each inhabitant gave salt to his herd and marked them for his own. Two miles from such an enclosure, on a wide plain covered with primeval pines and chestnut and oak, about sixteen miles from Spartanburg, seven miles from the Cherokee ford on the Broad River, and a little less than five miles from the line of North Carolina, Morgan encamped his party for the night. Greene had left Morgan to his discretion, yet with warning against risking an encounter; his best officers now urged him beyond all things to avoid an engagement. With a noble confidence in himself and in his troops, he resolved to give battle to

his pursuers. In the evening, he moved among his men, inspiring them with cheerfulness. During the night, Pickens, who had been for a few days absent, returned with about one hundred and fifty militia, and another party of fifty came in.

At an hour before daylight, Morgan, through his excellent system of spies, knew that Tarleton's troops were approaching his camp. His men were roused, quietly breakfasted, and prepared for battle. The ground chosen was an open wood between the springs of two little rivulets, with a slight ridge extending from one of them to the other. In the wood, free from undergrowth, no thicket offered covert, no swamp a refuge from cavalry. The best troops, about four hundred in number, were placed in line on the rising ground. Two hundred and eighty of the Maryland light infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Howard, formed the centre; two companies of approved Virginia riflemen were on each wing. Lieutenant-colonel Washington's regiment of dragoons, consisting of eighty men, was placed as a reserve out of sight and out of fire. The volunteers from the Carolinas and Georgia, four hundred in number, were posted under Pickens in advance, so as to defend the approaches. Of these, sixty sharpshooters of the North Carolina volunteers were to act as skirmishers on the right flank one hundred and fifty yards in front of the line, and as many more of the Georgians at the same distance on the left. 1781. Jan. 17.

Tarleton's troops, numbering about eleven hundred, having two field-pieces and a great superiority in bayonets and cavalry, after a march of twelve miles, came in sight at eight o'clock, and drew up in one line. The legion infantry formed their centre with the seventh regiment on the right, the seventy-first on the left, and two light companies of a hundred men each on the flanks. The artillery moved in front. Tarleton, with two hundred and eighty cavalry, was in the rear. No sooner were they formed than they rushed forward with shouts. They were received by a heavy and well-directed fire, — first from the American skirmishers, and then from the whole of Pick-

ens's command. At the main line, they were resisted with obstinate courage. During a bloody conflict, their superiority of numbers enabled them to gain the flanks of the Americans both on their right and left. At this moment, Morgan ordered the Maryland line, which shared his own self-possession, to retreat fifty yards and form anew. The British eagerly pressed on, thinking the day their own, and were within thirty yards of the Americans when the latter halted and turned upon them. The Virginia riflemen, who had kept their places, instinctively formed themselves on the sides of the British, so that they who two or three minutes before had threatened to turn the Americans found themselves as it were within a pair of open pincers, exposed to the converging oblique fire of two companies of sharpshooters on each flank and a direct fire from the Marylanders in front. The change was so sudden that the British were stunned with surprise. Seeing their disorder, the line of Howard charged them with bayonets, and broke their ranks so that they fled with precipitation. The cavalry of Washington, hitherto unseen, sprang forward and charged successfully the cavalry of the British. The enemy was completely routed and pursued for upwards of twenty miles.

1781. Jan. 17.

Of the Americans, only twelve were killed and sixty wounded. Of the enemy, ten commissioned officers were killed, and more than a hundred rank and file; two hundred were wounded; twenty-nine commissioned officers and more than five hundred privates were taken prisoners, beside seventy negroes. Two standards, upwards of a hundred dragoon horses, thirty-five wagons, eight hundred muskets, and two field-pieces that had been taken from the British at Saratoga and retaken at Camden, fell into the hands of the victors. The immense baggage of Tarleton's party, which had been left in the rear, was destroyed by the British themselves. "Our success," wrote the victor in his modest report, "must be attributed to the justice of our cause and the gallantry of our troops. My wishes would induce me to name every sentinel in the corps."

Aware that the camp of Cornwallis at Turkey Creek was

within twenty-five miles, and as near as the battle-ground to the ford on the Catawba, Morgan destroyed the captured baggage-wagons, paroled the British officers, intrusted the wounded to the care of the few residents of the neighborhood, and, leaving his cavalry to follow him on their return from the pursuit, on the day of the battle crossed the Broad River with his foot soldiers and his prisoners, the captured artillery, muskets and ammunition. Proceeding by easy marches of ten miles a day, on the twenty-third he crossed the Catawba at Sherrald's ford. Taking for his troops a week's rest in his camp north of the river, he sent forward his prisoners to Salisbury, under the guard of Virginia militia, whose time of service had just expired; and he recommended by letter to Greene that the militia under General Stevens, whose term of service had also expired, and who had passed a month in repose, should conduct the prisoners to a place of safety in Virginia. The fame of the great victory at the Cowpens spread in every direction. Greene announced it in general orders, and his army saluted the victors as "the finest fellows on earth, more worthy than ever of love." Rutledge of South Carolina repeated their praises, and rewarded Pickens with a commission as brigadier. Davidson of North Carolina wrote that the victory "gladdened every countenance, and paved the way for the salvation of the country." The state of Virginia voted to Morgan a horse and a sword in testimony of "the highest esteem of his country for his military character and abilities so gloriously displayed." The United States in congress placed among their records "the most lively sense of approbation of the conduct of Morgan and the men and officers under his command." To him they voted a gold medal, to Howard and Washington medals of silver, and swords to Pickens and Triplet. 1781. Jan. 23.

The health of Morgan gave way soon after the battle; and, in three weeks more, a severe acute attack of rheumatism, consequent on the exposures of this and his former campaigns, forced him to take a leave of absence. Wherever he had appeared, he had always heralded the way to daring action, almost always to success. He first attracted notice in the

camp round Boston, was foremost in the march through the wilderness to Canada, and foremost in the attempt to take Quebec by storm; he bore the brunt of every engagement with Burgoyne's army, and now he had won the most extraordinary victory of the war at the Cowpens.

1781. He took with him into retirement the praises of all the army, and of the chief civil representatives of the country. Again and again hopes rose that he might once more appear in arms; but the unrelenting malady obliged him to refuse the invitation of Lafayette and even of Washington.

CHAPTER LII.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN. BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE.

JANUARY—MARCH, 1781.

MORGAN'S success lighted the fire of emulation in the breast of Greene, and he was "loath it should stand alone." The defeat at the Cowpens took Cornwallis by surprise. "It is impossible," so he wrote on the eighteenth of January, to his superior, Sir Henry Clinton, "to foresee all the consequences that this unexpected and extraordinary event may produce. But nothing but the most absolute necessity shall induce me to give up the important object of the winter's campaign. Defensive measures would be certain ruin to the affairs of Britain in the southern colonies." Instead of remaining in South Carolina, as he should have done, he without orders and on his own responsibility persisted in his original plan of striking at the heart of North Carolina, establishing there a royal government, and pressing forward to a junction with the British troops on the Chesapeake. Morgan divined his thoughts, and on the twenty-fifth wrote to Greene the advice to join their forces. Receiving this letter, Greene, attended by a few dragoons, rode across the country, and on the thirtieth arrived in Morgan's camp at Sherrald's ford on the Catawba.

1781. Jan. 18.

Jan. 25.

Jan. 30.

Leaving Lord Rawdon with a considerable body of troops to defend South Carolina, Cornwallis, having formed a junction with the corps under Leslie, began his long march, avoiding the lower roads, there being so few fords in the great rivers below their forks. On the twenty-fifth, he collected his army at Ramsower's mill, on the south fork of the Catawba. Here he resolved to give

Jan. 25.

up his communications with South Carolina, and to turn his army into light troops. The measure, if not in every respect an absurd one, was adopted many days too late. Two days he devoted to destroying superfluous baggage and all wagons except those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved for the sick and wounded, thus depriving his soldiers even of a regular supply of provisions. Then, by forced marches through floods of rain, he approached the river, and prepared to pass it as soon as the high waters should subside.

Arriving in Morgan's camp, Greene agreed immediately with him that the plan of Cornwallis must extend to a co-operation with the British troops in Virginia, and he entered full of hope on the great career that was opening be-
1781. Jan. 30. fore him. To his forces on the Pedee, he on the thirtieth sent orders to prepare to form at Guilford court-house a junction with those under Morgan, writing to Huger: "I am not without hopes of ruining Lord Cornwallis, if he persists in his mad scheme of pushing through the country. Here is a fine field and great glory ahead." On the same day, "the famous Colonel William Campbell" was asked to "bring without loss of time a thousand good volunteers from over the mountains." A like letter was addressed to Shelby, though without effect. To the officers commanding in the counties of Wilkes and Surry, Greene said: "If you repair to arms, Lord Cornwallis must be inevitably ruined." He called upon Sumter, as soon as his recovery should permit, to take the field at the head of the South Carolina militia; he gave orders to General Pickens to raise as many troops as he could in the district of Augusta and Ninety-Six, and hang on the rear of the enemy; and he sought out powerful horses and skilful riders to strengthen the cavalry of Washington.

Meantime, parties sent out by Morgan brought in near a hundred British stragglers. He had sent his prisoners be-
yond the Yadkin on their way towards Virginia,
Feb. 1. when on the first day of February Cornwallis with a part of his army passed the Catawba at Macgowan's ford. The dark stream was near five hundred yards wide,

with a rocky bottom and a strong current, and was disputed by General Davidson of North Carolina with three hundred militia. By forsaking the true direction of the ford, the British escaped a direct encounter, but forty of their light infantry and grenadiers were killed or wounded; and the horse under Cornwallis was struck while in the stream, but reached the shore before falling. The other division passed the Catawba at Beattie's ford, and the united army encamped about five miles from the river on the road to Salisbury. "I waited that night," writes Greene, "at the place appointed for the militia to collect at till past midnight, and not a man appeared." On the second and third of February, the American light infantry, continuing their march, with the British at their heels, crossed the Yadkin at the Trading ford, partly on flats, during the latter part of the time in a heavy rain. After the Americans were safe beyond the river and Morgan had secured all water craft on its south side, it rose too high to be forded. To the Americans it seemed that Providence was their ally. 1781. Feb. 2, 3.

Cornwallis was forced to lose two days in ascending the Yadkin to the so-called Shallow ford, where he crossed on the seventh. On the night of the ninth he encamped near the Moravian settlement of Salem, where, upon the very edge of the wilderness, gentle and humble and hospitable emigrants, bound by their faith never to take up arms, had chosen their abodes, and for their sole defence had raised the symbol of the triumphant Lamb. Among them equality reigned. No one, then or thereafter, was held in bondage. There were no poor, and none marked from others by their apparel or their dwellings. Everywhere appeared the same simplicity and neatness. The elders watched over the members of the congregation, and incurable wrong-doers were punished by expulsion. After their hours of toil came the hour of prayer, exhortations, and the singing of psalms and hymns. Under their well-directed labor on a bountiful soil, in a genial clime, the wilderness blossomed like the rose. Feb. 7, 9.

While Cornwallis rested for the night near Salem, at the

distance of five-and-twenty miles the two divisions of the American army effected their junction at Guilford court-house. The united force was too weak to offer battle; a single neglect or mistake would have proved its ruin. Edward Carrington of Virginia, the wise selection of Greene for his quartermaster, advised to cross the Dan twenty miles below Dix's ferry at the ferries of Irwin and Boyd, which were seventy miles distant from Guilford court-house, and where he knew that boats could be collected. The advice was adopted. To carry it out, Greene placed under Otho Williams the flower of his troops as a light corps, which on the morning of the tenth sallied forth to watch and impede the advance of Cornwallis, to prevent his receiving correct information, and by guarding the approaches of Dix's ferry to lead him in that direction. They succeeded in keeping Cornwallis for a day or two in doubt.

1781. Feb. 10.

Meantime, the larger part of the army under Greene, without tents, poorly clothed, and for the most part without shoes, "many hundreds of the soldiers tracking the ground with their bloody feet," retreated at the rate of seventeen miles a day along wilderness roads where the wagon-wheels sunk in deep mire and the creeks were swollen by heavy rains. On the fourteenth, they arrived at the ferries. Greene first sent over the wagons, and at half-past five in the afternoon could write "that all his troops were over and the stage clear."

Feb. 14.

So soon as Cornwallis gained good information, he pursued the light troops at the rate of thirty miles a day, but he was too late. On the evening of the fourteenth, Otho Williams brought his party, which on that day had marched forty miles, to the ferries. The next morning, Cornwallis made his appearance there, only to learn that the Americans, even to their rear-guard, had crossed the river the night before.

Feb. 14.

Feb. 15.

The safety of the southern states had depended on the success of this retreat of two hundred miles from the Catawba to the north bank of the Dan. On the march from Guilford court-house, Greene scarcely slept four hours

in as many days; and his care was so comprehensive that nothing, however trifling, was afterwards found to have been overlooked or neglected. "Your retreat before Cornwallis," wrote Washington, "is highly applauded by all ranks, and reflects much honor on your military abilities." "Every measure of the Americans," so wrote a British historian, "during their march from the Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed and vigorously executed." Special applause was awarded to Carrington and to Otho Williams.

In the camp of Greene every countenance was lighted up with joy. Soldiers in tattered garments, with but one blanket to four men, without shoes, without regular food, without pay, were proud and happy in the thought of having done their duty to their country. They all were ready to cross the Dan once more and attack.

After giving his troops a day's rest, Cornwallis moved by easy marches to Hillsborough, where on the twentieth he invited by proclamation all loyal subjects in North Carolina to repair to the royal standard which he erected, being himself ready to concur with them in re-establishing the government of the king. 1781. Feb. 20.

No sooner had the British left the banks of the Dan, than Lee's legion recrossed the river. They were followed on the twenty-first by the light troops, and on the twenty-second by Greene with the rest of his army, including a re-enforcement of six hundred militia-men of Virginia. Feb. 21. Feb. 22.

The loyalists of North Carolina, inferring from the proclamation of Cornwallis that he was in peaceable possession of the country, rose in such numbers that seven independent companies were formed in one day; and Tarleton with the British legion was detached across the Haw River for their protection. By the order of Greene, Pickens, who had collected between three and four hundred militia, and Lee formed a junction and moved against both parties. Missing Tarleton, they fell in with three hundred royalists under Colonel Pyle, and routed them with "dreadful carnage." Tarleton, who was refreshing his legion about a mile from the scene of action, hurried back to Hillsborough, and all

royalists who were on their way to join the king's standard returned home. Cornwallis describes himself as being "among timid friends and adjoining to inveterate rebels."

1781. Feb. 27. To compel Greene to accept battle, Cornwallis on the twenty-seventh moved his whole force in two columns across the Haw, and encamped near Allemance Creek. For seven days, Greene lay within ten miles of the British camp, but baffled his enemy by taking a new position every night. No fear of censure could hurry his

March. determined mind. He waited till in March he was joined by the south-west Virginia militia under William Campbell, by another brigade of militia from Virginia under General Lawson, by two from North Carolina under Butler and Eaton, and by four hundred regulars

Mar. 10. raised for eighteen months. Then on the tenth, while Cornwallis was on his march to New Garden or the Quaker meeting-house, he prepared to hazard

Mar. 14. an engagement. On the fourteenth, he encamped near Guilford court-house, within eight miles of Cornwallis.

Mar. 15. At dawn of day on the fifteenth, Cornwallis, having sent off his baggage under escort, set in motion the rest of his army, less than nineteen hundred in number, all of them veteran troops of the best quality. To oppose them, Greene had sixteen hundred and fifty-one men equal to the best of the British, and more than two thousand militia, in all twice as many as his antagonist. But he himself had not taken off his clothes since he left his camp on the Pedee; and on this most eventful day of his life he found himself worn out with fatigue and constant watching.

The ground on which his army was to be drawn up was a large hill, surrounded by other hills and almost everywhere covered with massive forest trees and a thick undergrowth. To receive the enemy, he selected three separate positions: the first, admirably chosen; the second, three hundred yards in the rear of the first, was entirely in the woods; between one quarter and one third of a mile in the rear of the second was the third position, where he drew up his best troops obliquely, according to the declivities of

a hill on which they were posted, most of them in a forest. The positions were so far apart that they could give each other no support; so that Cornwallis had to engage, as it were, three separate armies, and in each engagement he would have a superiority in numbers. Greene had always differed with the commander in chief on the proper manner of using militia, — Washington being convinced that they should be used as a reserve to improve an advantage, while Greene insisted that they ought to be placed in front; and he now acted on that opinion.

The position selected for the first line is described by Greene as the most advantageous he ever saw. It was on the skirt of the wood, protected on the flanks and rear, having in the centre a fence, with open ground over which the British army was obliged to advance, exposed to a fire that must have torn them in pieces, had they encountered troops who would have stood their ground. Here Greene placed the two brigades of North Carolina militia, not quite eleven hundred in number, his poorest troops, suddenly called together, ignorant of war, of each other, and of their general officers. On their right were posted two six-pounders, and Lieutenant-colonel Washington with an able corps of observation; on their left, a like corps was formed of Lee's command and the riflemen from beyond the mountains. 1781. Mar. 15.

The battle began with cannonading about one in the afternoon. The undivided force of Cornwallis displayed into line, advanced at quick step, gave their fire, shouted, and rushed forward with bayonets. While they were still in the open field, at a distance of one hundred and forty yards, the North Carolina brigade fled, "none of them having fired more than twice, very few more than once, and near one half not at all." Lee and Campbell with their troops were separated from the main army, which they did not rejoin till the next day.

Without pausing to take breath, the British line, which had not escaped without loss, advanced to attack the second position of the Americans, defended by the Virginia brigade. The men were used to forest warfare, and they made

a brave and obstinate resistance. They would discharge their pieces, draw back behind the brow of the hill to load, and return to renew their well-directed fire. In dislodging some Americans from their post on a woody height, the ranks of the first battalion of the guards were thinned and many of their officers fell. The brigade did not retreat till the British drew near enough to charge with the bayonet.

The British army, though suffering from fatigue and weakened by heavy losses, pressed forward to the third American line, where Greene himself was present. A fierce attack was made on the American right by Colonel Webster with the left of the British. After a bloody and long-continued encounter, the British were beaten back by the continentals, and with great loss were forced to recross a ravine. Webster himself received wounds which in a few days proved to be mortal.

1781. Mar. 15.

The second battalion of the guards, led by Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, broke through the second Maryland regiment, captured two field-pieces, and pursued their advantage into more open ground. Immediately Lieutenant-colonel Washington, who had brought his cavalry once more into the field, made a charge upon them with his mounted men; and the first regiment of Marylanders, led by Gunby and seconded by Howard, engaged with their bayonets. Stewart fell under a blow from Captain Smith; and the British party was driven back with great slaughter and the loss of the cannon which they had taken. The first battalion of the guards, although already crippled, advanced against the Americans. A severe American fire on its front and flanks completely broke its ranks. At this moment, Du Puy's Hessian regiment, which had thus far suffered but little, came up in compact order on the left of the guards, who rallied behind them, renewed the attack, and in turn defeated the Americans.

The British army appeared to be gaining the American right. The battle had raged for two hours. Greene could still order into the fight two Virginia regiments of continentals, of which one had hardly been engaged, the other had been withheld as a reserve; but he hesitated. After

deliberating for some moments, not knowing how much the British had suffered, he left his cannon and the field to the enemy, and used his reserve only to cover the retreat of his army. The last as well as the first in the engagement were the riflemen of Campbell, who continued firing from tree to tree till they were compelled to fly by the cavalry of Tarleton. After the Americans were encamped in safety, Greene fainted from extreme exhaustion, and, on recovering consciousness, still remained far from well. 1781. Mar. 15.

Although the battle at Guilford drew after it, for the British, all the consequences of a defeat, and put an end to their power in North Carolina, no praise is too great for the conduct of their officers and troops throughout the day. On their side, five hundred and seventy were killed or wounded; and their wounded, dispersed over a wide space of country, asked for immediate care. Of the Americans, the loss was, of continentals, three hundred and twenty-six; of the militia, ninety-three. But nearly three hundred of the Virginia militia and six hundred of those of North Carolina, whose time of service had almost expired, seized the occasion to return home. The battle of King's Mountain drove Cornwallis back into South Carolina; the defeat at the Cowpens made his second invasion of North Carolina a desperate enterprise; the battle at Guilford court-house transformed the American army into pursuers, the British into fugitives.

Virginia furnished to the army that fought at Guilford sixteen hundred and ninety-three of her militia and seven hundred and seventy-eight of her continental troops. "The great re-enforcements," wrote Cornwallis to Germain, "sent by Virginia to General Greene whilst General Arnold was in the Chesapeake, are convincing proofs that small expeditions do not frighten that powerful province."

This act of magnanimity was deliberate. "Your state," wrote Washington to Jefferson, its governor, "will experience more molestation; but the evils from predatory incursions are not to be compared to the injury of the common cause. I am persuaded the attention to your immediate

safety will not divert you from the measures intended to re-enforce the southern army. The late accession of force makes the enemy in Carolina too formidable to be resisted without powerful succors from Virginia." And he gave orders to Steuben: "Make the defence of the state as little as possible interfere with the measures for succoring General Greene. Every thing is to be apprehended, if he is not powerfully supported from Virginia." Jefferson made the advice of Washington his rule of conduct, though accused in his own state of doing too much for the Carolinas. On the third day after the battle, Greene wrote to Washington: "Virginia has given me every support I could wish."

In his report of the day of Guilford, Greene hardly did himself justice; public opinion took no note of his mistakes in the order of battle, and acknowledged the greatness of his general plan and its successful result. Virginia and the whole south confided in his capacity.

1781. Mar. 18. On the eighteenth, committing his wounded to the tender mercies of the Americans, Cornwallis, with the wreck of his victorious but ruined army, began his flight; and, as he hurried away, distributed by proclamation news of his victory, offers of pardon to repentant rebels, and promises of protection to the loyal. He was pursued by Greene, who was now eager for battle. On the

Mar. 28. morning of the twenty-eighth, the Americans arrived at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River; but Cornwallis had just a few hours before crossed the river on a temporary bridge. No longer in danger of being overtaken, he moved by way of Cross Creek, now Lafayette, towards Wilmington. His rapid march through a country thinly inhabited left no tracks which the quickening of spring did not cover over, except where houses had been burnt and settlements broken up. But it taught the loyalists of North Carolina that they could put no trust in the promises of British generals or the protection of the British king. All North Carolina, except Wilmington, was left to the Americans.

"From the report of Cornwallis," said Fox, on the

June 12. twelfth of June, to the house of commons, "there

is the most conclusive evidence that the war is at once impracticable in its object and ruinous in its progress. In the disproportion between the two armies, a victory was highly to the honor of our troops; but, had our army been vanquished, what course could they have taken? Certainly they would have abandoned the field of action, and flown for refuge to the seaside; precisely the measures the victorious army was obliged to adopt." 1781. June 12. And he moved the house of commons to recommend to the ministers every possible measure for concluding peace.

In the course of the very long debate, the younger William Pitt, then just twenty-two, avoiding the question of independence, and thus unconsciously conciliating the favor of George III., explained to a listening house the principles and conduct of his father on American affairs. Then, referring to Lord Westcote, he said: "A noble lord has called the American war a holy war: I affirm that it is a most accursed war, wicked, barbarous, cruel, and unnatural; conceived in injustice, it was brought forth and nurtured in folly; its footsteps are marked with slaughter and devastation, while it meditates destruction to the miserable people who are the devoted objects of the resentments which produced it. The British nation, in return for its vital resources in men and money, has received ineffective victories and severe defeats, which have filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear relations slain in the impious cause of enforcing unconditional submission, or narratives of the glorious exertions of men struggling under all difficulties in the holy cause of liberty. Where is the Englishman who can refrain from weeping, on whatever side victory may be declared?" The voice was listened to as that of Chatham, "again living in his son with all his virtues and all his talents." "America is lost, irrecoverably lost, to this country," added Fox. "We can lose nothing by a vote declaring America independent."

On the division, an increased minority revealed the growing discontent of the house of commons at the continuance of the war.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN. GREENE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

1781.

ON the seventh of April, Cornwallis brought the relics of his army to Wilmington, where a party sent by his orders from Charleston awaited him. He could not move by land towards Camden without exposing his troops to the greatest chances of being lost. He should have sped to Charleston by water, to retain possession of South Carolina; but such a movement would have published to the world that all his long marches and victories had led only to disgrace. A subordinate general, sure of the favor and approval of Germain, he forced his plans on his commander in chief, to whom he wrote: "I cannot help expressing my wishes that the Chesapeake may become the seat of war, even, if necessary, at the expense of abandoning New York." And without waiting for an answer, in the last days of April, with a force of fourteen hundred and thirty-five men, all told, he left Wilmington for Virginia. Clinton replied: "Had you intimated the probability of your intention, I should certainly have endeavored to have stopped you; as I did then as well as now consider such a move likely to be dangerous to our interests in the southern colonies." He had just received from the secretary this message: "Lord George Germain strongly recommends it to Sir Henry Clinton either to remain in good humor, in full confidence to be supported as much as the nature of the service will admit of, or avail himself of the leave of coming home; as no good can arise to the service if there is not full confidence between the general and the minister." But, instead of resigning, he hastened to warn

1781. April 7.

May.

April.

Germain: "Operations in the Chesapeake are attended with great risk, unless we are sure of a permanent superiority at sea. I cannot agree to the opinion given me by Lord Cornwallis." "I tremble for the fatal consequences which may ensue."

But the subordinate general had from Wilmington written to the secretary "that a serious attempt upon Virginia would be the most solid plan;" and Germain hastened to instruct Clinton: "Lord Cornwallis's opinion entirely coincides with mine of the great importance of pushing the war on the side of Virginia with all the force that can be spared."

In his march from Wilmington, Cornwallis met little resistance. At Halifax, his troops were let loose to commit enormities that were a disgrace to the name of man. For the place of junction with the British army in Virginia, he fixed upon Petersburg on the Appomattox.

So soon as Cornwallis had escaped beyond pursuit, 1781. Mar. 29. Greene "determined to carry the war immediately into South Carolina." Dismissing those of the militia whose time was about to expire, he retained nearly eighteen hundred men, with small chances of re-enforcements or of sufficient subsistence. He knew the hazards which he was incurring; but, in case of untoward accidents, he believed that Washington and his other friends would do justice to his name.

The possession of the interior of South Carolina depended on the posts at Camden and Ninety-Six in that state, and at Augusta in Georgia. On the sixth of April, April 6. Greene detached a force under Lee, which joined Marion, and threatened the connections between Camden and Charleston; Sumter, with three small regiments of regular troops of the state, had in charge to hold the country between Camden and Ninety-Six; and Pickens with the western militia to intercept supplies on their way to Ninety-Six and Augusta.

After these preparations, Greene on the seventh April 7. began his march from Deep River, and on the twentieth encamped his army a half-mile from the strong Apr. 20.

and well-garrisoned works of Camden. In the hope of intercepting a party whom Rawdon had sent out, Greene moved to the south of the town; but, finding that he
1781. Apr. 24. had been misled, his army, on the twenty-fourth, took a well-chosen position on Hobkirk's Hill. The eminence was covered with wood, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. The ground towards Camden, which was a mile and a half distant, was protected by
Apr. 28. a forest and thick shrubbery. On the twenty-eighth, the men, having been under arms from daylight, were dismissed to receive provisions and prepare their morning repast. The horses were unsaddled and feeding; Greene was at breakfast.

By keeping close to the swamp, Rawdon, with about nine hundred men, gained the left of the Americans, "in some measure by surprise,"[1] and opened a fire upon their pickets. The good discipline which Greene had introduced now stood him in stead. About two hundred and fifty North Carolina militia, who had arrived that morning, did nothing during the day; but his cavalry was soon mounted, and his regular troops, about nine hundred and thirty in number, were formed in order of battle in one line without reserves. Of the two Virginia regiments, that under Hawes formed the extreme right, that of Campbell the right centre; of the two Maryland regiments, that of Ford occupied the extreme left, that of Gunby the left centre. The artillery was placed in the road between the two brigades. In this disposition, he awaited the attack of Rawdon.

Perceiving that the British advanced with a narrow front, Greene, with full confidence in gaining the victory, ordered Ford's regiment on the left and Campbell's on the right to wheel respectively on their flanks, the regiments of Hawes and Gunby to charge with bayonets without firing, and Washington with his cavalry to double the right flank and attack the enemy in the rear. Had every one of these movements succeeded, the army of Rawdon would have

[1] "In some measure by surprise." — Washington's Diary, Thursday, 26 May, 1790.

been ruined; but they were not executed with the promptness of veteran troops. Rawdon had time to extend his front by ordering up his reserves. Colonel Ford, in leading on his men, was disabled by a severe wound; and his regiment, without executing their orders, only replied by a loose scattering fire. On the other flank, the regiment of Campbell, composed of new troops, could not stand the brunt of the enemy, though they could be rallied and formed anew. Exposing himself greatly, Greene led up the regiment several times in person. Meantime, the regiments under Hawes and Gunby advanced in front with courage, while the artillery played effectively on the head of the British column. But, on the right of Gunby's regiment, Captain Beatty, an officer of the greatest merit, fell mortally wounded; his company, left without his lead, began to waver, and the wavering affected the next company. Seeing this, Gunby absurdly ordered the regiment to retire, that they might form again. The British troops seized the opportunity, broke through the American centre, advanced to the summit of the ridge, and brought their whole force into action on the best ground; so that Greene was forced to a retreat. Each party lost about three hundred men. The battle was over before Washington with his cavalry could make the circuit through the forest and attack their rear. 1781. Apr. 28.

"Had we defeated the enemy," wrote Greene, "not a man of the party would have got back into town. The disgrace is more vexatious than any thing else." The Americans lost no more than the British; Rawdon was compelled to leave the field and return to Camden, followed by the congratulations of Cornwallis on "his most glorious victory, by far the most splendid of this war." Greene saved his artillery and collected all his men. Receiving a re-enforcement of five hundred, Rawdon crossed the Wateree in pursuit of him; but he skilfully kept his enemy at bay.

No sooner had Marion been re-enforced by Lee than they marched against the fort on Wright's bluff below Camden, the principal post of the British on the Santee, garrisoned by one hundred and fourteen men. The Americans were

without cannon, and the bluff was forty feet high; but the forest stretched all around them; in the night, the troops cut and hauled logs, and erected a tower so tall that the garrison could be picked off by riflemen. Two days before the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, it capitulated.

1781. Apr. 26.

The connection of Camden with Charleston being thus broken, the post became untenable. On the tenth of May, after destroying all public buildings and stores and many private houses, the British abandoned it, and they never held it again. On the eleventh, the post at Orangeburg, held by sixty British militia and twelve regulars, gave itself up to Sumter. Meantime, Rawdon marched down the Santee on the north side, anxious to save the garrison of Fort Motte, to which Marion had laid siege. To hasten its surrender, Rebecca Motte, the owner of the house in which they were quartered, on the twelfth brought into camp a bow and a bundle of Indian arrows; and, when the arrows had carried fire to her own abode, the garrison of a hundred and sixty-five men surrendered. Two days later, the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry. On the fifteenth, Fort Granby with three hundred and fifty-two men surrendered by capitulation. General Marion turned his arms against Georgetown; and, on the first night after the Americans had broken ground, the British retreated to Charleston. The troops under Rawdon did not halt until they reached Monk's Corner.

May 10. May 11. May 12. May 14. May 15.

The north-western part of South Carolina was thus recovered, but the British still held Ninety-Six and Augusta. Conforming to the plan which Greene had forwarded from Deep River, General Pickens and Colonel Clarke with militia kept watch over the latter. On the twentieth of May, they were joined by Lieutenant-colonel Lee. The outposts were taken one after another, and on the fifth of June the main fort with about three hundred men capitulated. One officer, obnoxious for his cruelties, fell after the surrender by an unknown hand. Lieutenant-colonel Brown, the commander, had himself hanged thirteen American prisoners, and delivered citizens

May 20. June 5.

of Georgia to the Cherokees to suffer death with all the exquisite tortures which savage barbarity could contrive; but on his way to Savannah an escort protected him from the inhabitants whose houses he had burnt, whose relations he had sent to the gallows.

On the twenty-second of May, Greene, with Kosciuszko for his engineer, and nine hundred and eighty-four men, began the siege of Ninety-Six. The post, though mounting but three pieces of artillery, was strongly fortified; the garrison of five hundred and fifty was ample for the place; and the commander, Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, was an officer of ability and enterprise. 1781. May 22.

A fleet from Ireland having arrived at Charleston with re-enforcements, Rawdon on the seventh of June marched with two thousand men to the relief of Ninety-Six. Loath to be baffled, Greene, on the eighteenth, ordered a party of Marylanders and Virginians to make a lodgement in the fort, in which no justifying breach had been made. Of the brave men who were sent into the ditch, one third were killed, and but one in six came out of it unwounded. The next day, the general raised the siege and withdrew to the north, complaining of fortune which had neither given him victory at Guilford, nor at Camden, nor now at Ninety-Six. But his fortitude always rose above disasters, and his resources did not fail him. He retreated as far as the Enoree. June 7. June 18.

Giving over pursuit, the British commander returned to Ninety-Six. That insulated post could no longer be maintained. Leaving the largest part of his force to assist in removing the loyalists, he marched with a thousand men to establish a detachment on the Congaree. Greene followed; and his cavalry, detached to watch the enemy's motions, made prisoners of forty-eight British dragoons within one mile of their encampment.

Avoiding an encounter, Lord Rawdon retired to Orangeburg, where he was re-enforced. On the other side, Greene, after forming a junction with the men of Sumter and Marion, pursued him, and on the twelfth of July offered him battle. The offer was refused. On the July 12.

1781. July 13. thirteenth, Greene detached the cavalry of the legion, the state troops and militia of South Carolina, to compel the evacuation of Orangeburg by striking at the posts around Charleston; the rest of the army was ordered to the high hills of the Santee, famed for pure air and pure water. On the same day, Cruger, who had evacuated Ninety-Six, joined Rawdon with his troops. He had called around him the royalists in the district of Ninety-Six, avowed to them that the post from its insulation could no longer be maintained, and set before them the option of making their peace with the Americans or fleeing under his escort to Charleston. Those who had signalized themselves by devoted service to the king now learned from his officer that he could no longer protect them in their own homes; and, forced to elect the lot of refugees, they brought into the camp of Cruger their wives, children, and slaves, wagons laden with the little of their property that they could carry away, sure to be thrust aside by the English at Charleston as troublesome guests, and left to wretchedness and despair.

The British when united were superior in number; but their detachments were attacked with success. They could not give the protection which they had promised, and the people saw no hope of peace except in driving them out of the land. Weary of ceaseless turmoil, Rawdon repaired to Charleston, and, pretending ill health, sailed for England, but not till after a last act of vengeful inhumanity. Isaac Hayne, a planter in the low country whose affections were always with America, had, after the fall of Charleston, surrendered himself and obtained British protection, at the same time that he avowed his resolve never to meet a call for military service under the British flag. When the British lost the part of the country in which he resided and could protect him no longer, he resumed his place as an American citizen, and led a regiment of militia against them. Taken prisoner, Balfour hesitated what to do with him; but Rawdon, who was Balfour's superior in command, had no sooner arrived in Charleston, than, against the entreaties of the children of Hayne, of the women of Charleston, of the lieutenant-governor of the province, he sent

him to the gallows. The execution was illegal; for the loss of power to protect forfeited the right to enforce allegiance. It was most impolitic; for it uprooted all remaining attachment of moderate men for the English government, and roused the women of Charleston to implacable defiance. After the departure of Rawdon, there remained in South Carolina no British officer who would have repeated a like act. His first excuse for the execution was that same order of Cornwallis which had filled the woods of Carolina with assassins. Feeling the act as a stain upon his name, he attempted, but only after the death of Balfour, to throw on that officer the blame that belonged especially to himself. The ship in which he embarked was captured by the French at sea, but his rights as a prisoner of war were respected. 1781. Aug. 4.

After a short rest, Greene moved his army from the hills of Santee in a roundabout way to attack the British at their post near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. They retreated before him, and halted at Eutaw Springs. He continued the pursuit with so much skill that the British remained ignorant of his advance. At four o'clock on the morning of the eighth of September, his army was in motion to attack them. The centre of the front line was composed of two small battalions from North Carolina, and of one from South Carolina on each wing, commanded respectively by Marion and Pickens. The second line was formed of three hundred and fifty continentals of North Carolina, led by General Sumner; of an equal number of Virginians, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell; and of two hundred and fifty Marylanders, under Otho Williams. Long and gallantly did the militia maintain the action, those with Marion and Pickens proving themselves equal to the best veterans. As they began to be overpowered by numbers, they were sustained by the North Carolina brigade under Sumner; and the Virginians under Campbell, and the Marylanders under Williams, charged with the bayonet. The British were routed. On a party that prepared to rally, Colonel Washington bore down with his cavalry and a small body of infantry, and Sept. 8.

drove them from the field. Great numbers of the British fell, or were made prisoners.

Many of the Americans who joined in the shouts of triumph were doomed to bleed. A brick house sheltered the British as they fled. Against the house Greene ordered artillery to play; but the gunners were shot down by riflemen, and the field-pieces abandoned to the enemy. Upon a party in an adjacent wood of barren oaks, Washington was ordered to charge with his horsemen; and the close, stiff branches of the stubborn trees made the cavalry useless. Colonel Washington himself, after his glorious share in the campaign, at the last moment of this last encounter, was wounded, disabled, and taken prisoner. So there were at Eutaw two successive engagements. In the first, Greene won a brilliant victory and with little loss; in the second, he sustained a defeat, with the death or capture of many of his bravest men. In the two engagements, the Americans lost in killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred and fifty-four men; they took five hundred prisoners, including the wounded; and the total loss of the British approached one thousand.

1781. Sept. 8.

The cause of the United States was the cause of Ireland. Among the fruits of the battles of the former was the recovery for the latter of her equal rights in trade and legislation. Yet such is the sad complication in human affairs that the people who of all others should have been found taking part with America sent some of their best troops and their ablest men to take the field against the defenders of their own rights. Irishmen fought in the British ranks at Eutaw. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who received on this day wounds that were all but mortal, had in later years no consolation for his share in the conflict; "for," said he, "I was then fighting against liberty."

Occupying the field of battle by a strong picket, Greene drew off for the night to his morning's camp, where his troops could have the refreshment of pure water, and prepare to renew the attack. But the British in the night, after destroying stores and breaking in pieces a thousand muskets, retreated to Charleston, leaving seventy of their

wounded. Resting one or two days, Greene with his troops, which were wasted not only by battle, but by disease, regained his old position on the heights of Santee. He had been in command less than nine months, and in that short time the three southern states were recovered, excepting only Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah. His career had not been marked by victories, but he always gained the object for which he risked an engagement. He says of himself that he would "fight, get beaten, and fight again." He succeeded in driving Cornwallis out of the southern states, and in breaking up every British post in South Carolina outside of Charleston; having had, like the commander in chief, to contend with every evil that could come from the defects in government, and from want of provisions, clothes, and pay for his troops. Morris, the financier, neglected him, sending him good words and little else. Yet, while he saw clearly all the perils and evils against which he had to struggle, cheerful activity and fortitude never failed him. His care extended to every thing in the southern department. It is the peculiar character of his campaign that whatever was achieved was achieved by Americans alone, and by Americans of the south. In the opinion of his country, he gained for himself as a general in the American army the place next to Washington. 1781.

CHAPTER LIV.

CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA.

1781.

CLINTON had himself resolved to hold a station in the Chesapeake Bay; and on the second of January, 1781, Arnold, with sixteen hundred men, appeared by his order in the James River. The generous state had sent its best troops and arms to the southern army. Nelson had received timely orders from Governor Jefferson to call out the militia of the low country; but, in the region of planters with slaves, there were not freemen enough at hand to meet the invaders; and Steuben, thinking Petersburg the object of attack, kept his small force on the south side of the river. Arnold offered to spare Richmond, if he might unmolested carry off its stores of tobacco; the proposal being rejected with scorn, on the fifth and sixth, all its houses and stores, public and private, were set on fire. In the hope of capturing Arnold and his corps, Washington detached Lafayette with about twelve hundred rank and file to Virginia; and, repairing to Newport, persuaded the French naval commander to send to the Chesapeake ten ships-of-war to co-operate with him. They were followed by the British squadron, and twelve leagues east of the bay an action took place. The French were compelled to return to Newport, while Arbuthnot entered the Chesapeake.

1781. Jan. 2.

Jan. 5.

Jan. 6.

Mar. 6.

On the twenty-sixth of March, General Phillips, who brought from New York a re-enforcement of two thousand picked men, took the command in Virginia. All the stores of produce which its planters in five quiet years had accumulated were now carried off or destroyed. Their negroes, so desired in the West Indies, formed the staple article of plunder.

Mar. 26.

By a courier from Washington, Lafayette received information that Virginia was about to become the centre of active operations, and was instructed to defend the state as well as the weakness of his means would permit. His troops were chiefly from New England, and dreaded the unwholesome and unknown climate of lower Virginia. Besides, they were destitute of every thing. 1781. April. To prevent desertion, Lafayette, as soon as he found himself on the south side of the Susquehannah, in an order of the day, offered leave to any of them to return to the north; and not one would abandon him. At Baltimore, he borrowed two thousand pounds sterling, supplied his men with shoes and hats, and bought linen, which the women of Baltimore made into summer garments. Then, by a forced march of two hundred miles, he arrived at Richmond on the twenty-ninth of April, the evening before Apr. 29. Phillips reached the opposite bank of the river. Having in the night been joined by Steuben with militia, Lafayette was enabled to hold in check the larger British force. Wayne should have accompanied Lafayette with the Pennsylvania line, but they were detained week after week for needful supplies. Meantime, Clinton, stimulated by Germain's constant praises of the activity of Cornwallis, sent another considerable detachment to Virginia.

On the thirteenth of May, General Phillips died May 13. of malignant fever. Arnold, on whom the command devolved, though only for seven days, addressed a letter to Lafayette. The young man returned it with scorn, refusing to correspond with a traitor; upon which Arnold threatened to send to the Antilles all American prisoners, unless a cartel should be immediately concluded. But on the twentieth Cornwallis arrived at Peters- May 20. burg; and, to free his camp of one whom he despised, he ordered Arnold back to New York.

Clinton had little reason to be satisfied with an Sept. officer who had represented to the ministry that he might have taken the American posts in the Highlands in a few days by a regular attack. Nevertheless, he detached him once more, and this time against his native state.

1781. Sept. 6. Crossing from Long Island, the troops under his command, on the sixth of September, landed on each side of New London. The town, which offered little resistance, was plundered and burnt. After a gallant defence of forty minutes by Colonel Ledyard, with about one hundred and fifty ill-armed militia-men, Fort Griswold was carried by storm, the Americans having lost not more than six men. When Ledyard had surrendered, the British officer in command ran him through with his sword, and refused quarter to the garrison. Seventy-three of them were killed, and more than thirty wounded; about forty were carried off as prisoners. With this expedition, Arnold disappears from history.

Cornwallis now found himself where he had so ardently desired to be, — in Virginia, at the head of seven thousand effective men, with not a third of that number to oppose him by land, and with undisputed command of the water.

The statesmen of Virginia, in the extremity of their peril, were divided in opinion. "Wanting a rudder in the storm," said Richard Henry Lee, "the good ship must inevitably be cast away;" and he proposed to send for General Washington immediately, and invest him with "dictatorial powers." But Jefferson, on the other hand, reasoned: "The thought alone of creating a dictator is treason against the people; is treason against mankind in general, giving to their oppressors a proof of the imbecility of republican government in times of pressing danger. The government, instead of being braced and invigorated for greater exertions under difficulties, would be thrown back." As governor of Virginia, speaking for its people and representing their May 28. distresses, he wrote to Washington: "Could you lend us your personal aid? It is evident, from the universal voice, that the presence of their beloved countryman would restore full confidence, and render them equal to whatever is not impossible. Should you repair to your native state, the difficulty would then be how to keep men out of the field." These words sunk deeply into Washington's mind.

During the summer, congress improved the methods of

administration. Against the opinion of Samuel Adams, and without aid from Massachusetts, it substituted for its own executive committees a single head of each of the most important departments. Robert Morris was placed in charge of the finances of the confederation; in conformity with the wish of the French minister, which was ably sustained by Sullivan, the conduct of foreign affairs was intrusted to Robert Livingston of New York. Washington would have gladly seen Schuyler elected to the war department.

Outside of congress, Hamilton persevered in recommending an efficient government. His views were so identical with those of Robert Morris that it is sometimes hard to say in whose mind they first sprung up. Many who agreed with them in wishing a stronger union might think they laid too much stress on the institution of a national bank; the opinion that a national debt, if not excessive, would be a national blessing, a powerful cement to union and a spur to industry, did not rise out of the best traditions of the country, and was carried, at least by the elder of the two, to a most perilous extreme.

Meantime, the conduct of the war continued to languish for the want of a central government. In the states from which the most was hoped, Hancock of Massachusetts was vain and neglectful of business; the president of Pennsylvania was more ready to recount what the state had done than what it meant to do: so that the army was not wholly free from the danger of being disbanded for want of subsistence. Of the armed vessels of the United States, all but two frigates had been taken or destroyed.

Madison still persevered in the effort to obtain power for congress to collect a revenue, and that body named a committee to examine into the changes which needed to be made in the articles of confederation. "The difficulty of continuing the war under them," so wrote Luzerne, on the twenty-seventh of August, "proves equally the necessity of reforming them, produced, as they were, at an epoch when the mere name of authority inspired terror, and by men who thought to make themselves agree- 1781. Aug. 27.

able to the people. I can scarcely persuade myself that they will come to an agreement on this matter. Some persons even believe that the actual constitution, all vicious as it is, can be changed only by some violent revolution."

The French government declined to furnish means for the siege of New York. After the arrival of its final instructions, Rochambeau, attended by Chastellux, in a meeting with Washington at Weathersfield on the twenty-first of May, settled the preliminaries of the campaign. The French land force was to march to the Hudson River, and, in conjunction with the American army, be ready to move to the southward. De Grasse was charged anew on his way to the north to enter the Chesapeake. In the direction of the war for the coming season, there would be union; for congress had lodged the highest power in the northern and southern departments in the hands of Washington, and France had magnanimously placed her troops as auxiliaries under his command.

1781. May 21.

Before his return, the American general called upon the governors of the four New England states, "in earnest and pointed terms," to complete their continental battalions, to hold bodies of militia ready to march in a week after being called for, and to adopt effective modes of supply. Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, cheered him with the opinion that he would obtain all that he needed.

In June, the French contingent, increased by fifteen hundred men, newly arrived in ships-of-war, left Newport for the Hudson River. The inhabitants crowded around them on their march, glad to recognise in them allies and defenders, and, mingling at their encampments with officers and soldiers, listened with delight to the bands of their regiments. The rights of private property were most scrupulously respected, and the petty exigencies of local laws good-naturedly submitted to.

Cornwallis began his career in Virginia by seizing the fine horses on the James River, and mounting a gallant and most effective cavalry, five or six hundred in number. He then started in pursuit of Lafayette, who, with about one thousand continental troops, was posted between Wilton

and Richmond, waiting for re-enforcements from Pennsylvania. "Lafayette, I think, cannot escape him," wrote Clinton to Germain. The youthful commander warily kept to the north of his pursuer; passing South and North Anna, went through the wilderness across the Rapidan; and on the seventh of June made a junction with Wayne not far from Raccoon ford. Small as was his force, he compared the British in Virginia to the French in Hanover at the time of the seven years' war, and confidently predicted analogous results. Cornwallis advanced as far as Hanover court-house, then crossed South Anna, and, having failed in his first object, he sent out two detachments: one of cavalry under Tarleton to capture or break up the Virginia assembly, then in session at Charlottesville; the other of mixed troops under Simcoe to proceed to the Point of Fork, where Steuben, with five hundred Virginians of the line and a few of the militia, kept guard over large stores intended for the south. The main body of his army, in its camp on the James River, just below Byrd Creek, awaited the return of the expeditions. For the next ten days, Cornwallis established his head-quarters at Elk Hill on a plantation belonging to Jefferson.

1781. June 7.

With one hundred and eighty dragoons and forty mounted infantry, Tarleton rode seventy miles in twenty-four hours, destroying public stores on the way; but the assembly, having received warning, had adjourned, and Jefferson had gone to the mountains on horseback. The dragoons overtook seven of the legislature; otherwise, the expedition was fruitless.

Steuben had transported his magazine across the Fluvanna, and was safe, the water being too deep to be forded; but Simcoe made him believe that the whole British army was in pursuit of him; and he fled, leaving behind him some part of his stores.

The two detachments rejoined the camp of Cornwallis, which extended along the James River from the Point of Fork to a little below the mouth of Byrd Creek. Tarleton had suffered nothing of Jefferson's at Monticello to be injured. At Elk Hill, under the eye of Cornwallis,

all the barns and fences were burnt; the growing crops destroyed; the fields laid absolutely waste; the throats cut of all the horses that were too young for service, and the rest carried off. He took away about thirty slaves, but not to give them freedom. The rest of the neighborhood was treated in like manner, but with less of destructive fury.

In the march of the British army from Elk Hill down the river to Williamsburg, where it arrived on the twenty-fifth of June, all dwelling-houses were plundered. The trusty band of Lafayette hung upon its rear, but could not prevent its depredations. The Americans of that day computed that Cornwallis, in his midsummer marchings up and down in Virginia, destroyed property to the value of three million pounds sterling. He nowhere gained a foothold, and he obtained no supplies except through the terror of his arms. His long travels had only taught him that the bulk of the people were bent on independence.

1781. June 25.

At Williamsburg, to his amazement and chagrin, he received from his chief orders to send back about three thousand men. Clinton's letter of the eleventh expressed his fear of being attacked in New York by more than twenty thousand; there was, he said, no possibility of re-establishing order in Virginia, so general was the disaffection to Great Britain. Cornwallis should therefore take a defensive situation in any healthy station he might choose, be it at Williamsburg or Yorktown. On the fifteenth, he added: "I do not think it advisable to leave more troops in that unhealthy climate at this season of the year than are absolutely wanted for a defensive and a desultory water expedition." "De Grasse," so he continued on the nineteenth, "will visit this coast in the hurricane season, and bring with him troops as well as ships. But, when he hears that your lordship has taken possession of York River before him, I think that their first efforts will be in this quarter. I am, however, under no great apprehensions, as Sir George Rodney seems to have the same suspicions of De Grasse's intention that we have, and will of course follow him hither."

From this time, the hate which had long existed between the lieutenant-general and the commander in chief showed itself without much reserve. The former was eager to step into the chief command; the latter, though he had threatened to throw up his place, clung to it tenaciously, and declared that he would not be "duped" by his rival into resigning.

"To your opinions it is my duty implicitly to submit," was the answer of Cornwallis to the orders of Clinton; and on the fourth of July he began his march to Portsmouth. On that day, the royal army arrived near James Island, and in the evening the advanced guard reached the opposite bank of the James River. Two or three more days were required to carry over all the stores and the troops. The small American army followed at a distance. Beside fifteen hundred regular troops, equal to the best in the royal army, Lafayette drew to his side as volunteers gallant young men mounted on their own horses from Maryland and Virginia. Youth and generosity, courage and prudence, were his spells of persuasion. His perceptions were quick; his vigilance never failed; and in his methods of gaining information of the movements of the enemy he excelled every officer in the war except Washington and Morgan. All accounts bear testimony to his caution, and that he never once committed himself during a very difficult campaign. Of his self-possession in danger he was now called upon to give proof. 1781. July 4.

On the sixth, Lafayette judged correctly that the great body of the British army was still on the north side of the James River; but Wayne, without his knowledge, detached a party under Colonel Galvan to carry off a field-piece of the enemy which was said to lie exposed. The information proved false. The party with Galvan found themselves suddenly in front of the advancing British line; and they retreated in column till they met Wayne with the Pennsylvania brigade. It suited the character of that officer to hazard an encounter. The British moved on with loud shouts and incessant fire. Wayne, discovering that he had been tempted to engage a greatly superior July 6.

force, saw his only safety in redoubling his courage; and he kept up the fight, till Lafayette, braving the hottest fire, in which his horse was killed under him, brought up the light infantry, and rescued the Pennsylvanians from their danger. Two of Wayne's field-pieces were left behind. In killed and wounded, each side lost about one hundred and twenty. The action took its name from the Greene Springs farm, about eight miles above Jamestown, where Lafayette encamped for the night.

After passing the river, Cornwallis, on the eighth, wrote orders to Tarleton with mounted troops to ravage Prince Edward's and Bedford counties, and to destroy all stores, whether public or private. The benefit derived from the destruction of property was not equal to the loss in skirmishes on the route and from the heats of midsummer.

From his camp on Malvern Hill, Lafayette urged Washington to march to Virginia in force; and he predicted in July that, if a French fleet should enter Hampton Roads, the English army must surrender. In like manner, on the eighth of the same month, Cornwallis in reply to Clinton reasoned earnestly against a defensive post in the Chesapeake: "It cannot have the smallest influence on the war in Carolina: it only gives us some acres of an unhealthy swamp, and is for ever liable to become a prey to a foreign enemy with a temporary superiority at sea." Thoroughly disgusted with the aspect of affairs in Virginia, he asked leave to transfer the command to General Leslie, and go back to Charleston. Meantime, transport ships arrived in the Chesapeake; and, in a letter which he received on the twelfth, he was desired by his chief so to hasten the embarkation of three thousand men that they might sail for New York within forty-eight hours; for, deceived by letters which were written to be intercepted, he believed that the enemy would certainly attack that post.

But the judgment of Clinton was further confused by another cause. The expectation of a brilliant campaign in Virginia had captivated the minds of Lord George Germain and the king; and, now that Cornwallis was thoroughly cured of his own presumptuous delusions, they came back

to Clinton in the shape of orders from the American secretary, who dwelt on the vast importance of the occupation of Virginia, and on the wisdom of the present plan of pushing the war in that quarter. It was a great mortification to him that Clinton should think of leaving only a sufficient force to serve for garrisons in the posts that might be established there, and he continued: "Your ideas of the importance of recovering that province appearing to be so different from mine, I thought it proper to ask the advice of his majesty's other servants upon the subject, and, their opinion concurring entirely with mine, it has been submitted to the king; and I am commanded by his majesty to acquaint you that the recovery of the southern provinces and the prosecution of the war from south to north is to be considered as the chief and principal object for the employment of all the forces under your command which can be spared from the defence of the places in his majesty's possession."

On Cornwallis he heaped praises, writing to him in June: "The rapidity of your movements is justly matter of astonishment to all Europe." To Clinton he repeated in the same month: "Lord Cornwallis's opinion entirely coincides with mine;" and on the seventh of July: "The detachments sent to Virginia promise more towards bringing the southern colonies to obedience than any offensive operation of the war;" a week later: "You judiciously sent ample re-enforcements to the Chesapeake;" and on the second of August: "As Sir George Rodney knows the destination of De Grasse, and the French acknowledge his ships sail better than theirs, he will get before him and be in readiness to receive him when he comes upon the coast. I see nothing to prevent the recovery of the whole country to the king's obedience." So the troops in Virginia which were already embarked were ordered to remain there. "As to quitting the Chesapeake entirely," wrote Clinton in a letter received by Cornwallis on the twenty-first of July, "I cannot entertain a thought of such a measure. I flatter myself you will at least

1781. June 6.

July 7.

Aug. 2.

July 21.

hold Old Point Comfort, if it is possible to do it without York." And four days later Clinton urged again: "It ever has been, is, and ever will be, my firm and unalterable opinion that it is of the first consequence to his majesty's affairs on the continent that we take possession of the Chesapeake, and that we do not afterwards relinquish it." "Remain in Chesapeake, at least until the stations I have proposed are occupied and established. It never was my intention to continue a post on Elizabeth River." Now the post of Portsmouth on Elizabeth River had, as Lafayette and Washington well understood, the special value that it offered in the last resort the chance of an escape into the Carolinas.

The engineers, after careful and extensive surveys, reported unanimously that a work on Point Comfort would not secure ships at anchor in Hampton Roads. To General Phillips on his embarkation in April, Clinton's words had been: "With regard to a station for the protection of the king's ships, I know of no place so proper as Yorktown." Nothing therefore remained but, in obedience to the spirit of Clinton's orders, to seize and fortify York and Glou-
1781. Aug. 1, 2. cester. Cornwallis accordingly, in the first week of August, embarked his troops successively, and, evac-
Aug. 8. uating Portsmouth, transferred his whole force to Yorktown and Gloucester. Yorktown was then but a small village on a high bank, where the long peninsula dividing the York from the James River is less than eight miles wide. The water is broad, bold, and deep; so that ships of the line may ride there in safety. On the opposite side lies Gloucester, a point of land projecting into the river and narrowing its width to one mile. These were occupied by Cornwallis, and fortified with the utmost diligence; though, in his deliberate judgment, the measure promised no honor to himself and no advantage to Great Britain.

On the other hand, Lafayette, concentrating his forces in a strong position at a distance of about eight miles, indulged in the happiest prophecies, and wrote on
Aug. 24. the twenty-fourth of August to Maurepas: "I owe

you so much gratitude, and feel for you so much attachment, that I wish sometimes to recall to your recollection the rebel commander of the little Virginia army. Your interest for me will have been alarmed at the dangerous part which has been intrusted to me in my youth. Separated by five hundred miles from every other corps and without any resources, I am to oppose the projects of the court of St. James and the fortunes of Lord Cornwallis. Thus far, we have encountered no disaster." On the same day, his words to Vergennes were: "In pursuance of the immense plan of his court, Lord Cornwallis left the two Carolinas exposed, and General Greene has largely profited by it. Lord Cornwallis has left to us Portsmouth, from which place he was in communication with Carolina, and he now is at York, a very advantageous place for one who has the maritime superiority. If by chance that superiority should become ours, our little army will participate in successes which will compensate it for a long and fatiguing campaign. They say that you are about to make peace. I think that you should wait for the events of this campaign."

On the very day on which Cornwallis took possession of York and Gloucester, Washington, assured of the assistance of De Grasse, turned his whole thoughts towards moving with the French troops under Rochambeau and the best part of the American army to the Chesapeake. While hostile divisions and angry jealousies increased between the two chief British officers in the United States, on the American side all things conspired happily together. De Barras, who commanded the French squadron at Newport, wrote as to his intentions: "M. de Grasse is my junior; yet, as soon as he is within reach, I will go to sea to put myself under his orders." The same spirit insured unanimity in the mixed council of war. The rendezvous was given to De Grasse in Chesapeake Bay; and, at the instance of Washington, he was to bring with him as many land troops as could be spared from the West Indies. Clinton was so certain in his own mind that the siege of New York was the great object of Washington, that, although the force under his command, including militia, was nearly eighteen thousand,

1781. he suffered the Hudson River to be crossed on the
Aug. 23. twenty-third and twenty-fourth of August without
Aug. 24. seizing the opportunity to give annoyance. Von Wurmb, a Hessian colonel, who had command at King's Bridge, again and again reported that the allied armies were obviously preparing to move against Cornwallis; but the general insisted that the appearances were but
Sept. 2. a stratagem. On the second of September, it first broke on his mind that Washington was moving southward.

In the allied camp, all was joy. The love of freedom took possession not of the French officers only, but inflamed the soldiers. Every one of them was proud of being a defender of the young republic. The new principles entered into their souls, and became a part of their nature. On the fifth of September, they encamped at Chester. Never had the French seen a man penetrated with a livelier or more manifest joy than Washington, when he there
Aug. 30. learned that, on the last day but one in August, the Count de Grasse, with twenty-eight ships of the line and nearly four thousand land troops, had entered the Chesapeake, where without loss of time he had moored most of the fleet in Lynnhaven Bay, blocked up York River, and, without being in the least annoyed by Cornwallis, had disembarked at James Island three thousand men under the command of the Marquis de Saint-Simon. Here, too, prevailed unanimity. Saint-Simon, though older in military service as well as in years, placed himself and his troops as auxiliaries under the orders of Lafayette, because he was a major-general in the service of the United States. The combined army in their encampment could be approached only by two passages, which were in themselves difficult and were carefully guarded, so that Cornwallis could not act on the offensive, and found himself effectually blockaded by land and by sea.

Aug. 30. One more disappointment awaited Cornwallis. If a bad king or a bad minister pursues bad ends, he naturally employs bad men. No great naval officer wished to serve against the United States. Lord Sandwich, after

the retirement of Howe, gave the naval command at New York to officers without ability; and the aged and imbecile Arbuthnot was succeeded by Graves, a coarse and vulgar man, of mean ability and without skill in his profession. Rodney should have followed De Grasse to the north; but he had become involved in pecuniary perils by his indiscriminate seizures at St. Eustatius, and laid himself open to censure for his inactivity during the long-continued sale of his prize-goods. Pleading ill-health, he escaped from uncongenial cares by sailing for England, and sent in his stead Sir Samuel Hood, with fourteen sail of the line, frigates, and a fire-ship into the Chesapeake, where a junction with Graves would have given the English the supremacy. But Graves, who was of higher rank than Hood, was out of the way on a silly cruise before Boston, which had no purpose unless to pick up a few prizes. Meantime, De Barras, with eight ships of the line, sailed from Newport, convoying ten transports, which contained the ordnance for the siege of Yorktown.

There was no want of information at New York, yet the British fleet did not leave Sandy Hook until the day after De Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake. Early on the fifth of September, Graves discovered the French fleet at anchor in the mouth of that bay. De Grasse, though eighteen hundred of his seamen and ninety officers were on duty in James River, ordered his ships to slip their cables, turn out from the anchorage ground, and form the line of battle. The action began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till about sunset. The British sustained so great a loss that, after remaining five days in sight of the French, they returned to New York. On the first day of their return voyage, they evacuated and burned "The Terrible," a ship of the line, so much had it been damaged in the engagement. De Grasse, now undisturbed master of the Chesapeake, on his way back to his anchoring ground captured two British ships, each of thirty-two guns, and he found De Barras safely at anchor in the bay.

1781. Sept. 5.

Sept. 11.

Leaving the allied troops to descend by water from Elk

River and Baltimore, Washington, with Rochambeau and Chastellux, riding sixty miles a day, on the evening
1781. Sept. 9. of the ninth reached his "own seat at Mount Vernon." It was the first time in more than six years that he had seen his home. From its lofty natural terrace above the Potomac, his illustrious guests commanded a noble river, a wide expanse, and the heights, then clothed in forest, within a generation to become the capital of the united republic.

Two days were given to domestic life. On the
Sept. 14. fourteenth, the party arrived at Williamsburg, where Lafayette, recalling the moment when in France the poor rebels were held in light esteem, and when he nevertheless came to share with them all their perils, had the pleasure of welcoming Washington, as generalissimo of the combined armies of the two nations, to scenes of glory.

The first act of Washington was to repair to the "Ville de Paris," to congratulate De Grasse on his victory. The system of co-operation between the land and naval forces was at the same time concerted.

At this moment, Gerry wrote from Massachusetts to Jay: "You will soon have the pleasure of hearing of the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army." "Nothing can save Cornwallis," said Greene, "but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charleston." On the seventeenth, Cornwallis reported to Clinton: "This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst." On that same day, a council of war, held by Clinton at New York, decided that Cornwallis must be relieved; "at all events before the end of October." The next day Rear-admiral Graves answered: "I am very happy to find that Lord Cornwallis is in no immediate danger."

One peril yet menaced Washington. Count de Grasse, hearing of a re-enforcement of the fleet at New York, was bent on keeping the sea, leaving only two vessels at the mouth of the York River. Against this, Washington addressed the most earnest remonstrance: "I should esteem

myself deficient in my duty to the common cause of France and America, if I did not persevere in entreating you to resume the plans that have been so happily arranged." The letter was taken by Lafayette, who joined to it his own explanations and reasonings; and De Grasse, though reluctant, was prevailed upon to remain within the capes. Washington wrote in acknowledgment: "A great mind knows how to make personal sacrifices to secure an important general good." 1781. Sept. 25.

The troops from the north having been safely landed at Williamsburg, on the twenty-eighth the united armies marched for the investiture of Yorktown, drove every thing on the British side before them, and lay on their arms during the night. Sept. 28.

The fortifications of Yorktown, which were nothing but earthworks freshly thrown up, consisted on the right of redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear, which supported a high parapet. Over a marshy ravine in front of the right, a large redoubt was placed. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a stockade and batteries. Two small redoubts were advanced before the left. The ground in front of the left was in some parts level with the works, in others cut by ravines; altogether very convenient for the besiegers. The space within the works was exceedingly narrow, and except under the cliff was exposed to enfilade.

The twenty-ninth was given to reconnoitring, and forming a plan of attack and approach. The French entreated Washington for orders to storm the exterior posts of the British; in the course of the night before the thirtieth, Cornwallis ordered them all to be abandoned, and thus prematurely conceded to the allied armies ground which commanded his line of works in a very near advance, and gave great advantages for opening the trenches. Sept. 29. Sept. 30.

At Gloucester, the enemy was shut in by dragoons under the Duke de Lauzun, Virginia militia under General Weedon, and eight hundred marines. Once, and once only, Tarleton and his legion, who were stationed on the same side, under-

took to act offensively; but the Duke de Lauzun and his dragoons, full of gayety and joy at the sight, ran against them and trampled them down. Tarleton's horse was taken; its rider barely escaped.

1781. Oct. 5. In the night before the sixth of October, every thing being in readiness, trenches were opened at six hundred yards' distance from the works of Cornwallis, — on the right by the Americans, on the left by the French; and the labor was executed in friendly rivalry, with so much secrecy and despatch that it was first revealed to the enemy by the light of morning. Within three days, the first parallel was completed, the redoubts finished, and batteries were employed in demolishing the embrasures of the enemy's works and their advanced redoubts. On Oct. 10. the night before the eleventh, the French battery on the left, by red-hot shot, set on fire the frigate "Charon" of forty-four guns, and three large transport ships which were entirely consumed.

Oct. 11. On the eleventh, the combined armies began at night their second parallel within three hundred yards of the lines of the British. This measure was undertaken so much sooner than they expected, that it could be conducted with the same secrecy as before; and they had no suspicion of the working parties till daylight discovered them to their pickets.

Oct. 14. All day on the fourteenth, the American batteries were directed against the abattis and salient angles of two advanced redoubts of the British, both of which needed to be included in the second parallel; and breaches were made in them sufficient to justify an assault. That on the right near York River was garrisoned by forty-five men, that on the left by thrice as many. The storming of the former fell to the Americans under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton; that of the latter to the French, of whom four hundred grenadiers and yagers of the regiments of Gatinois and of Deux Ponts, with a large reserve, was intrusted to Count William de Deux Ponts and to Baron de l'Estrade.

At the concerted signal of six shells consecutively fired,

the corps under Hamilton advanced in two columns without firing a gun, — the right composed of his own battalion, led by Major Fish, and of another commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Gimat; the left, of a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, destined to take the enemy of reverse and intercept their retreat. All the movements were executed with exactness, and the redoubt was at the same moment enveloped and carried in every part. Lieutenant Mansfield conducted the vanguard with coolness and punctuality, and was wounded with a bayonet as he entered the work. Captain Olney led the first platoon of Gimat's battalion over the abattis and palisades, and gained the parapet, receiving two bayonet wounds in the thigh and in the body, but not till he had directed his men to form. Laurens was among the foremost to climb into the redoubt, making prisoner of Major Campbell, its commanding officer. Animated by his example, the battalion of Gimat overcame every obstacle by their order and resolution. The battalion under Major Fish advanced with such celerity as to participate in the assault. Incapable of imitating precedents of barbarity, the Americans spared every man that ceased to resist; so that the killed and wounded of the enemy did not exceed eight. The conduct of the affair brought conspicuous honor to the talents and gallantry of Hamilton.

Precisely as the signal was given, the French on the left, in like manner, began their march in the deepest silence. At one hundred and twenty paces from the redoubt, they were challenged by a German sentry from the parapet; they pressed on at a quick time, exposed to the fire of the enemy. The abattis and palisades, at twenty-five paces from the redoubt, being strong and well preserved, stopped them for some minutes and cost them many men. So soon as the way was cleared by the brave carpenters, the storming party threw themselves into the ditch, broke through the fraises, and mounted the parapet. Foremost was Charles de Lameth, who had volunteered for this attack, and who was wounded in both knees by two different musket-balls. The order being now given, the French leaped into the redoubt, and charged the enemy with the bayonet. At this

moment, the Count de Deux Ponts raised the cry of "Vive le roi," which was repeated by all of his companions who were able to lift their voices. De Sireuil, a very young captain of yagers who had been wounded twice before, was now wounded for the third time and mortally. Within six minutes, the redoubt was mastered and manned; but in that short time nearly one hundred of the assailants were killed or wounded.

On that night, "victory twined double garlands around the banners" of France and America. Washington acknowledged the emulous courage, intrepidity, coolness, and firmness of the attacking troops. Louis XVI. distinguished the regiment of Gatinois by naming it the "Royal Auvergne."

By the unwearied labor of the French and Americans, both redoubts were included in the second parallel in the night of their capture. Just before the break of day
1781. Oct. 16. of the sixteenth, the British made a sortie upon a part of the second parallel and spiked four French pieces of artillery and two of the American; but, on the quick advance of the guards in the trenches, they retreated precipitately. The spikes were easily extracted; and in six hours the cannon again took part in the fire which enfiladed the British works.

On the seventeenth, Cornwallis, who could neither hold his post nor escape into the country, proposed to sur-
Oct. 18. render. On the eighteenth, Colonel Laurens and the Viscount de Noailles as commissioners on the American side met two high officers of the army of Cornwallis, to draft the capitulation. The articles were the same as those which Clinton had imposed upon Lincoln at Charleston. All the troops were to be prisoners of war; all public property was to be delivered up. Runaway slaves and the plunder taken by officers and soldiers in their marches through the country might be reclaimed by their owners; with these exceptions, private property was to be respected. All royalists were abandoned to trial by their own countrymen. But, in the packet which took the despatches to Sir Henry Clinton, Cornwallis was permitted to convey away such persons as were most obnoxious to the laws of Virginia.

Of prisoners, there were seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven regular soldiers, the flower of the British army in America, beside eight hundred and forty sailors. The British loss during the siege amounted to more than three hundred and fifty. One hundred and six guns were taken, of which seventy-five were of brass. The land forces and stores were assigned to the Americans, the ships and mariners to the French. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the nineteenth, Cornwallis remaining in his tent, Major-general O'Hara marched the British army past the lines of the combined armies, and, not without signs of repugnance, made his surrender to Washington. His troops then stepped forward decently and piled their arms on the ground. 1781. Oct. 19.

Nor must impartial history fail to relate that the French provided for the siege of Yorktown thirty-seven ships of the line, and the Americans not one; that while the Americans supplied nine thousand troops, of whom fifty-five hundred were regulars, the contingent of the French consisted of seven thousand.

Among the prisoners were two battalions of Anspach, amounting to ten hundred and seventy-seven men; and two regiments of Hesse, amounting to eight hundred and thirty-three. On the way to their camp, they passed in front of the regiment of Deux Ponts. At the sight of their countrymen, they forgot that they had been in arms against each other, and embraced with tears in their eyes. The English soldiers affected to look at the allied army with scorn; their officers conducted themselves with decorum, yet felt most keenly how decisive was their defeat.

When the letters of Washington announcing the capitulation reached congress, that body, with the people streaming in their train, went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran church to return thanks to Almighty God. Every breast swelled with joy. In the evening, Philadelphia was illuminated with greater splendor than at any time before. Congress voted honors to Washington, to Rochambeau, and to De Grasse, with special thanks to the officers and troops. A marble column was to be erected at Yorktown, with

emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian majesty.

The Duke de Lauzun, chosen to take the news across the Atlantic, arrived in twenty-two days at Brest, and reached Versailles on the nineteenth of November.

1781. Nov. 19.

The king, who had just been made happy by the birth of a dauphin, received the glad news in the queen's apartment. The very last sands of the life of the Count de Maurepas were running out; but he could still recognise De Lauzun, and the tidings threw a halo round his death-bed. The joy at court penetrated the whole people, and the name of Lafayette was pronounced with veneration. "History," said Vergennes, "offers few examples of a success so complete." "All the world agree," wrote Franklin to Washington, "that no expedition was ever better planned or better executed. It brightens the glory that must accompany your name to the latest posterity."

The first tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis reached England from France about noon on the twenty-fifth of November. "It is all over," said Lord North many times, under the deepest agitation and distress. Fox — to whom, in reading history, the defeats of armies of invaders, from Xerxes' time downwards, gave the greatest satisfaction — heard of the capitulation of Yorktown with wild delight. He hoped it might become the conviction of all mankind, that power resting on armed force is invidious, detestable, weak, and tottering. The official report from Sir Henry Clinton was received the same day at mid-night. When on the following Tuesday parliament came together, the speech of the king was confused, the debates in the two houses augured an impending change in the opinion of parliament, and the majority of the ministry was reduced to eighty-seven. A fortnight later, the motion of Sir James Lowther to give up "all further attempts to reduce the revolted colonies" was well received by the members from the country, and the majority of the ministry after a very long and animated debate dwindled to forty-one. The city of London entreated the king to put an end to "this unnatural and unfortunate war." Such,

Nov. 25.

Nov. 27.

too, was the wish of public meetings in Westminster, in Southwark, and in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey.

The house of commons employed the recess in grave reflection. The chimes of the Christmas bells had hardly died away, when the king wrote as stubbornly as ever: "No difficulties can get me to consent to the getting of peace at the expense of a separation from America."

Yet Lord George Germain was compelled to retire ingloriously from the cabinet. It was sought to palliate his disgrace with a peerage; but, when for the first time he repaired to the house of lords, he was met at its threshold by the unsparing reprobation of his career of cowardice and blindly selfish incapacity.

CHAPTER LV.

ENGLAND REFUSES TO CONTINUE THE AMERICAN WAR.

1782.

THE campaign in Virginia being finished, Washington and the eastern army were cantoned for the winter in their old positions around New York; Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, marched to the south to re-enforce Greene; the French under Rochambeau encamped in Virginia; and De Grasse took his fleet to the West Indies. From Philadelphia, Robert R. Livingston, the first American secretary for foreign affairs, communicated to Franklin the final instructions for negotiating peace; and the firm tone of Franklin's reply awakened new hopes in congress.

1782. Jan. 7.

While the conditions of peace were under consideration, America obtained an avowed friend in the Dutch republic. John Adams had waited more than eight months for an audience of reception, unaided even indirectly by the French ambassador at the Hague, because interference would have pledged France too deeply to the support of the United Provinces, whose complicated form of government promised nothing but embarrassment to an ally. Encouraged by the success at Yorktown, on the ninth of January he presented himself to the president of the states-general, and, renewing his formal request for an opportunity of presenting his credentials, "demanded a categorical answer which he might transmit to his sovereign." He next went in person to the deputies of the several cities of Holland, following the order of their rank in the confederation, and repeated his demand to each one of them. The attention of Europe was drawn to the adventurous and sturdy diplomatist, who dared alone and unsustained to

initiate so bold and novel a procedure. Not one of the representatives of foreign powers at the Hague believed that it could succeed.

On the twenty-sixth of February, Friesland, famous for the spirit of liberty in its people, who had retained in their own hands the election of their regencies, declared in favor of receiving the American envoy; and its vote was the index of the opinion of the nation. A month later, the states of Holland, yielding to petitions from all the principal towns, followed the example. Zealand adhered on the fourth of April; Overyssel, on the fifth; Groningen, on the ninth; Utrecht, on the tenth; and Guelderland, on the seventeenth. On the day which chanced to be the seventh anniversary of "the battle of Lexington," their high mightinesses, the states-general, reporting the unanimous decision of the seven provinces, resolved that John Adams should be received.

The Dutch republic was the second power in the world to recognise the independence of the United States of America; and the act proceeded from its heroic sympathy with a young people struggling against oppression, after the example of its own ancestors. The American minister found special pleasure in being introduced to the court where the first and the third William accomplished such great things for the Protestant religion and the rights of mankind. "This country," wrote he to a friend, "appears to be more a home than any other that I have seen. I have often been to that church at Leyden, where the planters of Plymouth worshipped so many years ago, and felt a kind of veneration for the bricks and timbers." 1782.

The liberal spirit that was prevailing in the world pleaded for peace. The time had not come, but was coming, when health-giving truth might show herself everywhere and hope to be received. The principles on which America was founded impressed themselves even on the rescripts of the emperor of Austria, who proclaimed in his dominions freedom of religion.

If liberty was spreading through all realms, how much more should it make itself felt by the people who regarded

their land as its chosen abode! It might suffer eclipse during their struggle to recover their transatlantic possessions by force; but the old love of freedom, which was fixed by the habit of centuries, must once more reassert its sway. In the calm hours of the winter recess, members of the house of commons reasoned dispassionately on the war with their ancient colonists. The king, having given up Germain, superseded Sir Henry Clinton by the humane Sir Guy Carleton, and owned it impossible to propose great continental operations. The estimates carried by the ministry through parliament for America were limited to defensive measures, and the house could no longer deceive itself as to the hopelessness of the contest. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of February, a motion against continuing the American war was made by Conway; was supported by Fox, William Pitt, Barré, Wilberforce, Mahon, Burke, and Cavendish; and was negatived by a majority of but one. Five days later, his resolution of the same purport for an address to the king obtained a majority of nineteen.

The next day, Edmund Burke wrote to Franklin: "I congratulate you as the friend of America; I trust not as the enemy of England; I am sure as the friend of mankind; the resolution of the house of commons, carried in a very full house, was, I think, the opinion of the whole. I trust it will lead to a speedy peace between the two branches of the English nation."

1782. Mar. 4. The address to the king having been answered in equivocal terms, on the fourth of March Conway brought forward a second address, to declare that the house would consider as enemies to the king and country all those who would further attempt the prosecution of a war on the continent of America for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience; and, after a long discussion, it was adopted without a division. With the same unanimity, leave was the next day granted to bring in a bill, "enabling" the king to make a peace or a truce with America. The bill for that purpose was accordingly brought in by the ministers; but more than two and a half months passed away before it became a law under

their successors, in an amended form. Forth repaired to France as the agent of the expiring administration, to parley with Vergennes on conditions of peace, which did not essentially differ from those of Necker in a former year.

To anticipate any half-way change of ministry, Fox, in the debate of the fourth, denounced Lord North and his colleagues as "men void of honor and honesty," a coalition with any one of them as an infamy; but on the seventh he qualified his words in favor of Lord Thurlow. In the majesty of upright intention, William Pitt, now in his great days, which were the days of his youth, stood aloof from all intrigue, saying: "I cannot expect to take any share in a new administration, and I never will accept a subordinate situation." The king toiled earnestly to retard the formation of a ministry till he could bring Rockingham to accept conditions, but the house of commons would brook no delay. On the twentieth, more members appeared than on any occasion thus far during that reign, and the crowds of spectators were unprecedented. Lord North, having a few days before narrowly escaped a vote of censure, rose at the same moment with a member who was to have moved a want of confidence in the ministers. The two parties in the house shouted wildly the names of their respective champions. The speaker hesitated; when Lord North, gaining the floor on a question of order, with good temper but visible emotion, announced that his administration was at an end. 1782. Mar. 20.

The outgoing ministry was the worst which England had known since parliament had been supreme. "Such a bunch of imbecility," said the author of "Taxation no Tyranny," and he might have added, of corruption, "never disgraced the country;" and he has left on record that he "prayed and gave thanks" when it was dissolved. Posterity has been towards Lord North more lenient and less just. America gained, through his mismanagement, independence, and can bear him no grudge. In England, no party claimed him as their representative, or saw fit to bring him to judgment; so that his scholarship, his unruf-

fled temper, the purity of his private life, and good words from Burns, from Gibbon, and more than all from Macaulay, have retained for him among his countrymen a better repute as minister than he deserved.

1782. The people were not yet known in parliament as a power; and outside of them three groups only could contribute members to an administration. The new tory or conservative party, toward which the part of the whigs represented by Portland and Burke were gravitating, had at that time for its most conspicuous and least scrupulous defender the chancellor, Thurlow. The followers of Chatham, of whom it was the cardinal principle that the British constitution recognises a king and a people no less than a hereditary aristocracy, and that to prevent the overbearing weight of that aristocracy the king should sustain the liberties of the people, owned Shelburne as their standard-bearer. In point of years, experience, philosophic culture, and superiority to ambition as a passion, he was their fittest leader, though he had never enjoyed the intimate friendship of their departed chief. It was he who reconciled George III. to the lessons of Adam Smith, and recommended them to the younger Pitt, through whom they passed to Sir Robert Peel; but his habits of study, and his want of skill in parliamentary tactics, had kept him from political connections as well as from political intrigues. His respect for the monarchical element in the British constitution invited the slander that he was only a counterfeit liberal, at heart devoted to the king; but in truth he was very sincere. His reputation has comparatively suffered with posterity, for no party has taken charge of his fame. Moreover, being more liberal than his age, his speeches sometimes had an air of ambiguity, from his attempt to present his views in a form that might clash as little as possible with the prejudices of his hearers. The third set was that of the old whigs, which had governed England from the revolution till the coming in of George III., and which deemed itself invested with a right to govern for ever. Its principle was the paramount power of the aristocracy; its office, as Rockingham expressed it, "to

fight up against king and people." They claimed to be liberal, and many of them were so; but they were more willing to act as the trustees of the people, than with the people and by the people. Like the great Roman lawyers, the best of them meant to be true to their clients, but never respected them as their equals. An enduring liberal government could at that time be established in England only by a junction of the party then represented by Shelburne and the liberal wing of the supporters of Rockingham. Such a union Chatham for twenty years had striven to bring about.

The king kept his sorrows, as well as he could, pent up in his own breast, but his mind was "truly torn to pieces" by the inflexible resolve of the house of commons to stop the war in America. He blamed them for having lost the feelings of Englishmen. Moreover, he felt keenly "the cruel usage of all the powers of Europe," of whom every one adhered to the principles of the armed neutrality, and every great one but Spain desired the perfect emancipation of the United States. The day after the ministry announced its retirement, he proposed to Shelburne to take the administration with Thurlow, Gower, and Weymouth, Camden, Grafton, and Rockingham. This Shelburne declined as "absolutely impracticable," and from an equal regard to the quiet of the sovereign and the good of the country he urged that Rockingham might be sent for. The king could not prevail with himself to accept the advice, and he spoke discursively of his shattered health, his agitation of mind, his low opinion of Rockingham's understanding, his horror of Charles Fox, his preference of Shelburne as compared to the rest of the opposition. For a day he contemplated calling in a number of principal persons, among whom Rockingham might be included; and, when the many objections to such a measure were pointed out, he still refused to meet Rockingham face to face, and could not bring himself further than to receive him through the intervention of Shelburne. 1782. Mar. 22.

In this state of things, the latter consented to be the bearer of a message from the king, but only on the condition of "full power and full confidence;" a clear approval at

first setting out of every engagement to which he stood already committed as to men and as to measures; and authority to procure "the assistance and co-operation of the Rockinghams, cost what it would, more or less." "Necessity," relates the king, "made me yield to the advice of Lord Shelburne." Thus armed with the amplest powers, the mediator fulfilled his office. Before accepting the offer of the treasury, Rockingham, not neglecting two or three minor matters, made but one great proposition, that there should be "no veto to the independence of America." The king, though in bitterness of spirit, consented in writing to the demand. "I was thoroughly resolved," he says of himself, "not to open my mouth on any negotiation with America."

In constructing his ministry, Rockingham wisely composed it of members from both fractions of the liberal party. His own connection was represented by himself, Fox, Cavendish, Keppel, and Richmond; but he retained as chancellor Thurlow, who bore Shelburne malice and had publicly received the glowing eulogies of Fox. Shelburne took with him into the cabinet Camden; and, as a balance to Thurlow, the great lawyer Dunning, raising him to the peerage as Lord Ashburton. Conway and Grafton might be esteemed as neutral, having both been members alike of the Rockingham and the Chatham administrations. Men of the next generation asked why Burke was offered no seat in the cabinet. The new tory party would give power to any man, however born, that proved himself a bulwark to their fortress; the old whig party reserved the highest places for those cradled in the purple. "I have no views to become a minister," Burke said; "nor have I any
1782. right to such views. I am a man who have no pretensions to it from fortune;" and he was more than content with the rich office of paymaster for himself, and lucrative places for his kin.

Franklin in Paris had watched the process of the house of commons in condemning the war, and knew England so well as to be sure that Shelburne must be a member of the new administration. Already, on the twenty-second, he

seized the opportunity of a traveller returning to England to open a correspondence with his friend of many years, assuring him of the continuance of his own ancient respect for his talents and virtues, and congratulating him on the returning good disposition of his country in favor of America. "I hope," continued he, "it will tend to produce a general peace, which I am sure your lordship, with all good men, desires; which I wish to see before I die; and to which I shall with infinite pleasure contribute every thing in my power." In this manner began the negotiation which was to bring a breathing time to the world.

Franklin had rightly divined the future, and his overture arrived most opportunely. Shelburne, as the elder secretary of state having his choice, elected the home department, which then included America; so that he had by right the direction of all measures relating to the United States. On the fourth of April, he instructed Sir Guy Carleton to proceed to New York with all possible expedition; and he would not suffer Arnold to return to the land which he had bargained to betray. On the same day, he had an interview with Laurens, then in England, as a prisoner on parole; and, having learned of him the powers of the American commissioners, before evening he selected for his diplomatic agent to treat with them Richard Oswald of Scotland. The king, moved by the acceptable part which Shelburne had "acted in the whole negotiation for forming the present administration," departed from his purpose of total silence and gave his approval, alike to the attempt "to sound Mr. Franklin" and to the employment of Oswald, who had passed many years in America, understood it well, on questions of commerce agreed with Adam Smith, and engaged in the business disinterestedly. By him, writing as friend to friend, Shelburne answered the overture of Franklin in a letter, which is the key to the treaty that followed.

1782. April 4.

"London, 6 April, 1782. Dear Sir, I have been favored with your letter, and am much obliged by your remembrance. I find myself returned nearly to the same situation which you remember me to have occupied nineteen

years ago; and I should be very glad to talk to you as I did then, and afterwards in 1767, upon the means of promoting the happiness of mankind, a subject much more agreeable to my nature than the best concerted plans for spreading misery and devastation. I have had a high opinion of the compass of your mind, and of your foresight. I have often been beholden to both, and shall be glad to be so again, as far as is compatible with your situation. Your letter, discovering the same disposition, has made me send to you Mr. Oswald. I have had a longer acquaintance with him than even with you. I believe him an honorable man, and, after consulting some of our common friends, I have thought him the fittest for the purpose. He is a pacifical man, and conversant in those negotiations which are most interesting to mankind. This has made me prefer him to any of our speculative friends, or to any person of higher rank. He is fully apprised of my mind, and you may give full credit to any thing he assures you of. At the
1782. same time, if any other channel occurs to you, I am ready to embrace it. I wish to retain the same simplicity and good faith which subsisted between us in transactions of less importance. Shelburne."

With this credential, Oswald repaired to Paris by way of Ostend. Laurens, proceeding to the Hague, found Adams engrossed with the question of his reception as minister in Holland, to be followed by efforts to obtain a loan of money for the United States, and to negotiate a treaty of commerce and a triple alliance. Besides, believing that Shelburne was not in earnest, he was willing to wait till the British nation should be ripe for peace. In this manner, the American negotiation was left in the hands of Franklin alone.

CHAPTER LVI.

ROCKINGHAM'S MINISTRY ASSENTS TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

1782.

The hatred of America as a self-existent state became every day more intense in Spain from the desperate weakness of her authority in her transatlantic pos- 1782. sessions. Her rule was dreaded in them all; and, as even her allies confessed, with good reason. The seeds of rebellion were already sown in the vice-royalties of Buenos Ayres and Peru; and a union of Creoles and Indians might prove at any moment fatal to metropolitan dominion. French statesmen were of opinion that England, by emancipating Spanish America, might indemnify itself for all loss from the independence of a part of its own colonial empire; and they foresaw in such a revolution the greatest benefit to the commerce of their own country. Immense naval preparations had been made by the Bourbons for the conquest of Jamaica; but now, from the fear of spreading the love of change, Florida Blanca suppressed every wish to acquire that hated nest of contraband trade. When the French ambassador reported to him the proposal of Vergennes to constitute its inhabitants an indepen- April. dent republic, he seemed to hear the tocsin of insurrection sounding from the La Plata to San Francisco, and from that time had nothing to propose for the employment of the allied fleets in the West Indies. He was perplexed beyond the power of extrication. One hope only remained. Minorca having been wrested from the English, he concentrated all the force of Spain in Europe on the one great object of recovering Gibraltar, and held France to her

promise not to make peace until that fortress should be given up.

With America, therefore, measures for a general peace must begin. As the pacification of the late British dependencies belonged exclusively to the department of Lord Shelburne, the other members of the cabinet should have respected his right. As a body they did so; but Fox, leagued with young men as uncontrollable as himself, resolved to fasten a quarrel upon him, and to get into his own hands every part of the negotiations for peace.

1782. Apr. 12. At a cabinet meeting on the twelfth of April, he told Shelburne and those who sided with him that he was determined to bring the matter to a crisis; and on the same day he wrote to one of his young friends: "They must yield entirely. If they do not, we must go to war again; that is all: I am sure I am ready." Oswald at the time was on his way to Paris, where on the

Apr. 16. sixteenth he went straightway to Franklin. The latter, speaking not his own opinion only, but that of congress and of every one of his associate commissioners, explained that the United States could not treat for peace with Great Britain unless it was also intended to treat with France; and, though Oswald desired to keep aloof from European affairs, he allowed himself to be introduced by Franklin to Vergennes, who received with pleasure assurances of the good disposition of the British king, reciprocated them on the part of his own sovereign, and invited an offer of its conditions. He wished America and France to treat directly with British plenipotentiaries, each for itself, the two negotiations to move on with equal step, and the two treaties to be simultaneously signed.

From Amsterdam, John Adams questioned whether, with Canada and Nova Scotia in the hands of the English, the Americans could ever have a real peace. In a like spirit, Franklin intrusted to Oswald "Notes for Conversation," in which the voluntary cession of Canada was suggested as the surety "of a durable peace and a sweet reconciliation." At the same time, he replied to his old friend Lord Shelburne: "I desire no other channel of communication be-

tween us than that of Mr. Oswald, which I think your lordship has chosen with much judgment. He will be witness of my acting with all the sincerity and good faith which you do me the honor to expect from me; and if he is enabled, when he returns hither, to communicate more fully your lordship's mind on the principal points to be settled, I think it may contribute much to the blessed work our hearts are engaged in."

Another great step was taken by Franklin. He excluded Spain altogether from the American negotiation. Entreating Jay to come to Paris, he wrote: "Spain has taken four years to consider whether she should treat with us or not. Give her forty, and let us in the mean time mind our own business."

On the twenty-third, shortly after the return of Oswald to London, the cabinet on his report agreed to send him again to Franklin to acquaint him of their readiness to treat at Paris for a general peace, conceding American independence, but otherwise maintaining the treaties of 1763. On the twenty-eighth, Shelburne, who was in earnest, gave to his agent the verbal instruction: "If America is independent, she must be so of the whole world, with no ostensible, tacit, or secret connection with France." Canada could not be ceded. It was "reasonable to expect a free trade, unencumbered with duties, to every part of America." "All debts due to British subjects were to be secure, and the loyalists to be restored to a full enjoyment of their rights and privileges." As a compensation for the restoration of New York, Charleston, and Savannah, the river Penobscot might be proposed for the eastern boundary of New England. "Finally," he said, "tell Dr. Franklin candidly and confidentially Lord Shelburne's situation with the king; that his lordship will make no use of it but to keep his word with mankind." With these instructions, Oswald returned immediately to Paris, bearing from Shelburne to Franklin a most friendly letter, to which the king had given his thorough approval.

1782. Apr. 23.

Apr. 28.

With the European belligerents, the communication was

necessarily to proceed from the department of which Fox was the chief. He entered upon the business in a spirit that foreboded no success; for, at the very moment of his selection of an emissary, he declared that he did not think it much signified how soon he should break up the cabinet. The person of whom he made choice to treat on the weightiest interests with the most skilful diplomatist of Europe was Thomas Grenville, one of his own partisans, who was totally ignorant of the relations of America to France, and very young, with no experience in public business, and a very scant knowledge of the foreign relations of his own country.

1782. May 8. Arriving in Paris on the eighth of May, Grenville delivered to Franklin a most cordial letter of introduction from Fox, and met with the heartiest welcome. After receiving him at breakfast, Franklin took him in his own carriage to Versailles; and there the dismissed postmaster-general for America, at the request of the British secretary of state, introduced the son of the author of the American stamp act as the British plenipotentiary to the minister for foreign affairs of the Bourbon king. Statesmen at Paris and Vienna were amused on hearing that the envoy of the "rebel" colonies was become "the introductor" of the representatives of Great Britain at the court of Versailles.

Vergennes received Grenville most cordially as the nephew of an old friend, but smiled at his offer to grant to France the independence of the United States; and Franklin refused to accept at second hand that independence which his country had already won. Grenville remarked that the war had been provoked by encouragement from France to the Americans to revolt; to which Vergennes answered with warmth that France had found and not made America independent, and that American independence was not the only cause of the war. On the

May 10. next day, Grenville, unaccompanied by Franklin, met Vergennes and De Aranda, and offered peace on the basis of the independence of the United States and the treaty of 1763. "That treaty," said Vergennes, "I can

never read without a shudder. The king, my master, cannot in any treaty consider the independence of America as ceded to him. To do so would be injurious to the dignity of his Britannic majesty." The Spanish ambassador urged with vehemence that the griefs of the king of Spain were totally distinct from the independence of America. 1782. May.

With regard to America, the frequent conversations of the young envoy with Franklin, who received him with constant hospitality, cleared up his views. It was explained to him with precision that the United States were free from every sort of engagement with France except those contained in the public treaties of commerce and alliance. Grenville asked if these obligations extended to the recovery of Gibraltar for Spain; and Franklin answered: "It is nothing to America who has Gibraltar." But Franklin saw in Grenville a young statesman ambitious of recommending himself as an able negotiator; in Oswald, a man who, free from interested motives, earnestly sought a final settlement of all differences between Great Britain and America. To the former he had no objection, but he would have been loath to lose the latter; and, before beginning to treat of the conditions of peace, he wrote to Shelburne his belief that the "moderation, prudent counsels, and sound judgment of Oswald might contribute much, not only to the speedy conclusion of a peace, but to the framing of such a peace as may be firm and lasting." The king, as he read the wishes of Franklin, which were seconded by Vergennes, "thought it best to let Oswald remain at Paris," saying that "his correspondence carried marks of coming from a man of sense."

While Oswald came to London to make his second report, news that better reconciled the English to treat for peace arrived from the Caribbean Islands. The fleet of De Grasse in 1781, after leaving the coast of the United States, gave to France the naval ascendency in the West Indies. St. Eustatius was recaptured, and generously restored to the United Provinces. St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat were successively taken. On the nineteenth of February,

1782, Rodney reappeared at Barbados with a re-enforcement of twelve sail, and in the next week he effected a junction with the squadron of Hood to the leeward of Antigua. To cope with his great adversary, De Grasse, who was closely watched by Rodney from St. Lucia, must unite with the Spanish squadron. For that purpose, on the eighth of April he turned his fleet out of Fort Royal in Martinique; and, with only the advantage of a few hours over the British, he ran for Hispaniola. On the ninth, a partial engagement took place near the Island of Dominica. At daylight on the twelfth, Rodney by skilful manœuvres drew near the French in the expanse of waters that lies between the islands of Guadaloupe, the Saintes, and Marie Galante. The sky was clear, the sea quiet; the trade-wind blew lightly, and, having the advantage of its unvarying breeze, Rodney made the signal for attack. The British had thirty-six ships; the French, with a less number, excelled in the weight of metal. The French ships were better built; the British in superior repair. The complement of the French crews was the more full, but the British mariners were better disciplined. The fight began at seven in the morning, and without a respite of seven minutes it continued for eleven hours. The French handled their guns well at a distance, but in close fight there was a want of personal exertion and presence of mind. About the time when the sun was at the highest, Rodney cut the line of his enemy; and the battle was continued in detail, all the ships on each side being nearly equally engaged. The "Ville de Paris," the flag-ship of De Grasse, did not strike its colors till it was near foundering, and only three men were left unhurt on the upper deck. Four other ships of his fleet were captured; one sunk in the action.

1782. April.

On the side of the victors, about one thousand were killed or wounded: of the French, thrice as many; for their ships were crowded with over five thousand land troops, and the fire of the British was rapid and well aimed. The going down of the sun put an end to the battle, and Rodney neglected pursuit. Just at nightfall, one of the ships of which the English had taken possession blew up. Of the poor

wretches who were cast into the sea, some clung to bits of the wreck; the sharks, of which the fight had called together shoals from the waters round about, tore them off, and even after the carnage of the day could hardly be glutted.

The feeling of having recovered the dominion of the sea reconciled England to the idea of peace. On the eighteenth of May, the day on which tidings of the victory were received, the cabinet agreed to invite proposals from Vergennes. Soon after this came a letter from Grenville, in which he argued that, as America had been the road to war with France, so it offered the most practicable way of getting out of it; and the cabinet agreed to a minute almost in his words, "to propose the independency of America in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty." The proposition in the words of Fox was accepted by Shelburne, was imbodied by him in his instructions to Sir Guy Carleton at New York, and formed the rule of action for Oswald on his return, with renewed authority, to Paris. Independence was, as the king expressed it, "the dreadful price now offered to America" for peace. 1782. May.

A commission was forwarded to Grenville by Fox to treat with France, but with no other country; yet he devoted nearly all his letter of instructions to the relations with America, showing that in a negotiation for peace the United States ought not to be encumbered by a power like Spain, "which had never assisted them during the war, and had even refused to acknowledge their independence."

When Grenville laid before Vergennes his credentials, he received the answer that they were very insufficient, as they did not enable him to treat with Spain and America, the allies of France; or with the Netherlands, her partner in the war. Repulsed at Versailles, Grenville took upon himself to play the plenipotentiary with America; on the fourth of June, he confided to Franklin the minute of the cabinet, and hoped to draw from him in return the American conditions for a separate peace. But Franklin would not unfold the American conditions to a person not author-

ized to receive them. Irritated by this "unlucky check," by which, as he thought, his hopes of a great diplomatic success were "completely annihilated," he made bitter and passionate and altogether groundless complaints of Oswald. He would have Fox not lose one moment to fight the battle with advantage against Shelburne, and to take to himself the American business by comprehending all in one.

1782. June. Though Fox had given up all present hope of making peace, he enlarged the powers of Grenville so as to include any potentate or state then at war with Great Britain; and he beat about for proofs of Shelburne's "duplicity of conduct," resolved, if he could but get them, to "drive to an open rupture."

Under his extended powers, Grenville made haste to claim the right to treat with America; but, when questioned by Franklin, he was obliged to own that he was acting without the sanction of parliament. Within twenty-four hours of the passing of the enabling act, the powers for Oswald as a negotiator of peace with the United States were begun upon, and were "completely finished in the four days following;" but, on the assertion of Fox that they would prejudice every thing then depending in Paris, they were delayed. Fox then proposed that America, even without a treaty, should be recognised as an independent power. Had he prevailed, the business of America must have passed from the home department to that for foreign affairs; but, after full reflection, the cabinet decided "that independence should in the first instance be allowed as the basis to treat on." Professing discontent, "Fox declared that his part was taken to quit his office."

The next day, Lord Rockingham expired. His ministry left great memorials of its short career. Through the mediation of Shelburne, it forced the king to treat for peace with the United States on the basis of their independence. The success of America brought emancipation to Ireland, which had suffered even more than the United States from colonial monopoly. Its volunteer army, commanded by officers of its own choice, having increased to nearly fifty thousand well-armed men, united under one general in chief,

the viceroy reported that, "unless it was determined that the knot which bound the two countries should be severed for ever," the points required by the Irish parliament must be conceded. Fox would rather have seen Ireland totally separated than kept in obedience by force. Eden, one of Lord North's commissioners in America in 1778, and lately his secretary for Ireland, was the first in a moment of ill-humor to propose the repeal of the act of George I., which asserted the right of the parliament of Great Britain to make laws to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland; and after reflection the ministry of Rockingham adopted and carried the measure. Appeals from the courts of law in Ireland to the British house of peers were abolished; the restraint on independent legislation was done away with; and Ireland, owning allegiance to the same king as Great Britain, obtained the independence of its own parliament. These were the first-fruits of the American revolution. The Irish owed the vindication of their rights to the United States; but, at the time, the gratitude of the nation took the direction of loyalty to their king, and their legislature voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the levy of twenty thousand seamen. 1782.

During the ministry of Rockingham, the British house of commons for the first time since the days of Cromwell seriously considered the question of a reform in the representation of Great Britain. The author of the proposition was William Pitt, then without office, but the acknowledged heir of the principles of Chatham. The resolution of inquiry was received with ill-concealed repugnance by Rockingham. Its support by Fox was lukewarm, and bore the mark of his aristocratic connections. Edmund Burke, in his fixed opposition to reform, was almost beside himself with passion, and was with difficulty persuaded to remain away from the debate. The friends of Shelburne, on the contrary, gave to the motion their cordial support; yet, by the absence and opposition of many of the Rockingham connection, the question on this first division in the house of commons upon the state of the representation in the British parliament was lost, though only by a majority of twenty.

The freedom of Ireland and the hopes of reform in the British parliament itself went hand in hand with the triumph of liberty in America.

The accession of a liberal ministry revived in Frederic of Prussia his old inclination to friendly relations with England. The empress of Russia now included the government in her admiration of the British people; and Fox on his side, with the consent of the ministry, but to the great vexation of the king, accepted her declaration of the
1782. maritime rights of neutrals. But for the moment no practical result followed; for the cabinet, as the price of their formal adhesion to her code, demanded her alliance.

CHAPTER LVII.

SHELBURNE OFFERS PEACE.

JULY, AUGUST, 1782.

ON the death of Rockingham, the king offered to Shelburne by letter "the employment of first lord of the treasury, and with it the fullest political confi- 1782.
dence." "Indeed," added the king, "he has had ample sample of it by my conduct towards him since his return to my service." No British prime minister had professed more liberal principles. He wished a thorough reform of the representation of the people of Great Britain in parliament. Far from him was the thought that the prosperity of America could be injurious to England. He regarded neighboring nations as associates ministering to each other's prosperity, and wished to form with France treaties of commerce as well as of peace. But Fox, who was entreated to remain in the ministry as secretary of state with a colleague of his own choosing and an ample share of power, set up against him the narrow-minded Duke of Portland, under whose name the old aristocracy was to rule parliament, king, and people. To gratify the violence of his headstrong pride and self-will, he threw away the glorious opportunity of endearing himself to mankind by granting independence to the United States and restoring peace to the world, and struck a blow at liberal government in his own country from which she did not recover in his lifetime.

The old whig aristocracy was on the eve of dissolution. In a few years, those of its members who, like Burke and the Duke of Portland, were averse to shaking the smallest particle of the settlement at the revolution, were to merge

themselves in the new tory or conservative party: the rest adopted the watchword of reform; and, when they began to govern, it was with the principles of Chatham and Shelburne. For the moment, Fox, who was already brooding on a coalition with the ministry so lately overthrown, insisted with his friends that Lord Shelburne was as fully devoted to the court as Lord North in his worst days. But the latter, contrary to his own judgment and political principles, had persisted in the American war to please the king; the former accepted power only after he had brought the king to consent to peace with independent America.

The vacancies in the cabinet were soon filled up. For the home department, the choice of the king fell on William Pitt, who had not yet avowed himself in parliament for American independence, and who was in little danger of "becoming too much dipped in the wild measures" of "the leaders of sedition;" but it was assigned to the more experienced Thomas Townshend, who had ever condemned the violation of the principles of English liberty in the administration of British colonies in America. Pitt, at three-and-twenty years old, became chancellor of the exchequer; the seals of the foreign office were intrusted to Lord Grantham.

1782. July 9. In the house of commons, Fox made on the ninth of July his self-defence, which, in its vagueness and hesitation, betrayed his consciousness that he had no ground to stand upon. In the debate, Conway said with truth that eagerness for exclusive power was the motive of Fox, between whom and Shelburne the difference of policy for America was very immaterial; that the latter, so far from renewing the old, exploded politics, had been able to convince his royal master that a declaration of its independence was, from the situation of the country and the necessity of the case, the wisest and most expedient measure that government could adopt. Burke called heaven and earth to witness the sincerity of his belief that "the ministry of Lord Shelburne would be fifty times worse than that of Lord North," declaring that "his accursed principles were to be found in Machiavel, and that but for want

of understanding he would be a Catiline or a Borgia." "Shelburne has been faithful and just to me," wrote Sir William Jones to Burke, deprecating his vehemence: "the principles which he has professed to me are such as my reason approved." "In all my intercourse with him, I never saw any instance of his being insincere," wrote Franklin, long after Shelburne had retired from office. On the tenth, Shelburne said in the house of lords: "I stand firmly upon my consistency. I never will consent that a certain number of great lords should elect a prime minister who is the creature of an aristocracy, and is vested with the plenitude of power, while the king is nothing more than a pageant or a puppet. In that case, the monarchical part of the constitution would be absorbed by the aristocracy, and the famed constitution of England would be no more. The members of the cabinet can vouch that no reason, relative to the business of America, has been assigned or even hinted for the late resignations. The principle laid down relative to peace with America has not in the smallest degree been departed from. Nothing is farther from my intention than to renew the war in America; the sword is sheathed, never to be drawn there again." 1782. July 10.

On the day on which Fox withdrew from the ministry, Shelburne, who now had liberty of action, wrote these instructions to Oswald: "I hope to receive early assurances from you that my confidence in the sincerity and good faith of Dr. Franklin has not been misplaced, and that he will concur with you in endeavoring to render effectual the great work in which our hearts and wishes are so equally interested. We have adopted his idea of the method to come to a general pacification by treating separately with each party. I beg him to believe that I can have no idea or design of acting towards him and his associates but in the most open, liberal, and honorable manner." June 30.

Franklin, on his part, lost not a day in entering upon definitive negotiations for peace. From his long residence in England, he knew exactly the relations of its parties

and of its public men; of whom the best were his personal friends. He was aware how precarious was the hold of Shelburne on power; and he made all haste to bring about an immediate pacification. On the tenth of July, in his own house and at his own invitation, he had an interview with Oswald, and proposed to him the American conditions of peace. The articles which could not be departed from were: independence, full and complete in every sense, to the thirteen states, and all British troops to be withdrawn from them; for boundaries, the Mississippi, and on the side of Canada as they were before the Quebec act of 1774; and, lastly, a freedom of fishing off Newfoundland and elsewhere as in times past.

1782. July 10.

Having already explained that nothing could be done for the loyalists by the United States, as their estates had been confiscated by laws of particular states which congress had no power to repeal, he further demonstrated that Great Britain had forfeited every right to intercede for them by its conduct and example; to which end, he read to Oswald the orders of the British in Carolina for confiscating and selling the lands and property of all patriots under the direction of the military; and he declared definitively that, though the separate governments might show compassion where it was deserved, the American commissioners for peace could not make compensation of refugees a part of the treaty.

Franklin recommended, but not as an ultimatum, a perfect reciprocity in regard to ships and trade. He further directed attention to the reckless destruction of American property by the British troops, as furnishing a claim to indemnity which might be set off against the demands of British merchants and of American loyalists. He was at that time employed on a treaty of reimbursement to France by the United States for its advances of money; and he explained to Oswald, as he had before done to Grenville, the exact nature and the limits of the obligations of America to France for loans of which the debt and interest would be paid.

The interview closed with the understanding by Oswald

that Franklin was ready to sign the preliminary articles of the treaty so soon as they could be agreed upon. The negotiation was opened and kept up with the knowledge and at the wish of Vergennes; but Franklin took upon himself to disobey the instructions of congress, and to the last withheld from him every thing relating to the conditions of the peace.

So soon as Shelburne saw a prospect of a general pacification, of which he reserved the direction to himself, Fitzherbert, a diplomatist of not much experience and no great ability, was transferred from Brussels to Paris, to be the channel of communication with Spain, France, and Holland. He brought with him a letter to Franklin from Grantham, who expressed his desire to merit Franklin's confidence, and from Townshend, who declared himself the zealous friend to peace upon the fairest and most liberal terms.

While the commission and instructions of Oswald were preparing, Shelburne, who best understood American affairs, accepted the ultimatum of Franklin in all its branches; only, to prevent the bickerings of fishermen and to respect public opinion in England, he refused the privilege of drying fish on the Island of Newfoundland.

On the twenty-seventh, Shelburne replied to Os- 1782. July 27.
wald: "Your several letters give me the greatest satisfaction, as they contain unequivocal proofs of Dr. Franklin's sincerity and confidence in those with whom he treats. It will be the study of his majesty's ministers to return it by every possible cordiality. There never have been two opinions since you were sent to Paris upon the acknowledgment of American independency, to the full extent of all the resolutions of the province of Maryland, enclosed to you by Dr. Franklin. But, to put this matter out of all possibility of doubt, a commission will be immediately forwarded to you, containing full powers to treat and to conclude, with instructions from the minister who has succeeded to the department which I lately held to make the independency of the colonies the basis and preliminary of the treaty now depending, and so far advanced that, hoping as I do with you that the articles called advis-

able will be dropped and those called necessary alone retained as the ground of discussion, it may be speedily concluded. You very well know I have never made a secret of the deep concern I feel in the separation of countries united by blood, by principles, habits, and every tie short of territorial proximity. But I have long since given it up, decidedly though reluctantly; and the same motives which made me perhaps the last to give up all hope of reunion make me most anxious, if it is given up, that it shall be done so as to avoid all future risk of enmity and lay the foundation of a new connection, better adapted to the temper and interest of both countries. In this view, I go further with Dr. Franklin perhaps than he is aware of, and further, perhaps, than the professed advocates of independence are prepared to admit. I consider myself as pledged to the contents of this letter. You will find the ministry united, in full possession of the king's confidence, and thoroughly disposed to peace, if it can be obtained upon reasonable terms."

1782. Aug. 7. The commission to Oswald, which followed in a few days, conformed to the enabling act of parliament. The king pledged his name and word to ratify and confirm whatever might be concluded between him and the American commissioners; "our earnest wish for peace," such were the words of instruction under the king's own hand, "disposing us to purchase it at the price of acceding to the complete independence of the thirteen states." The merit of closing the murderous scenes of a war between men of the same kindred and language, by moderation, superiority to prejudice, a true desire of conciliation, an unreluctant concession to America of her natural advantages, together with a skilful plan through free trade to obtain by commerce an immense compensation for the loss of monopoly and jurisdiction, is among British statesmen due to Shelburne. The initiating of the negotiation, equal sincerity, benignity of temper, an intuitive and tranquil discernment of things as they were, wisdom which never spoke too soon and never waited too long, belonged to Franklin, who had proceeded alone to the substantial conclusion of the peace.

At this moment, when the treaty seemed to need only to be drafted in form and signed, Jay, having arrived in Paris and recovered from illness, stayed all progress. Before treating for peace, he said, the independence of the United States ought to be acknowledged by act of parliament, and the British troops withdrawn from America. But parliament was not in session, and was, moreover, the most dangerous body to which America could have appealed. Receding from this demand, Jay proposed a proclamation of American independence under the great seal; but this also he yielded. 1782. Aug.

In America, Jay had been an enthusiast for the triple alliance between France, Spain, and the United States; had been moderate in his desire for territory; and, on fifteen divisions in congress, had given his vote against making the fisheries a condition of peace. As a consequence, all the influence of the French minister in Philadelphia had been used to promote his election as minister to Spain. His illusions as to Spain having been very rudely dispelled, he passed from too great confidence to too general mistrust.

The commission to Oswald spoke of the colonies and plantations of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and the rest, naming them one by one; and Oswald was authorized to treat with the American commissioners under any title which they should assume, and to exchange with them plenipotentiary powers. Vergennes, who was anxious that there might be no impediment to a general peace, urged upon Jay that the powers of Oswald were sufficient, saying: "This acceptance of your powers, in which you are styled commissioners from the United States of America, will be a tacit confession of your independence." Franklin had made no objection to the commission, and still believed that it "would do." To Franklin, Jay made the remark: "The count does not wish to see our independence acknowledged by Britain until they have made all their uses of us." But the shortest way of defeating such a plan was to proceed at once to frame the treaty of peace with England.

Franklin saw with dismay how fast the sands of Shelburne's official life were running out, and that with his

removal the only chance of a favorable peace now so nearly concluded would be lost; but his advice brought upon him the suspicions of Jay. Oswald not only communi-
1782. Sept. 1. cated a copy of his commission, but a part of his instructions and a letter from the secretary of state, promising in the king's name to grant to America "full, complete, and unconditional independence in the most explicit manner as an article of treaty." But Jay "positively refused to treat with Oswald under his commission;" so that the negotiation was wholly suspended and put to the greatest hazard.

It was time for the war in America to come to an end. British parties, under leaders selected from the most brutal of mankind, were scouring the interior of the southern country, robbing, destroying, and taking life at their pleas-
Mar. 12. ure. "On the twelfth of March," writes David Fanning, the ruffian leader of one of these bands, "my men, being all properly equipped, assembled together to give the rebels a small scourge, which we set out for." They came upon the plantation of Andrew Balfour, of Randolph county, who had been a member of the North Carolina assembly, and held a commission in the militia. Breaking into his house, they fired at him in the presence of his sister and daughter, the first ball passing through his body, the second through his neck. On their way to another militia officer, they "burned several rebel houses." It was late before they got to the abode of the officer, who made his escape, receiving three balls through his shirt. They destroyed the whole of his plantation. Reaching the house of "another rebel officer," "I told him," writes Fanning, "if he would come out of the house I would give him parole, which he refused. With that, I ordered the house to be set on fire. As soon as he saw the flames increasing, he called out to me to spare his house for his wife's and children's sake, and he would walk out with his arms in his hands. I answered him that, if he would walk out, his house should be spared for his wife and children. When he came out, he said: 'Here I am;' with that, he received two balls through his body. I proceeded on to one Major

Dugin's plantation, and I destroyed all his property, and all the rebel officers' property in the settlement for the distance of forty miles. On our way, I catched a commissary from Salisbury, and delivered him up to some of my men whom he had treated ill when prisoners, and they immediately hung him. On the eighteenth of April, I set 1782. Apr. 18. out for Chatham, where I learned that a wedding was to be that day. We surrounded the house, and drove all out one by one. I found one concealed upstairs. Having my pistols in my hand, I discharged them both at his breast; he fell, and that night expired."[1] Yet this Fanning held a British commission as colonel of the loyal militia in Randolph and Chatham counties, with authority to grant commissions to others as captains and subalterns; and, after the war, was recommended by the office of American claims as a proper person to be put upon the half-pay list.

At the north, within the immediate precincts of Apr. 16. the authority of Clinton, Colonel James Delancy, of West Chester, caused three "rebels" to be publicly executed within the British lines, in retaliation for the pretended murder of some of the refugees. In New York, the refugees were impatient that American prisoners were not at once made to suffer for treason. On the eighth of April, Apr. 8. the directors of the associated loyalists ordered Lieutenant Joshua Huddy, a prisoner of war in New York, to be delivered to Captain Lippincot, and, under the pretext of an exchange, taken into New Jersey, where he was hanged by a party of loyalists on the heights of Apr. 12. Middleton, in revenge for the death of a loyalist prisoner who had been shot as he was attempting to escape. Congress and Washington demanded the delivery of Lippincot as a murderer. Clinton, though incensed at the outrage and at the insult to his own authority and honor, refused the requisition, but subjected him to a court-martial, which condemned the deed, while they found in the orders under which he acted a loop-hole for his acquittal. Congress threatened retaliation on a British officer, but never executed the threat.

[1] I use Fanning's Journal from an exact manuscript copy.

The American officers ever throughout the war set the example of humanity. The same spirit showed itself on the side of the British as soon as Shelburne became minister. Those who had been imprisoned for treason were treated henceforward as prisoners of war. Some of the ministers personally took part in relieving their distresses; and in the course of the summer six hundred of them or more were sent to America in cartels for exchange.

1782. May 5. The arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York to supersede Clinton was followed by consistent clemency. He desired that hostilities of all kinds might be stayed. He treated captives always with gentleness; and some of them he set free. When Washington asked that the Carolinians who had been exiled in violation of the capitulation of Charleston might have leave to return to their native state under a flag of truce, Carleton answered that they should be sent back at the cost of the king of England; and that every thing should be done to make them forget the hardships which they had endured. Two hundred Iroquois, two hundred Ottawas, and seventy Chippewas came in the summer to St. John's on the Chambly, ready to make a raid into the state of New York. They were told from Carleton to bury their hatchets and their tomahawks.

Feb. Acting under the orders of Greene in Georgia, Wayne, by spirited manœuvres, succeeded in wresting the state from the hands of the British, obliging them to abandon post after post and redoubt after redoubt, until they were completely shut up in Savannah. A body of

May 21. British cavalry and infantry went out four miles from Savannah to escort a strong party of Creeks and Choctaws into the town. In the following night, Wayne threw himself with inferior force between them and Savannah, and, attacking them by surprise, totally defeated and dispersed them. At Sharon, five miles from Savannah, at

June 24. half-past one in the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, a numerous horde of Creek warriors, headed by their ablest chiefs and a British officer, surprised his camp, and for a few moments were masters of his artillery.

Marshalling his troops under a very heavy fire of small-arms and hideous yells of the savages, he attacked them in front and flank with the sword and bayonet alone. The Indians resisted the onset with ferocity heightened by their momentary success. With his own hand, Wayne struck down a war-chief. In the morning, Erristesego, the principal warrior of the Creek nation and the bitterest enemy of the Americans, was found among the dead.

Self-reliance and patriotism revived in the rural population of Georgia; and its own civil government was restored.

On the eleventh of July, Savannah was evacuated, 1782. July 11. the loyalists retreating into Florida, the regulars to Charleston. Following the latter, Wayne, with his small but trustworthy corps, joined the standard of Greene. His successes had been gained by troops who had neither regular food nor clothing nor pay.

In South Carolina, Greene and Wayne and Marion, and all others in high command, were never once led by the assassinations committed under the authority of Lord George Germain to injure the property or take the life of a loyalist, although private anger could not always be restrained. In conformity to the writs issued by Rutledge as governor, the assembly met in January at Jacksonborough on the Edisto. In the legislature were many of those who had been released from imprisonment, or had returned from exile. Against the advice of Gadsden, who insisted that it was sound policy to forget and forgive, laws were passed banishing the active friends of the British government and confiscating their estates.

The Americans could not recover the city of Charleston by arms. The British, under the command of the just and humane General Leslie, gave up every hope of subjugating the state; and Wayne, who was "satiate of this horrid trade of blood," and would rather spare one poor savage than destroy twenty, and Greene, who longed for the repose of domestic life, strove to reconcile the Carolina patriots to the loyalists.

The complaints of Greene respecting the wants of his army were incessant and just. In January, he wrote:

"Our men are almost naked for want of overalls and shirts, and the greater part of the army barefoot." In March, he repeated the same tale: "We have three hundred men without arms; twice that number so naked as to be unfit for any duty but in cases of desperation. Not a rag of clothing has arrived to us this winter. In this situation, men and officers without pay cannot be kept in temper long." Moreover, the legislature of South Carolina prohibited the impressing of provisions from the people, and yet neglected to furnish the troops with necessary food.

The summer passed with no military events beyond skirmishes. In repelling with an inferior force a party of the British sent to Combahee ferry to collect provisions, Laurens, then but twenty-seven years old, received a mortal wound. "He had not a fault that I could discover," said Washington, "unless it were intrepidity bordering upon rashness." This was the last blood shed in the field during the war.

1782. July.

The wretched condition of the American army Greene attributed to the want of a union of the states. He would invest congress with power to enforce its requisitions. If this were not done, he held "it impossible to establish matters of finance upon such a footing as to answer the public demands." The first vehement impulse towards "the consolidation of the federal union" was given by Robert Morris, the finance minister of the confederation. With an exact administration of his trust, he combined, like Necker, zeal for advancing his own fortune; and he connected the reform of the confederation, which ought to have found universal approbation, with boldly speculative financial theories, that were received with doubt and resistance. His opinions on the benefit of a public debt were extravagant and unsafe. A native of England, he never held the keys to the sympathy and approbation of the American people. In May, 1781, when congress was not able to make due preparation for the campaign, he succeeded, by highly colored promises of a better administration of the national finances, and by appeals to patriotism, in overcoming the scruples of that body, and obtained from it a charter for a national bank,

of which the notes, payable on demand, should be receivable as specie for duties and taxes, and in payment of dues from the respective states. The measure was carried by the votes of New Hampshire, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia with Madison dissenting, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, seven states: single delegates from Rhode Island and Connecticut answered "ay;" but their votes were not counted, because their states were insufficiently represented. Pennsylvania was equally divided; Massachusetts alone voted against the measure.

Before the end of the year, the opinion prevailed that the confederation contained no power to incorporate a bank; but congress had already pledged its word. As a compromise, the corporation was forbidden to exercise any powers in any of the United States repugnant to the laws or constitution of such state; and it was recommended to the several states to give to the incorporating ordinance its full operation. These requisitions Madison regarded as a tacit admission of the defect of power, and an antidote against the poisonous tendency of precedents of usurpation. The capital of the bank was four hundred thousand dollars, of which Morris took one half as an investment of the United States, paying for it in full with their money. On the seventh of January, 1782, the bank commenced its very lucrative business. The notes, though payable at Philadelphia in specie, did not command public confidence at a distance, and the corporation was able to buy up its own promises at from ten to fifteen per cent discount. A national currency having been provided for, Morris was ready to obey an order of congress to establish a mint. 1782. Jan. 7.

His first great measure having been carried, he threw the whole energy of his nature into the design of initiating a strong central government. He engaged the services of Thomas Paine to recommend to the people by a new confederation to confer competent powers on congress. To the president of congress he wrote: "No hope of praise or apprehension of blame shall induce me to neglect a duty which I owe to America at large. I disclaim a delicacy which influences some minds to treat the states with tender-

ness and even adulation, while they are in the habitual inattention to the calls of national interest and honor. Nor will I be deterred from waking those who slumber on the brink of ruin. But my voice is feeble, and I must therefore pray to be assisted by the voice of the United States in congress. Supported by them, I may perhaps do something; but, without that support, I must be a useless incumbrance."

1782. He was convinced that the raising as well as maintaining of a continental army would be infinitely cheaper than armies of the states. A national navy, too, came within the scope of his policy.

To fund the public debt and provide for the regular payment of the interest on it he proposed a very moderate land-tax, a poll-tax, and an excise on distilled liquors. Each of these taxes was estimated to produce half a million; a duty of five per cent on imports would produce a million more. The back lands were to be reserved as security for new loans in Europe.

The expenditures of the United States for the war had been at the rate of twenty millions of dollars in specie annually. The estimates for the year 1782 were for eight millions of dollars. Yet, in the first five months of the year, the sums received amounted to less than twenty thousand dollars, the estimated expenses for a single day; and of this sum not a shilling had been received from the east or the south. Morris prepared a vehement circular to the states; but it was suppressed by the advice of Madison; and one congressional committee was sent to importune the states of the north, another those of the south.

An aged officer of the army, colonel in rank, unheard of in action, Nicola by name, not an American by birth, clung obstinately to the opinion that republics are unstable, and that a mixed government, of which the head might bear the title of king, would be best able to extricate the United States from their embarrassments. In a private letter to Washington, written, so far as the evidence goes, without concert with any one, he set forth his views in favor of monarchy, with an intimation that it would, after discussion, be readily adopted by the people, and that it would be for him

who had so gloriously conducted the war to conduct the country "in the smoother paths of peace."

To this communication, Washington, on the twenty-second of May, replied as follows: "With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary.

"I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and, as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature."

It lay in the ideas of Morris to collect the revenues of the United States by their own officers. The confederation acted only on the states, and not on persons; yet he obtained from congress authority to appoint receivers of taxes, and for that office in New York he selected its most gifted statesman. From the siege of Yorktown, Hamilton had repaired to Albany, where he entered upon the study of the law, that in summer he might be received as attorney, in autumn as counsellor, ready meantime, if the war should be renewed, to take part in its dangers and its honors. The 1782.

place, which he accepted with hesitation, was almost a sinecure; but he was instructed by Morris to exert his talents with the New York legislature to forward the views of congress. He had often observed the facility with which the eastern states had met in convention to deliberate jointly on the best methods of supporting the war. He repaired to Poughkeepsie on the next meeting of the New York legislature, and explained his views on the only system by which the United States could obtain a constitution. On the nineteenth of July, Schuyler, his father-in-law, invited the senate to take into consideration the state of the nation. That body at once resolved itself into committee, which reported that the radical source of most of the public embarrassments was the want of sufficient power in congress to effectuate the ready and perfect co-operation of the states; that the powers of government ought without loss of time to be extended; that the general government ought to have power to provide revenue for itself; and it was declared "that the foregoing important ends can never be attained by partial deliberations of the states separately; but that it is essential to the common welfare that there should be as soon as possible a conference of the whole on the subject; and that it would be advisable for this purpose to propose to congress to recommend, and to each state to adopt, the measure of assembling a general convention of the states, specially authorized to revise and amend the confederation, reserving a right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determinations."

1782. July 19.

These resolutions, proposed by Schuyler in the senate, were carried unanimously in each branch of the legislature; and Hamilton, who had drafted them, was elected a delegate of New York to congress. Robert Morris, who saw the transcendent importance of the act of the New York legislature, welcomed the young statesman to his new career in these words: "A firm, wise, manly system of federal government is what I once wished, what I now hope, what I dare not expect, but what I will not despair of."

Hamilton of New York thus became the colleague of Madison of Virginia. The state papers which they pre-

pared were equal to the best in Europe of that time. Hamilton was excelled by Madison in wisdom, large, sound, roundabout sense and perception of what the country would grant; and surpassed him in versatility and creative power.

On the last day of July, Morris sent to congress his budget for 1783, amounting at the least to nine millions of dollars; and he could think of no way to obtain this sum but by borrowing four millions and raising five millions by quotas. The best hopes of supporting the public credit lay in the proposal to endow congress with the right to levy a duty of five per cent on imports. "Congress," so wrote Madison, to sway the wavering legislature of Virginia, "cannot abandon the plan as long as there is a spark of hope. Nay, other plans, on a like principle, must be added. Justice, gratitude, our reputation abroad, and our tranquillity at home, require provision for a debt of not less than fifty millions of dollars; and I pronounce that this provision will not be adequately met by separate acts of the states. If there are not revenue laws which operate at the same time through all the states and are exempt from the control of each, the mutual jealousies which begin already to appear among them will assuredly defraud both our foreign and domestic creditors of their just claims."

The request of congress, in February, 1781, for power to collect a five per cent duty on imports encountered hostility in Massachusetts. In a letter from its general court to congress, complaint was made that the state was called upon for more than its proper share of contributions; that the duty on imports would be an unequal burden; that the proposition could not be acceded to, unless the produce of the tax should be passed to the special credit of the commonwealth. Congress in its reply brought to mind that the interest on the public debt already exceeded a million of dollars; that Massachusetts enjoyed the peculiar blessing of great commercial advantages denied by the fortune of common war to their less happy sister states; that duties levied on imports are paid by the consumer, and ought not to be retained by the state which has the benefit of the importation; and it strongly urged a compliance with the proposi-

tion in question, as just and expedient, impartial and easy of execution, and alone offering a prospect of redressing the just complaints of the public creditors. After delays of more than a year, on the fourth of May, 1782, the general court consented to the measure by a majority of two in the house and of one in the senate. The exception from duty of "wool-cards, cotton-cards, and wire for making them," implies an increasing manufacture of cotton and wool. The act reserved to the general court the election of the collectors of the revenue, which it appropriated exclusively to the payment of the debts of the United States, contracted or to be contracted during the existing war. With their payment it was to expire. Even this meagre concession received the veto of Hancock, the governor, though his veto was given one day too late to be regarded.

1782. May.

The attitude of this state and of Rhode Island left congress for the time poverty-stricken, and seemed to throw in the way of a good government hindrances which never could be overcome. Yet union was rooted in the heart of the American people. The device for its great seal, adopted by congress in midsummer, is the American eagle, as the emblem of that strength which uses victory only for peace. It therefore holds in its right talon the olive branch; with the left, it clasps together thirteen arrows, emblems of the thirteen states. On an azure field over the head of the eagle appears a constellation of thirteen stars breaking gloriously through a cloud. In the eagle's beak is the scroll, "E pluribus unum," many and one, out of diversity unity, the two ideas that make America great; individual freedom of states, and unity as the expression of conscious nationality. By further emblems, congress showed its faith that the unfinished commonwealth, standing upon the broadest foundation, would be built up in strength, that Heaven nodded to what had been undertaken, that "a new line of ages" had begun.

The earlier speeches in parliament of Shelburne against granting independence to the United States had left in America a distrust that was not readily removed; but the respective commanders in chief vied with each other in acts of

humanity. The condition of the treasury of the United States was deplorable. Of the quotas distributed among the states, only four hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars were collected. Delaware and the three southern states paid nothing. Rhode Island, which paid thirty-eight thousand dollars, or a little more than a sixth of its quota, was proportionately the largest contributor. Morris wished to establish a solid continental system of finance; but taxes which were not likely ever to be paid could not be anticipated, and confidence had been squandered away. In spring, he had written to Greene: "You must continue your exertions with or without men, or provisions, clothing, or pay." For provisioning the northern army, he had made contracts which he was obliged to dissolve from want of means to meet them, and could only write to Washington: "I pray that Heaven may direct your mind to some mode by which we may be yet saved." By the payment of usurious rates, the army was rescued from being starved or disbanded. "Their patriotism and distress," wrote Washington in October, "have scarcely ever been paralleled, never been surpassed. The long-sufferance of the army is almost exhausted; it is high time for a peace." 1782.

CHAPTER LVIII.

PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

1782.

DE GRASSE, as he passed through London on parole, brought from Shelburne to Vergennes suggestions,
1782. which left Spain as the only obstacle in the way of peace. To conciliate that power, Jay was invited to Versailles, where, on the fourth of September, Rayneval, the most confidential assistant of Vergennes, sought to persuade him to resign for his country all pretensions to the eastern valley of the Mississippi, and with it the right to the navigation of that stream. Jay was inflexible. On the sixth, Rayneval sent him a paper containing a long argument against the pretensions of America to touch the Mississippi or the great lakes; and on the next morning, after an interview with the Spanish ambassador, he set off for England, to establish a good understanding with Shelburne.

On the ninth, the departure of Rayneval came to the knowledge of Jay. On the tenth, a translation of an intercepted despatch from Marbois, the French secretary of legation at Philadelphia, against conceding a share in the great fishery to the Americans, was communicated to Jay and Franklin. Jay was thrown from his equipoise. Having excited the distrust of Shelburne by peremptorily breaking off the negotiation, he now, through an English agent, sent to the British minister, with whom he was wholly unacquainted, a personal request that he would for the present take no measures with Rayneval; giving as the reason, that it was the obvious interest of Britain immediately to cut the cords which tied the Americans to France. Franklin, who had vainly labored with his colleague to finish

at once the treaty with England, strove as ever before to defeat all intrigues by hastening its consummation; and to this end he urged on the British government a compliance with the demand of a new commission for Oswald. Lord Grantham had assured him by letter that "the establishment of an honorable and lasting peace was the system of the ministers." "I know it to be the sincere desire of the United States," Franklin replied, on the day 1782. Sept. 11. after reading the paper of Marbois; "and with such dispositions on both sides there is reason to hope that the good work in its progress will meet with little difficulty. A small one has occurred, with which Mr. Oswald will acquaint you. I flatter myself that means will be found on your part for removing it, and my best endeavors in removing subsequent ones (if any should arise) may be relied on;" but Franklin neither criminated France, nor compromised himself, nor his country, nor his colleague.

Rayneval passed through London directly to Bow Wood, the country seat of Shelburne, in the west of England. "I trust what you say as much as if Mr. de Vergennes himself were speaking to me," were the words with which he was welcomed. "Gibraltar," observed Rayneval, "is as dear to the king of Spain as his life." Shelburne answered: "Its cession is impossible: I dare not propose it to the British nation." "Spain wishes to become complete mistress of the Gulf of Mexico," continued Rayneval. On this point, Shelburne opened the way for concession, saying: "It is not by way of Forida that we carry on our contraband trade, but by way of Jamaica." Shelburne owned reluctantly the necessity of conceding independence to the United States, but was resolved to concede it without any reservation. "As to the question of boundaries and fisheries," observed Rayneval, "I do not doubt of the earnest purpose of the king to do every thing in his power to restrain the Americans within the limits of justice and reason. Be their pretensions to the fisheries what they may, it seems to me that there is one sure principle to follow on that subject; namely, that the fishery on the high seas is *res nullius*, the property of no one, and that the

fishery on the coast belongs of right to the proprietaries of the coasts, unless there have been derogations founded upon treaties. As to boundaries, the British minister will find in the negotiations of 1754, relative to the Ohio, the boundaries which England, then the sovereign of the thirteen United States, thought proper to assign them." To these insinuations, Shelburne, true to his words to Franklin, made no response.

With regard to the mediation offered by the northern powers, he said: "We have no need of them: they can know nothing about our affairs, since it is so hard for us to understand them ourselves; there is need of but three persons to make peace, — myself, the Count de Vergennes, and you." "I shall be as pacific in negotiating as I shall be active for war, if war must be continued," he added, on the fourteenth. Rayneval replied: "Count de Vergennes will, without ceasing, preach justice and moderation. It is his own code, and it is that of the king." On the fifteenth, they both came up to London, where, on the sixteenth, Rayneval met Lord Grantham. Nothing could be more decided than his refusal to treat about Gibraltar. On the seventeenth, in bidding farewell to Rayneval, Shelburne said, in the most serious tone and the most courteous manner: "I have been deeply touched by every thing you have said to me about the character of the king of France, his principles of justice and moderation, his love of peace. I wish, not only to re-establish peace between the two nations and the two sovereigns, but to bring them to a cordiality which will constitute their reciprocal happiness. Not only are they not natural enemies, as men have thought till now, but they have interests which ought to bring them nearer together. We have each lost consideration in our furious desire to do each other harm. Let us change principles that are so erroneous. Let us reunite, and we shall stop all revolutions in Europe." By revolutions he meant the division of Poland, the encroachments on Turkey, and the attempt of the court of Vienna to bring Italy under its control by seizing the fine harbors of Dalmatia.

1782. Sept.

"There is another object," continued Shelburne, "which

makes a part of my political views; and that is the destruction of monopoly in commerce. I regard that monopoly as odious, though the English nation, more than any other, is tainted with it. I flatter myself I shall be able to come to an understanding with your court upon this subject, as well as upon our political amalgamation. I have spoken to the king on all these points. I have reason to believe that, when we shall have made peace, the most frank cordiality will be established between the two princes." Rayneval reciprocated these views, and added: "Your principles on trade accord exactly with those of France; Count de Vergennes thinks that freedom is the soul of commerce."

The British ministry were so much in earnest in their desire for peace with the United States that a new commission was drafted for Oswald to conclude a peace or truce with commissioners of the thirteen United States of America, which were enumerated one by one. This concession was made after consultation with Lord Ashburton, who held that it was a matter of indifference whether the title chosen by the American commissioners should be accepted by Oswald under the king's authority, or directly by the king. The acknowledgment of independence was still reserved to form the first article of the treaty of peace. The change of form was grateful and honorable to the United States; but the delay had given time to British creditors and to the refugees to muster all their strength and embarrass the negotiation by their importunities. The king was subdued, and said: "I am so much agitated with a fear of sacrificing the interests of my country, by hurrying peace on too fast, that I am unable to add any thing on that subject but the most frequent prayers to Heaven to guide me so to act that posterity may not lay the downfall of this once respectable empire to my door; and that, if ruin should attend the measures that may be adopted, I may not long survive them."

On purely Spanish questions, Jay appears to the best advantage. On the twenty-sixth of September, Aranda, in company with Lafayette, encountered him at 1782. Sept.

Versailles. Aranda asked: "When shall we proceed to do business?" Jay replied: "When you communicate your powers to treat." "An exchange of commissions," said Aranda, "cannot be expected, for Spain has not acknowledged your independence." "We have declared our independence," said Jay; "and France, Holland, and Britain have acknowledged it." Lafayette came to his aid, and told the ambassador that it was not consistent with the dignity of France that an ally of hers like the United States
1782. should treat otherwise than as independent. Vergennes pressed upon Jay a settlement of claims with Spain. Jay answered: "We shall be content with no boundaries short of the Mississippi."

So soon as Oswald received his new commission, the negotiation, after the loss of a month, moved forward easily and rapidly. At the request of Franklin, Jay drew up the articles of peace. They included the clauses relating to boundaries and fisheries, which Franklin had settled with Oswald in July; to these, Jay added a clause for reciprocal freedom of commerce, which was equally grateful to Franklin and Oswald, and a concession to the British of the free navigation of the Mississippi. He repeatedly insisted with Oswald that West Florida should not be left in the hands of the Spaniards, but should be restored to England; and he pleaded "in favor of the future commerce of England, as if he had been of her council, and wished to make some reparation for her loss," not duly considering the dangers threatening the United States, if England should hold both East and West Florida and the Bahama Islands.

Shelburne had hoped to make a distinction between the jurisdiction over the western country and property in its ungranted domain, so that the sales of wild lands might yield some compensation to the loyal refugees; but Jay insisted that no such right of property remained to the king. Oswald urged upon him the restoration of the loyalists to their civil rights; but Jay answered that the subject of pardon was one with which "congress could not meddle. The states being sovereigns, the parties in fault

were answerable to them, and to them only." Oswald yielded on both points.

On sending over the draft of the treaty to the secretary of state, the British plenipotentiary wrote: "I look upon the treaty as now closed." Both Franklin and Jay had agreed that, if it should be approved, they would sign it immediately. Towards the French minister, they continued their reserve, not even communicating to him the new commission of Oswald.[1]

After the capture of Minorca by the Duke de Crillon, the French and Spanish fleets united under his command to reduce Gibraltar; and Count d'Artois, the brother of the king, passed through Madrid to be present at its surrender. But danger inspired the British garrison with an unconquerable intrepidity. By showers of red-hot shot, and by a most heroic sortie under General Elliot, the batteries which were thought to be fire-proof were blown up or consumed, and a fleet under Lord Howe was close at hand to replenish the stores of the fortress. The news of the catastrophe made Paris clamorous for peace. France, it was said, is engaged in a useless war for thankless allies. She has suffered disgrace in the West Indies while undertaking to conquer Jamaica for Spain, and now shares in the defeat before Gibraltar. Vergennes saw that she needed and demanded repose. To obtain a release from his engagement to Spain, he was ready to make great sacrifices on the part of his own country, and to require them of America. Congress was meanwhile instructing Franklin "to use his utmost endeavors to effect the loan of four millions of dollars through the kind and generous exertions of the king of France;" and on the third of October it renewed 1782. Oct. 3.

[1] On m'a assuré que les négociations sur le fond étaient entamées et que le plénipotentiaire anglais était assez coulant. Mais je suis dans l'impossibilité de rien vous dire de positif et de certain à cet égard, Messrs. Jay et Franklin se tenant dans la réserve la plus absolue à mon égard. Ils ne m'ont même pas encore remis copie du plein pouvoir de Mr. Oswald Je pense, Monsieur, qu'il sera utile que vous disiez cette particularité à Mr. Livingston, afin qu'il puisse s'il le juge à propos ramener les deux plénipotentiaires américains à la teneur de leurs instructions. Vergennes to Luzerne, 14 Oct., 1782. For the instructions, see above, 376, 377.

its resolution to hearken to no propositions for peace except in confidence and in concert with its ally.

1782. Oct. 14. On the fourteenth of the same month, Vergennes explained to the French envoy at Philadelphia the policy of France: "If we are so happy as to make peace, the king must then cease to subsidize the American army, which will be as useless as it has been habitually inactive. We are astonished at the demands which continue to be made upon us, while the Americans obstinately refuse the payment of taxes. It seems to us much more natural for them to raise upon themselves, rather than upon the subjects of the king, the funds which the defence of their cause exacts." "You know," continued Vergennes, "our system with regard to Canada. Every thing which shall prevent the conquest of that country will agree essentially with our views. But this way of thinking ought to be an impenetrable secret for the Americans. Moreover, I do not see by what title the Americans can form pretensions to lands on Lake Ontario. Those lands belong to the savages or are a dependency of Canada. In either case, the United States have no right to them whatever. It has been pretty nearly demonstrated that to the south of the Ohio their limits are the mountains following the shed of the waters, and that every thing to the north of the mountain range, especially the lakes, formerly made a part of Canada. These notions are for you alone; you will take care not to appear to be informed about them, because we so much the less wish to intervene in the discussions between the Count de Aranda and Mr. Jay, as both parties claim countries to which neither of them has a right, and as it will be almost impossible to reconcile them."

When the draft of the treaty with the United States, as agreed to by Oswald, came back to England, the offer of Jay of the free navigation of the Mississippi was gladly accepted; but that for a reciprocity of navigation and commerce was reserved. The great features of the treaty were left unchanged; but the cabinet complained of Oswald for yielding every thing, and gave him for an assistant Henry Strachey, Townshend's under-secretary of state. On the twentieth of October, both of the secretaries of state being present, Shel-

burne gave Strachey three points specially in charge: no concession of a right to dry fish on Newfoundland; a recognition of the validity of debts to British subjects contracted by citizens of the United States before the war; but, above all, adequate indemnity for the confiscated property of the loyal refugees. This last demand touched alike the sympathy and the sense of honor of England. The previous answer that the commissioners had no power to treat on the business of the loyalists was regarded as an allegation that, though they claimed to have full powers, they were not plenipotentiaries; that they were acting under thirteen separate sovereignties, which had no common head. To meet the exigence, Shelburne proposed either an extension of Nova Scotia to the Penobscot or the Kennebec or the Saco, so that a province might be formed for the reception of the loyalists; or that a part of the money to be received from sales of the Ohio lands might be applied to their subsistence. To the ministry, it was clear that peace, if to be made at all, must be made before the coming together of parliament, which had been summoned for the twenty-fifth of November.

While the under-secretary of state was sent to re- 1782. Oct.
enforce Oswald, the American commission was recruited by the arrival of John Adams. He had prevailed on the United Provinces to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to form with them a treaty of commerce. He was greatly elated at his extraordinary success, and he loved to have it acknowledged; but flattery never turned him aside from public duty, for he looked upon the highest praise as no more than his due, and as investing him with new rights to stand up fearlessly for his country. He left Vergennes to find out his arrival through the police. Franklin had hitherto warded off the demand that the treaty of peace should guarantee to English merchants the right to collect debts that had been due to them in the United States, because the British armies had themselves in many cases robbed the merchants of the very goods for which the debts were incurred; and had, wantonly and contrary to the laws of war, destroyed the property which could have furnished the means of payment. The day after Strachey's arrival in

Paris, Adams, encountering him and Oswald at the house of Jay, to their surprise and delight blurted out his assent to the proposed stipulation for the payment of debts. In the evening of the same day, Adams called for the first time on Franklin, who at once put him on his guard as to the British demands relating to debts and compensation of tories; but he could not recall his word.

On the thirtieth, the American commissioners met Oswald and Strachey, and for four several days they discussed the unsettled points of the treaty. Jay and Franklin had left the north-eastern boundary to be settled by commissioners after the war. It is due to John Adams, who had taken the precaution to obtain from the council of Massachusetts authenticated copies of every document relating to the question, that it was definitively established in the treaty itself. On the north-west, it was agreed that the line should be drawn through the centre of the water communications of the great lakes to the Lake of the Woods. The 1782. Nov. British commissioners denied to the Americans the right of drying fish on Newfoundland. This was, after a great deal of conversation, agreed to by John Adams as well as his colleagues, upon condition that the American fishermen should be allowed to dry their fish on any unsettled parts of the coast of Nova Scotia. Franklin said further: "I observe as to catching fish you mention only the banks of Newfoundland. Why not all other places, and among others the Gulf of St. Lawrence? Are you afraid there is not fish enough, or that we should catch too many, at the same time that you know that we shall bring the greatest part of the money we get for that fish to Great Britain to pay for your manufactures?" And this advice was imbodied in the new article on the fisheries.

Nov. 4. On the fourth of November, Adams and Jay definitively overruled the objections of Franklin to the recognition by treaty of the validity of debts contracted before the war. Pluming himself exceedingly on having gained this concession, Strachey wrote to the secretary of state that Jay and Adams would likewise assent to the indemnification of the refugees rather than break off the

treaty upon such a point. On the other hand, Franklin, in reply to a letter which he had received from the secretary, Townshend, gave an earnest warning: "I am sensible you have ever been averse to the measures that brought on this unhappy war; I have, therefore, no doubt of the sincerity of your wishes for a return of peace. Mine are equally earnest. Nothing, therefore, except the beginning of the war, has given me more concern than to learn at the conclusion of our conferences that it is not likely to be soon ended. Be assured no endeavors on my part would be wanting to remove any difficulties that may have arisen, or, even if a peace were made, to procure afterwards any changes in the treaty that might tend to render it more perfect and the peace more durable;" and then, having in his mind the case of the refugees, he deprecated any instructions to the British negotiators that would involve an irreconcilable conflict with those of America. At the same time, he persuaded Adams and Jay to join with him in letters to Oswald and to Strachey, expressing in conciliatory language their unanimous 1782. sentiments that an amnesty more extensive than what had already been agreed to could not be granted to the refugees.

Before Strachey reached London with the second set of articles for peace, the friends of Fox had forgotten their zeal for American independence. All parties unanimously demanded amnesty and indemnity for the loyalists. Within the cabinet itself, Camden and Grafton were ill at ease; Keppell and Richmond inclining to cut loose. The king could not avoid mentioning "how sensibly he felt the dismemberment of America from the empire:" "I should be miserable indeed," said he, "if I did not feel that no blame on that account can be laid at my door." Moreover, he thought so ill of its inhabitants that "it may not," he said, "in the end be an evil that they will become aliens to this kingdom."

In the general tremulousness among the ministers, Townshend and William Pitt remained true to Shelburne; and a third set of articles was prepared, to which these three

alone gave their approval. There was no cavilling about boundaries. All the British posts on the Penobscot, at New York and in Carolina, at Niagara and at Detroit, were to be given up to the United States, and the country east of the Mississippi and north of Florida was acknowledged to be theirs. The article on the fishery contained arbitrary restrictions copied from former treaties with France; so that the Americans were not to take fish within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton, or within three leagues of any other British isle on the coast in America. Not only indemnity for the estates of the refugees, but for the proprietary rights and properties of the Penns and of the heirs of Lord Baltimore, was to be demanded. "If they insist in the plea of the want of power to treat of these subjects," said Townshend, "you will intimate
1782. Nov. 19. to them in a proper manner that they are driving us to a necessity of applying directly to those who are allowed to have the power."

"If the American commissioners think that they will gain by the whole coming before parliament, I do not imagine that the refugees will have any objections," added Shelburne. Fitzherbert, the British minister in Paris, was instructed to take part in the American negotiations; and, with his approval and that of Strachey, Oswald was empowered to sign a treaty. Authority was given to Fitzherbert to invoke the influence of France to bend the Americans. Vergennes had especially pleaded with them strongly in favor of the refugees. In the hope of a settlement, parliament was prorogued to the fifth of December.

On the same day on which the final instructions to Oswald were written, Vergennes declared in a letter to Lu-
Nov. 23. zerne: "There exists in our treaties no condition which obliges the king to prolong the war in order to sustain the ambitious pretensions which the United States may form in reference to the fishery or the extent of boundaries."[1] "In spite of all the cajoleries which the

[1] Elle a donné occasion à la plupart des délégués de s'expliquer d'une manière décente et convenable sur leur fidélité à l'alliance et sur leur attachement à en remplir toutes les conditions. Le Roi ne sera pas moins

English ministers lavish on the Americans, I do not promise myself they will show themselves ready to yield either in regard to the fisheries, or in regard to the boundaries as the American commissioners understand them. This last subject may be arranged by mutual sacrifices and compensations. But as to the first, in order to form a settled judgment on its probable issue, it would be necessary to know what the Americans understand by the fishery. If it is the drift fishery on banks remote from the coast, it seems to me a natural right; but, if they pretend to the fisheries as they exercised them by the title of English subjects, do they, in the name of justice, think to obtain rights attached to the condition of subjects which they renounce?" France would not prolong the war to secure to the Americans the back lands and the fisheries; the Americans were still less bound to continue the war to obtain Gibraltar for Spain.

Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, the king was urging Shelburne to confide to Vergennes his "ideas concerning America," saying, "France must wish to assist us in keeping the Americans from a concurrent fishery, which the looseness of the article with that people as now drawn up gives but too much room to apprehend." Before Shelburne could have received the admonition, 1782. Nov. 28. Adams, Franklin, and Jay met Oswald and Strachey at Oswald's lodgings. Strachey opened the parley by an elaborate speech, in which he explained the changes in the article on the fisheries, and that "the restitution of the property of the loyalists was the grand point upon which a final settlement depended. If the treaty should break off, the whole business must go loose, and take its chance in parliament." Jay wished to know if Oswald could now conclude the treaty; and Strachey answered that he could, absolutely. Jay desired to know if the propositions he had

exact à les tenir de son côté, mais il n'en existe aucune dans nos traités qui l'oblige à prolonger la guerre pour soutenir les prétentions ambitieuses que les États-Unis peuvent former, soit par rapport à la pêche, soit par rapport à l'étendue des limites." Vergennes to Luzerne, 23 Nov., 1782.

brought were an ultimatum. Strachey seemed loath to answer, but at last said "no." That day, and the three following ones, the discussion was continued.

1782. Nov. 29. On the twenty-ninth, Strachey, Oswald, and Fitzherbert on the one side, and Jay, Franklin, Adams, and, for the first time, Laurens on the other, came together for their last word, at the apartments of Jay. The American commissioners agreed that there should be no future confiscations nor prosecutions of loyalists; that all pending prosecutions should be discontinued; and that congress should recommend to the several states and their legislatures, on behalf of the refugees, amnesty and the restitution of their confiscated property. Strachey thought this article better than any of the modifications proposed in England, and congratulated himself on his triumph. The question of the fisheries more nearly concerned Oswald. Against the British draft, John Adams spoke with the more effect as it rested not on the principle of the law of nations, but created an arbitrary restriction; and, with the support of every one of his colleagues, he declared he would not set his hand to the treaty unless the limitations were stricken out. After long altercations, the article was reduced to the form in which it appears in the treaty, granting to the United States equal rights with British fishermen to take fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other British dominions in America.

At this stage, Strachey and Fitzherbert gave the opinion that it would be necessary to consult the government at home. "We can wait," answered Adams, "till a courier goes to London." The reference would have carried the whole matter into parliament, and so would have been fatal to the treaty. Franklin saw the danger, and interposed: "If any further delay should be made, the clause insuring to the subjects of Great Britain the right of recovering their debts in the United States must also be reconsidered." But on this article Strachey prided himself as his greatest success; and, rather than expose it to risk, he joined with Oswald. Fitzherbert, now left alone, reflected that peace with the United States would be the best means of forcing

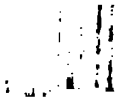
France and Spain to declare their ultimatum; and he, too, gave his consent.

Thus far, no word in the convention had, except indirectly, indicated the existence of slavery in the United States. On the thirtieth, Laurens, for the first time, joined his colleagues; and on his demand, in the fair copies which had been made of the convention, a clause was interlined, prohibiting, on the British evacuation, the "carrying away any negroes or other property of the inhabitants." So the instrument, which already contained a confession that the United States were not compacted into one nation, made known that in their confederacy men could be held as chattels; but, as interpreted alike by American and English statesmen, it included free negroes among their citizens. By a separate article, the line of north boundary between West Florida and the United States had been concerted, in case Great Britain at the conclusion of the war should recover that province. Out of respect to the alliance between the United States and France, the treaty was not to be concluded, until terms of peace should have been agreed upon between Great Britain and France. With this reservation, the articles which were to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of peace between the United States of America and Great Britain were signed and sealed by the commissioners of both countries. In the hope of preventing the possibility of future dispute, the boundaries were marked interchangeably by a strong line on copies of the map of America by Mitchell. 1782. Nov. 30.

Friends of Franklin gathered around him; and as the Duke de la Rochefoucauld kissed him for joy, "My friend," said Franklin, "could I have hoped at such an age to have enjoyed so great happiness?" The treaty was not a compromise, nor a compact imposed by force, but a free and perfect solution and perpetual settlement of all that had been called in question. By doing an act of justice to her former colonies, England rescued her own liberties at home from imminent danger, and opened the way for their slow but certain development. The narrowly selfish colonial policy which had led to the cruel and unnatural war was cast aside and for

ever by Great Britain, which was henceforward as the great colonizing power to sow all the oceans with the seed of republics. For the United States, the war, which began by an encounter with a few husbandmen embattled on Lexington green, ended with their independence, and possession of all the country from the St. Croix to the south-western Mississippi, from the Lake of the Woods to the St. Mary's. In time past, republics had been confined to cities and their dependencies, or to small cantons; and the United States avowed themselves able to fill a continental territory with commonwealths. They possessed beyond any other portion of the world the great ideas of their age, and enjoyed the practice of them by individual man in uncontrolled faith and industry, thought and action. For other communities, institutions had been built up by capitulations and acts of authoritative power; the United States of America could shape their coming relations wisely only through the widest and most energetic exercise of the right inherent in humanity to deliberation, choice, and assent. While the constitutions of their separate members, resting on the principle of self-direction, were, in most respects, the best in the world, they had no general government; and, as they went forth upon untried paths, kings expected to see the confederacy fly into fragments, or lapse into helpless anarchy. But, notwithstanding the want of a government, their solemn pledge to one another of mutual citizenship and perpetual union made them one people; and that people was superior to its institutions, possessing the vital force which goes before
1782. organization, and gives to it strength and form. Yet for success the liberty of the individual must know how to set to itself bounds; and the states, displaying the highest quality of greatness, must learn to temper their separate rule of themselves by their own moderation.

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Armada, the invincible, preparations for preventing the sending of help to Virginia, i. 85.
Armand, commander of American cavalry at Camden, is insubordinate, vi. 278.
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Arnold, Benedict, of New Haven, captain of a volunteer company, extorts supplies from committee of the town, and reaches Cambridge April 29, iv 537; commissioned to command expedition against Ticonderoga, but Allen is elected by the troops, 554; crosses the lake from Vermont, and captures a party of British troops, guns, and a British sloop, 574; put in command of eleven hundred men sent to the St. Lawrence; his character and appearance; field and line officers of his command, v. 123; enjoined to respect rights of property and to conciliate the Canadians, 123; his army ascends the Kennebec, thence to the Chaudière, 124, 125; sufferings of the troops, and their fortitude, 125, 126; reaches Sertigan, twenty-five miles from Quebec; pushes on to Point Levi, 127; Nov. 13, all his force, save one hundred and fifty, left at Point Levi; lands at Wolfe's Cove, and ascends the path to the Plains of Abraham; his prospects and Wolfe's contrasted, 127; demands surrender, which is refused; cuts off supply of fuel and refreshments for the city; withdraws to Point aux Trembles to await Montgomery's orders, 128; is joined by Montgomery, 130; leads his troops against Quebec, is severely wounded and carried off disabled, 135; appointed brigadier-general by congress, 163; withdraws to Montreal, 290; tries to recover captives of Bedel's and Sherburne's commands by force, but

releases them by exchange, 296; takes command of flotilla on Lake Champlain; encounters Carleton's fleet, and is worsted; the last to go on shore, 424-427; left out in promotion of brigadier generals, and complains of the wound to his feelings, and to Gates breathes vengeance, 554; commands force which opposes British leaving Danbury; saves his life by a pistol-shot, his horse twice shot under him; a horse voted to him by congress, which refuses to restore him to his former rank, 562; charged with guarding the line of the Delaware, 565; ordered to northern department, 582; is insubordinate to Gates, vi. 4; urges an attack on Burgoyne's army after the battle of Behmus's Heights; quarrels with Gates, and receives a passport for Philadelphia; lingers in the camp, but has no command, 8; highest officer on American side in second battle of Behmus's Heights; named by Gates in his report, and raised by congress to the rank he claims, 12 (see *Complot of Arnold and Clinton*, 320-328); bankrupt, he receives six to seven thousand pounds indemnity; can get no employment, is neglected and despised; his children placed on the pension list by the king, 331, 332; writes insolent letters to Washington, invites all Americans to desert their colors, and censures Clinton to Germain, 332; with sixteen hundred men appears in James River; burns Richmond, 410; in command for seven days, after death of Phillips, addresses a letter to Lafayette, who returns it with scorn; threatens to send all American prisoners to the Antilles; ordered to New York by Cornwallis, who despises him, 411; sent against his native state, 411; burns New London and captures Fort Griswold; disappears from history, 412; forbidden by Shelburne to return to America, 439.

Arundel, Lord, of Wardour, promotes Waymouth's expedition to New England, i. 90.

Ashe, Samuel, a man of rare integrity, and whose name is preserved by a county and a town of North Carolina; a member of provincial council, v. 56; commander of five months' militia, vi. 253; detached, with fifteen hundred men, by Lincoln; crosses Savannah River and encamps at Briar Creek; his position turned by Prevost, and his force routed, 254, 255.

Ashley, his plan of establishing a fund by an abatement of duty on molasses imported into colonies, iii. 57.

Asia, most attractive to Dutch commerce, ii. 23.

Aspinwall, exiled from Massachusetts with Anne Hutchinson and Wheelwright, i. 308.

Assanpink, Washington conducts retreat over, and puts his army behind batteries; Cornwallis advised to bring on a general action, but sends for more troops; his force pushes along the Assanpink to watch the enemy, v. 491; Washington resolves to turn Cornwallis's left, and push on to Princeton, 492; moves his troops by detachments toward Princeton, 493; skirmish at Princeton between Mercer and Mawhood; the latter charges, and Americans give way, losing many officers, 493, 494; Washington rides within thirty yards of British, between two fires; Hitchcock brings up his brigade, and, with Hand, begins to turn the British left; the latter retreat, and many are taken prisoners, 494, 495; during the fight, the regiments of Stark, Poor, Patterson, and others, drive away the fifty-fifth and fortieth regiments; the losses, 495.

Assemblies, colonial, instituted in Virginia by Southampton and Sandys, and maintained there, in Maryland, Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, ii. 271.

Assistants, authority of, in Massachusetts, subject of fear, i. 352.

Association of members of continental congress, binding themselves not to import from Great Britain and Ireland, after Dec. 1, 1774, and prospectively not to export to those countries; contains a covenant, which inaugurates abolition of slave-trade, iv. 407, 408.

Assiento, agreement respecting the slave-trade made in treaty of Utrecht; Queen Anne's contract to furnish slaves to Spanish America; division of the stock, ii. 390.

Attakulla-kulla, a Cherokee chief, addressed by Governor Lyttelton, iii. 233; rescues James Stuart from his Indian captors, 238; meets Grant's expedition, entreating for delay for conference, 279; goes to Charleston, seeking peace and offering friendship, 281.

Attucks, Crispus, killed by British soldiers in Boston, iv. 190.

August William, prince of Prussia, opposed to cause of mankind, and in time of Frederic's trouble advises him to make peace by concessions to Russia, iii. 185.

Augusta, Ga., captured by Pickens, Colonel Clarke, and Lieutenant-colonel Lee, vi. 404.

Augusta county, Va., people of, give flour to Boston, iv. 352.

Augustine, the African bishop, rescues from Old World truths that would renew humanity, iii. 99.

Austin, Ann, and Mary Fisher, first Quakers in Boston, i. 364; sent beyond jurisdiction, 364; Fisher delivers a message to the Grand Sultan, 364.

Austria, her efforts at trade with East

Indies suffocated by treaty of Utrecht, ii. 389; had been closely connected with England, but was forming a confederacy with Catholic powers, iii 181, 182; allies herself with France to support Europe of the middle ages, 182; in time of Kaunitz, desires to gain territory in Germany, and plans the acquisition of Bavaria, vi. 39; deems herself alone privileged to produce chiefs of the holy Roman empire. and claims precedence over every royal house; decadence of the arch-house, 90; embarrasses independence of the United States, 223; desires to be mediator between the Bourbons and England, and excludes question of independence, 223; joins powers who hold that England owes concessions to America, 374.

Autonomy of colonies, evidenced by direct negotiation of treaty with governor of Acadia, i. 344.

Aviles, Pedro Melendez de, made governor of Florida, i. 57; lands at harbor which he names St. Augustine, 58; massacres French garrison, 59, 60; sends expedition to settle St. Mary's, which fails, 60; returns to Spain, 61.

Ayllon, Lucas Vasquez de, on a slave-seeking voyage, touches on the coast of Chicora (now South Carolina), and carries off many natives, i. 26; commissioned to conquer Chicora, 27; his failure, 27.

Bacon, Lord, his sneers at the Brownists, i. 225; his opinions as to the Virginia colony, i. 124; opposes grant of patent to Pilgrims, 238, 239.

Bacon, Nathaniel, leader of Charles City county, Va., forces against Indians, i. 546; his antecedents and character, 546, 547; chosen commander of colonial force; proclaimed a rebel by the governor, 547; returning victorious, elected burgess from Henrico county; has sympathy of members of assembly; confesses his error in acting without a commission; restored to favor, and promised a general's commission, 548; Berkeley refuses to sign this document; Bacon retires, and returns with five hundred men to the state house; the commission issued, and warm praise of Bacon sent to England by burgesses and council, 549, 550; pronounced a rebel by Berkeley, 550; leads his force against the governor, who flees; he issues a proclamation, inviting the gentlemen of Virginia to come in and take counsel, 551; leads the convention, and procures the taking of an oath of mutual support against the Indians, and the royal troops, if they came, till the king could be heard from, 552; leads his troops against Indians; with a small force moves against Berkeley's rabble, which disperses, the governor retreating, 553; enters capital, and burns the town; goes to meet the royalists, who join him, 48; his sudden death, 554.

Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, England could not render justice to its principles; every accurate account of in MS. till the nineteenth century; its results disastrous to Virginia, i. 557.

Balance of power; application for admission to confederacy of Vermont, whose laws reject slavery, opposed by southern states, because it would destroy the balance of power between the two sections; a compromise proposed, but not brought before congress, vi. 302.

Balfour, Andrew, of North Carolina, murdered by David Fanning and his band of loyalists, vi. 458.

Balfour, British commandant at Charleston, writes home that "in vain we expected loyalty and attachment from the inhabitants," vi. 287.

Ballot, origin of use of, i. 271, 272.

Baltimore, Lord, visits Virginia; persecuted as a Romanist, i. 153; cession to, of province of Virginia, 154; the last days of, ii. 5; his achievements and judgment, 5, 6; intellectual freedom, his policy in Maryland, 6.

Baltimore, Lord Frederick, sole landlord of Maryland; his dissoluteness, and zeal for prerogative, iii. 89; his method of government, and private income, 89; his power of appointment, church-patronage, &c., 90.

Baltimore, people of, receiving committee's letter from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, see no reason to expect relief from petitions, which for ten years had been treated with contempt; advocate suspending trade with Great Britain and West Indies, a continental congress, and send cheering words to Boston; applauded as a model, iv. 334.

Bancroft, Bishop, flatters King James, i. 231; as Whitgift's successor, exacts strict conformity, 232.

Bancroft, Edward, a native of Connecticut, lives in England; in 1769 writes a pamphlet vindicating the colonies; becomes an American spy, to fit himself for more lucrative post of British spy, v. 357; called to Paris by Deane, gets particulars of purchases of arms and clothing for colonies, and reports all to British ministry, which is able to embarrass the shipment of supplies; his report to ministry, "a full record of the first official intercourse between France and the United States," 358.

Bank of issue, steps taken to found one in Philadelphia; subscribers to undertake to make purchases in advance for suffering soldiers; the offered aid accepted by congress, vi. 341.

Bankruptcy in England general, in consequence of losses of East India company, iv. 261.

Banner, the American, raised Jan. 1, 1776, over the continental army at Boston, at time of its greatest weakness; its fashion, v. 152; congress fixes on, 565.

Baptists, the, early win converts in America, i. 533; punished in Virginia, 534.

Barbados, resists forces of Commonwealth, i. 169; letter from a resident, demanding representation in parliament, "the question of the coming century," i. 169, 170; planters of, send a party to examine Carolina, 488; and buy of Indians land on Cape Fear River, 488, 489; Sir John Yeamans, governor, leads emigrants from Barbados, 489; prosperity of the colony, 489.

Barentsen, William, coasts Nova Zembla to 77°, ii. 22.

Barlow, Arthur, commander of a vessel in Raleigh's expedition in 1584, i. 76.

Barre, de la, governor-general of New France, convokes assembly of *notables* for protection against Indians, ii. 149; invades Indian territory, but is forced to sue for peace, 151; disgraceful treaty concluded; superseded by Denonville, 152.

Barré, Isaac, major of brigade under Amherst, iii. 194; Wolfe's adjutant-general, 216; wounded and made blind at Quebec, 224; dismissed from army for his votes in parliament, 404; seems to admit the power of parliament to tax America, but derides the idea of virtual representation; taunts the house with ignorance of American affairs, 440; his rejoinder to Townshend, 446, 447; thinks the colonies are not proper objects of taxation, and will not submit to any law of revenue, iv. 144; thinks there may be a second congress of colonies, and that Americans will not abandon their principles, 307; reminds the house that France and Spain may interfere in American affairs, v. 417.

Barrene, William, chief speaker at meeting to complain of Governor Harvey's policy, i. 154.

Barrett, commander of Americans at Concord; gives orders to troops to advance, but not to fire unless attacked, iv. 526.

Barrington, appointed chancellor of exchequer, his self-confidence, iii. 259, 260; "an echo of the king," approves Pitt's resignation, 273; says, he wishes the stamp act had never been passed, but that Americans are traitors against the legislature, iv. 130; confesses the weakness of the army, and advises withdrawal of troops from America, the abandonment of all ideas of internal taxation, and such concessions as can be made "with dignity," 437, 438; entreats secretary of state to give no hint in despatches to the colonies of large re-enforcements going out; and writes to the king that the proposed force cannot be raised, v. 57; warns Dartmouth as to impolicy of sending a small force into interior of America, 99; announces that idea of taxing America has been abandoned, that her subjection is now the end, 106; his conscience troubles him, but he continues to serve the king, 366; as secretary of war, tells the king that general dismay is due to belief that the administration is not equal to the times, that it prevails among the ministers themselves, vi. 148.

Barnwell, leads a small detachment of militia and Indians against Tuscaroras, on Neuse River; negotiates a treaty of peace with latter, ii. 385.

Barrow, Henry, hanged for dissent, i. 226.

Bastwick, a Puritan, maimed for his religious opinions, i. 326.

Bath, Earl of, his eulogy on Frederic of Prussia; his sentiments shared by people of England, iii. 243.

Baum, a Brunswick lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, sent with large force to capture cattle, &c., at Bennington, Vt.; seeing a reconnoitring party of Americans, writes for more troops and intrenches; ordered to maintain his post by Burgoyne, who sends him two Brunswick battalions and cannon, v. 587; defeated and mortally wounded, 588.

Bavaria, elector of, proposes to furnish troops to England; his proposition not heeded, his troops being among the worst in Germany, v. 179; its absorption planned by Austria, vi. 89; to prevent it, Frederic of Prussia draws near to France, 121; he gains aid of France and Russia, 124; Kaunitz looks on its acquisition as the harbinger of success; Joseph II. goes to Paris to win France to his side; on his return to Austria, Frederic renews his efforts, and the two kingdoms adjust their foreign policy as to United States and Bavaria, 125.

Bayard, John, of Philadelphia, a pure and brave patriot, v. 264.

Bay Verte, a French port at mouth of Gaspereux, in Nova Scotia, surrenders to English fleet, iii. 130.

Beaubassin, in Nova Scotia, inhabitants of compelled to take oaths of allegiance to French king, iii. 45; burned and abandoned on approach of Cornwallis, 45.

Beaujeu, naval commander of La Salle's expedition to Louisiana; his quarrels with La Salle, ii. 339.

Beaumarchais, Caron de, dramatist and adventurer, hastens to offer his services in intrigue to Louis XVI., iv. 320; in England, as an emissary of Louis XVI., encourages the idea that England might regain her colonies by making war on France, and presents

to the king a secret memorial in favor of taking part with the insurgents, v 90; receives a new commission, 90, 91; trusted in American business, fretful because his scheme had been rejected, 231, 232; tells Arthur Lee, that he can promise Americans 200,000 louis d'ors, 232; instigated by Vergennes, tries to waken a passion for glory in Maurepas, 362; his plea for aid to America, through Maurepas, to the king, 526.

Beau Séjour, a fort built by French, on Bay of Fundy, after cession of Nova Scotia to British, iii. 129; captured by English and New Englanders, and named Cumberland, 130.

Beckford, member of parliament for London, declares that taxing America to raise a revenue will never do, iii. 445.

Bedel, of New Hampshire, commands American force at the Cedars, near Montreal, deserts, v. 295.

Bedford, Duke of, appointed to charge of southern department, and colonies, iii. 16; his character and self-confidence, 16; intrigues against him, and he resigns, 57; summoned by George III. to attend parliament, to oppose Pitt, 260; becomes lord privy seal, 273; offers resolution against continuing the war in Germany, 288; ambassador to France, 290; bent on reducing colonies to obedience, 292; sent to France with full powers to negotiate a peace, 292; his powers limited by Egremont; his anger and successful remonstrance through Bute, 292; unwilling to restore Havana to Spain, except for cession of Porto Rico and Florida, 294; refuses to join ministry, with Grenville and Egremont, 372; willing to enter a coalition ministry, on condition of Bute's absence from the king's council, 390; advises the king to send for Pitt, 390; opposes bill for benefit of silk-weavers; assailed by them; has interview with the king, 457-460; asks the king if he has kept his promises to his ministry, 483; renounces his connection with Grenville, iv. 64; insists on necessity of subduing Boston by force, and thus terrifying the colonies, 99; carries address to king, urging punishment of authors of disorders in the colonies, and their trial for treason; the address adopted by house of lords, 139.

Beekman, Dutch lieutenant-governor on the Delaware, resists claim of Lord Baltimore, ii. 64.

Behmus's Heights, battles of; General Morgan sallies from Gates's camp with his riflemen, falls on left of British central division; re-enforced, captures a cannon, again re-enforced, as are the British; battle becomes general; Burgoyne, in danger of a rout, is saved by prompt action of Riedesel; losses of combatants; British force irretrievably crippled; Morgan, Scammel, and Cilley, of New Hampshire, and Cook, of Connecticut, receive praise; desperate condition of British army, v. 7; their dead buried promiscuously, 7, 8; second battle of; Gates orders attack on both flanks of British, the right moving against Acland's grenadiers, while Morgan tries to reach the rear; fearing to be surrounded, Burgoyne orders Fraser to form a second line; the latter killed by a sharpshooter; grenadiers and one regiment of Brunswickers flee; Burgoyne orders retreat to Fraser's camp, 11; Americans pursue, and, led by Arnold, assail the British line; Breymann's regiment attacked, decimated, and surrenders; Burgoyne, outnumbered, orders retreat, 12.

Belcher, governor of New Jersey, has to "steer between Scylla and Charybdis," iii. 92.

Belgium, compelled by treaty of Utrecht to forego her natural advantages, ii. 389.

Bellingham, Richard, chosen governor of Massachusetts, in 1665, i 443.

Bellomont, Earl of, governor of New York, New Jersey, and all New England, except Connecticut and Rhode Island; his chief aims to support acts of trade and suppress piracy, ii. 233; in partnership with Kidd, the pirate; his probity, 234; dependent on benevolence of Massachusetts general court, 269.

Bennett, Richard, chosen governor of Virginia, i. 170, 171; enters Maryland, with Clayborne, 197; deposes Stone and his council; raises soldiers in Maryland, 198; appoints nine commissioners to govern Maryland, 199; agrees with Lord Baltimore to restore the latter's province, 201.

Bennington, its foundation and prosperity; its site sold by king's agents, twice over, iii. 480.

Bennington, battle of; Stark sends five hundred men in Baum's rear, and attacks him on all sides; his Indian allies flee; New England sharpshooters pick off cannoneers; Americans scale Baum's breastworks; in attempt to rally his men, he is mortally wounded, and his command surrenders; arrival of Breymann's battalions and Warner's regiment; the battle resumed, and Breymann orders a retreat; great losses of the British in prisoners; the victory one of the most brilliant and eventful of the war, and won by husbandmen of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Western Massachusetts, v. 589.

Bentham, Jeremy, rejects the case of American rebels as founded on the assumption of natural rights, claimed with no evidence of their existence, and supported by vague generalities, v. 364.

Bergen, N.J., trading station established at, in 1618, ii. 70.
Berkeley, Sir William, appointed governor of Virginia, i. 156; his instructions as to religion, trade, &c., 156, 157; reforms under his administration, 158; "malignant toward the way of the churches" in New England, 159; receives new commission from Charles II., 161; writes to that sovereign, "almost inviting him to America," 162; elected governor by burgesses, 173; engages with Clarendon in a vast land speculation, 432; his opinion of popular education, 528; sent as envoy to Charles II. by assembly of Virginia, 531; his appointment to be governor for life solicited by legislature of Virginia, 539; refuses to act against Seneca Indians, 546; his contest with Bacon, 549; violates his agreement, and pronounces Bacon and his followers traitors, 550; flees at Bacon's approach; his flight taken for abdication, 551; gathers a force, but runs away from Bacon, 553; his supremacy restored on Bacon's death, 555; orders execution of twenty-two patriots; his conduct censured by the king, 556; superseded, but refuses to yield; removed, and sails for England, where he soon dies, 557.
Berks county, Pa., each township in resolves to raise and discipline its company, iv. 549.
Bermudas, the, granted by third patent for Virginia, i. 111; public magazine in, seized by George Ord, in a sloop sent by Robert Morris, and Ord carries off more than one hundred barrels of powder, v. 34.
Bernard, Francis, governor of New Jersey, forms plans for enlarging royal power, iii. 248; removes to Massachusetts, 252; tells legislature that they derive blessings from subjection to Great Britain, 252; ever urging board of trade to destroy charter, and efface boundaries of province, 278; secretly sends to England a scheme of American polity, 422; informs legislature that "regulation" of colonies would be thoroughly carried out, and that Great Britain was the sanctuary of liberty and justice, 471; writes that nothing would come of congress of delegates, 481; hurries for safety to the castle, 493, 494; declares he had no warrant to unpack a bale of stamped paper, 496; charges legislature not to dispute right of parliament to make laws for colonies, and puts execution of stamp act into their hands, 505; prorogues legislature, 506; refuses all concessions to Massachusetts legislature, and scouts the idea of colonial resistance, 535, 536; elated by Camden's praise of his opinions, and their quotation in the Bedford protest, iv. 5; boasts that he should play out his part as governor, 6; negatives election of James Otis as speaker of the house, 6; resents the non-re-election of his friends to council, 6; undertakes to force election of Hutchinson and Oliver, as the condition of an amnesty, 7; threatens a change in the charter of Massachusetts, if Hutchinson be not elected to the council, 8; urges interposition of central government to give Hutchinson a seat in council, 31; insists that no agent in England shall be appointed without his approval, but is overruled by Shelburne, 41; advises change of council from an elective body to one of royal nomination, 42; advises a regiment of troops as surest means of inspiring notions of submission, 59; is attacked in "Boston Gazette," and scolds the legislature, 77; addresses his importunities to Hillsborough, and proposes to become an informer on condition of secrecy, 87; dissolves the legislature, 94; according to agreement with council, writes a letter to Hillsborough, urging that part of Massachusetts' petition which prayed for relief from acts to draw a revenue from colonies; but sends a secret despatch, arguing against repeal or mitigation of revenue act, 96, 97; receives offer of troops from Gage, but council declines to require them; asks Hillsborough for positive orders not to call a new assembly till the people become more reasonable, 101; much alarmed by town-meeting, and thankfully accepts baronetcy and vice-governorship of Virginia, but learns of Botetourt's appointment, and is unhappy, 113; announces to council the approach of troops, and asks quarters for one regiment, but council adroitly refuses, 113, 114; refuses request of Faneuil Hall convention to call assembly, 115; steals into the country when troops are landed, 117; is at the end of his tether, 119; fears that he will be recalled, 120; secretly furnishes list of councillors to be appointed, 141; to be superseded by Hutchinson, 153; his duplicity unmasked by publication of private letters, 154, 155; receives letters of recall; tries to remain, in order to get his year's salary, and make confusion for his successor; in order to worry the house into voting him a full salary, adjourns the legislature to Cambridge; the house unanimously petition the king to remove him for ever from the government; threatens to withhold approval from all acts till his salary is granted; demands appropriations for the troops, which house emphatically refuses; prorogues the court, 161-163; leaves Boston amid rejoicings, 163; his training, his falsehood, and avarice, 163, 164; finds that ministry has promised never to employ him in America again, 164.

Bernstorf, Danish minister of foreign affairs, thinks a people can never be justified in renouncing obedience to its sovereign, and sees that Denmark shall not seem to favor the Americans, vi. 92, 93; publishes ordinance forbidding sale of prizes taken by Americans, till condemned in admiralty court of privateer's nation, 242, 243; though reluctant to offend the English, announces the adhesion of Denmark to Russian declaration, and confirms it by treaty with Russia, 359; discovered to have compromised the rule as to contraband, in a separate treaty with England, and dismissed from office, 359.

Bestuschef, the Russian minister, bribed to favor treaty with England, iii. 145.

Beverley, Robert, agent of the royalists of Virginia, restores Governor Berkeley to power, after Bacon's death, i. 555.

Biart, Father, a Jesuit priest, ascends the Kennebec River, i. 19; venerated by Indians as a messenger from heaven, 20.

Bible, the slavish interpretation of, had led to blind idolatry of, ii. 246.

Biddle, Nicholas, one of the first officers of American navy, formally appointed, v. 410; in the United States frigate "Randolph," of thirty-six guns, meeting the "Yarmouth," a British sixty-four, fights her till his ship goes down, vi. 52.

Bienville, brother of D'Iberville, below site of New Orleans, turns back English ships, claiming the country for the French, ii. 365, 366; receives memorial of French Protestants, asking permission to settle in Mississippi, 366; crosses Red River, and approaches New Mexico in search of gold, 367.

Binnetau, a missionary on the Mississippi, his death, ii. 360, 361.

Bishop of London, proposed by committee on plantations, that he should appoint a minister to reside in Boston, i. 476; complains of change in disposition of Virginians, and diminution of prerogative of the crown, iii. 405.

Bishops, five, signing Temple's protest, record their hostility to measures of peace, iii. 584, 585.

Blacks, enlistment of, in the army; employed by the states, and enfranchised by service; congress advises Georgia and South Carolina to raise three thousand active negro troops, promising a full compensation; the resolution passes without opposition, but South Carolina refuses to give it effect, vi. 300, 301.

Blackstone, William, an Episcopal clergyman and a recluse, in Boston, i. 266.

Blake, Joseph, leads company of dissenters from Somersetshire to South Carolina, i. 513; devotes his great wealth to the advancement of emigration, 514.

Bland, Richard, of Virginia, claims for America, through the press, freedom from all parliamentary legislation; his argument, iii. 578, 579; in Virginia assembly, reports resolutions reaffirming the exclusive right of American assemblies to tax American colonies, iv. 84; chosen delegate from Virginia to general congress; his lineage and training; his able discussions of the rights of the colonies; his speech of declination, v. 43.

Blenheim, battle of, reveals the exhaustion of France, ii. 370, 371.

Block, Adriaen, first steers through Hellgate, and ascends Connecticut River, ii. 33, 34; traces New England coast as far as Nahant, 34.

Blouin, Daniel, agent of Illinois, iv. 270.

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Boston port-bill, closing that port against all commerce, until East India company were indemnified, and the king satisfied that Boston would obey all laws; presented to house of commons by Lord North, iv. 296; the debate on it, 297; opposed on third reading by Dowdeswell, Burke, Rose Fuller, and others, 297; passes without a division, 298; fully and fairly discussed in house of lords, and passed unanimously, 300, 301; approved by the king, 301; circulated through colonies, and burned, 327; act received at Boston May 10, and in three weeks the continent made Boston's cause its own, 337.

Botetourt, Lord, appointed governor of Virginia; his honesty and ability; his instructions, iv. 100; makes favorable reports to England; promises to carry jurisdiction of Virginia to the Tennessee River, 128; in harmony with his council, and well received by burgesses, and as chief justice decides that writs of assistance are illegal, 158, 159; makes known to Virginia assembly promises of ministry, of partial repeal of revenue laws, and that the king would lose his crown rather than keep it by deceit; praises loyalty of assembly, which responds gratefully, 176; wishes tax on tea to be given up, 176.

Botetourt county, Va., people of, declare that they cannot part with their liberty but with their lives, iv. 486.

Bouillé, Marquis de, governor of French Windward Islands, captures in one day the British island of Dominica, vi. 258.

Boundaries of English, French, and Spanish possessions in North America; the colonies of different nations separated by tracts of wilderness, inhabited by savages, ii. 393, 394.

Boundbrook, General Lincoln surprised by Cornwallis at; Lincoln retreats, but reoccupies his post, v. 560.

Bounties granted on importation of deals, planks, &c., from the colonies, iii. 452.

Bouquet, marches to relieve Fort Pitt, and re-enforce Detroit, 384; attacked by savages and nearly routed, 385; feigns a retreat, and puts Indians to flight; arrives at Pittsburg, 385; leads expedition to Ohio, makes treaties with Shawnees, Delawares, and Senecas, who surrender white captives, 435, 436.

Bowdoin, James, member of Governor Bernard's council, iv. 114; drafts answer of council to governor's challenge, 254; and for the same body affirms parliamentary taxation to be unconstitutional, 258; delegate from Massachusetts to general congress, but cannot serve, 344.

Bowler, speaker of Rhode Island assembly, writes to Massachusetts congress that "the colony of Rhode Island is firm and determined," iv. 537.

Boyle, Robert, a friend of Massachusetts, expresses surprise that she demands revocation of commission, but makes no complaint against commissioners, i. 443.

Brackett, Anne, of Portland, her escape from the Indians, i. 465.

Braddock, Edward, commander of British forces in America; his character, iii. 111; ordered to exact a common revenue from colonies, 112; holds congress of colonial governors, to whom he insists on colonial revenue, which they declared was impossible without aid of parliament, 115, 116; his promises, and confidence in his regulars, 120; his opinion of American troops, 121; his slow advance, and hardships of the march, 121, 122; his movement on Fort Duquesne, 122, 123; an ambuscade and a battle, 123, 124; "scandalously beaten," 125; evacuates Fort Cumberland, 125; his death, 125.

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Brandenburg, Anspach, margrave of, nephew of Frederic of Prussia, to clear himself from debt, furnishes two regiments of twelve hundred good men, promising and giving them full British pay, v. 541; quells a mutiny among them at place of embarkation, 542.

Brandt burns settlement of Minisink, and gains advantage over his pursuers, vi. 212, 213.

Brandywine, battle of, position of hostile forces; Sullivan charged with securing the right flank; more than half of Howe's army marches to cross the Brandywine at its forks; Knyphausen commands the ford; Washington resolves to strike at division in his front; orders Sullivan to cross at a higher ford, and begins the advance, v. 596; Sullivan disobeys orders, and defeats

Washington's design; Sullivan ordered to confront Cornwallis, approaching to turn the American right; leaves a gap of half a mile between his command and Stirling's and Stephen's troops; undertakes to take his proper place, is attacked, and his division routed; Stirling and Stephen's men resist bravely, but are overborne, 597; Howe likely to get in American rear, when Washington, with two brigades, checks the pursuit; Howe pushes on, driving Greene, till a strong position is reached, which is held against him till nightfall; Knyphausen crosses the river at Chad's ford; the American left, under Wayne, defends intrenchments till its rear is threatened, and retreats in good order; two battalions of British ordered to occupy a cluster of houses beyond Dilworth; they receive a deadly fire from Maxwell's corps, in ambush, and are nearly routed before relief arrives, 598; losses of combatants, 599.

Brant, Joseph, chief of Six Nations, has audience of Lord Germain; hopes the rebels will be punished, and says the Indians are ready to help; the king and ministry count on important aid from the Iroquois, v. 201; returns from England to excite his countrymen to demand war under their own leaders, 545; urges Mohawks to leave their old homes for lands more distant from American settlements, 570.

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Breda, treaty of; under the, France claims the country from the St. Croix to the Penobscot, i. 469.

Breed's Hill, an eminence in Charlestown, near Bunker Hill, iv. 603.

Brent, acting governor of Maryland, seizes a London ship, i. 191.

Bressani, a Catholic missionary, captured and tortured by Indians, and rescued by the Dutch, ii. 310.

Brevard, Ephraim, delegate to assembly in Mecklenburg county, N.C.; well-educated and patriotic, he frames the system adopted by assembly; the language of that system, iv. 578.

Brewer, Jonathan, of Waltham, proposes to provincial congress to march with five hundred men to Quebec, by way of Kennebec and Chaudière, in order to draw governor of Canada in that direction, and thus secure northern and western frontiers from inroads; the design not favored, but not forgotten, iv. 542.

Brewster, William, a friend of the reformed religion, i. 227; leads pilgrims from Leyden, 241.

Breymann, his regiment attacked by Learned, in second battle of Behmus's Heights, and routed; mortally wounded; his position the key to Burgoyne's camp, vi. 12.

Brigadier-generals, continental, eight elected by congress; seven from New England; Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene, v. 7.

"Bristol," the, a vessel of Parker's fleet, enters Charleston harbor with thirty or forty other vessels, v. 273; shattered by fire of Fort Moultrie, 281; her loss of men, 283.

Bristol, England, almost only place that changes its representation to advantage of America, iv. 429.

British army, in Boston, estimated by American council of war at 11,500, but reduced by losses, desertion, &c., to 6,500, rank and file; choice troops amply supplied, v. 15, 16; disheartened and sick, 33; regiments cannot be kept full by enlistments in Britain, 90; largely recruited from American loyalists, destitute emigrants, Ireland, and the highlands of Scotland, 167; its numbers in February, 1776, 194; amusements of young officers, 195; evacuates Boston, and proceeds to New York, 201; arrival of re-enforcements at that port, 371; number of troops from Great Britain and Ireland sent to New York before the end of 1777, 3,252; to Canada, 726, 544; British recruiting stations established, 544; commissions issued for imbodying six thousand five hundred men in thirteen battalions; loyalists boast that the king gets as many recruits as the congress, not unfounded; of the king's men, few are Americans born, 544; strength of, under Howe, at Philadelphia, and its efficiency, 593, 594.

British command in America divided; the command of Canada assigned to Carleton, that of old colonies to Howe, v. 58.

British commissioners, three, arrive in Philadelphia; delighted with scenery of the Delaware, vi. 133; and predict greatness of town; their appointment a device of Lord North to reconcile the English to continuance of the war; Carlisle, first commissioner, had spoken in house of lords of insolence of the rebels; the second, an under-secretary, whose chief scoffed at congress as a body of vagrants; the third, Johnstone, who had justified the Americans; their success not expected by the ministry, 134; find with dismay that the city is being evacuated, 135; recognize, in letter to congress, with an emblematic seal, its constituency as "states," and offer freedom of legislation, representation in parliament, and

exemption from presence of troops; the gratification of "every wish that America had expressed;" insinuate that France is the common enemy; these offers made without authority, and before receiving an answer commissioners sail away, 135; address a farewell to congress, and people of America, 153.
British constitution, reform of, effected by junction of liberal aristocracy with the people; Chatham's advice to that end opposed by passions of Burke, iv. 178.
British cruisers capture two hundred ships of Dutch republic, with cargoes worth fifteen million guilders, vi. 365.
British historian of the war writes from South Carolina that "almost the whole country seemed upon the eve of a revolt," vi 287.
British losses at Bunker Hill; the suffering regiments; the loss of officers disproportionately great; those dying of their wounds have no hope that their memories would be cherished, v. 3, 4.
British military measures serve to promote independence of the United States; their armies take successively Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and are compelled to evacuate the first and last, vi. 153.
British officers in New York write home that Cornwallis is carrying all before him in Jersey, and that peace must soon follow his success, v. 456.
British outrages on prisoners; of over three thousand military prisoners confined in prison-ships at Charleston, all but about seven hundred die, or are forced into distant service, vi. 285.
British shipping, measures for protection of, i. 164, 165; a scheme projected centuries before, 166.
British troops in Philadelphia well provided for; gayeties and licentiousness of the officers, vi. 46.
Broglie, Count de, receives Duke of Gloucester, at Metz, where he also entertains Lafayette, iv. 564; an early partisan of American colonies, v. 362; tries to dissuade Lafayette from joining Americans, 362, 363; is willing to be the William of Orange of America, on condition of receiving a large revenue, the highest military rank, and a princely annuity; his offer to be made through Kalb; the poverty of the republic prevents the realization of his scheme, 519.
Brooke, Lord, an associate of Lord Say and Seal, i. 304.
Brooks, John, commander of minute men of Reading, at Concord fight, iv. 528.
Brooks, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, one of Prescott's messengers from Breed's Hill, iv. 609.
Brooklyn, L.I., American lines in, v. 371; re-enforced by six regiments; delay caused by defence of, prevents junction of Howe with Carleton, the idea of which is abandoned for the season, 372.
Broughton, of Marblehead, ordered by Washington to take command of a detachment, in a schooner equipped at continental expense, and to intercept all vessels with supplies for British army, v. 34.
Brown, Colonel, commanding British post at Augusta; is defeated by Clark; is relieved by Cruger, and pursuing Clark's force kills some, and murders thirty prisoners, vi. 288, 289.
Brown, Colonel John, of Pittsfield, sent out by Lincoln to harass Burgoyne's rear; surprises out-posts of Ticonderoga, and, losing only nine men, frees one hundred prisoners, captures four companies of British regulars and five cannon, and destroys two hundred boats; rejoins Lincoln, vi. 5.
Brown, Lieutenant-colonel, commander at Augusta, and captured; his dreadful cruelties; is protected from inhabitants he had wronged, vi. 404, 405.
Brown, John, a lawyer at Pittsfield, Mass., joins expedition against Ticonderoga, iv. 554; charged to convey to continental congress news of great capture, 556.
Brown, Major John, an emissary of General Schuyler; reports that time has come to carry Canada, where is only a small force of troops, that the people are friendly, and will not serve under French officers, v. 114; aids at siege of Chambly, 121.
Browne, John and Samuel, dissent from religious practices of Salem church, and uphold "common prayer worship," i. 272; sent back to England, where they report dangerous innovations in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the colony, 273.
Browne, Robert, a clergyman of the church of England with Independent leanings, i. 220; is imprisoned, 221; is released, and founds a church in the Netherlands, 221; his writings, 221; submits to church of England, but the principles he had advocated did not suffer by his apostasy, 221.
Brunswick, duchy of, negotiations with, for troops to serve in America; number furnished, and terms; total number furnished by, during the war, v. 172; troops sent equal to one twenty-seventh of its population, 180; the duke of, his shabby behavior in sending worthless recruits, 540, 541; princes of, beg that captives of Saratoga may not return, as they will spoil the traffic in soldiers, vi. 53.
Brunswick, N.J., British army of seventeen thousand men at, v. 565.
Bryan, George, vice-president of Penn-

sylvania, urges on assembly the bill for manumitting infant children of slaves, vi. 306; in assembly, introduces new preamble, and draft of a law for gradual emancipation, which was passed, 307.
Buckingham, Duke of, obtains from Spain grant of territory on river Amazon, i. 260; hurries England into war with France, 261.
Bull, Henry, an octogenarian Quaker, assumes governorship of Rhode Island, and restores its charter, ii. 173.
Bullitt, Thomas, saves Grant's command from utter ruin, iii. 205.
Bunker Hill, an eminence in Charlestown, commanding both peninsulas of Boston, iv. 603; its fortification, and the occupation of several hills in Charlestown recommended; establishment of a post on; Colonel William Prescott assigned to the duty; marches for Charlestown, defying Gage's proclamation against bearing arms against the king, 604; the intrenching pushed forward through the night, 605; frigate "Lively" begins to fire on American works, and soon a battery on Copp's Hill; a vast crowd beholds the redoubt with amazement, 605; Prescott tries to extend his line, 605, 606; sufferings of the Americans who wait for the fight to begin, 607; British troops, two thousand in all, commanded by Major-general Howe, assisted by Brigadier-general Pigot, cross to Charlestown, and, landing under cover of shipping, halt for re-enforcements, 607, 608; Prescott sends Connecticut troops under Knowlton to oppose the British; he makes a slight defence by piling hay between two fences, 608, 609; the raw and undisciplined troops have only sixty-three half-barrels of powder, 609; constituents of Little's regiment, 611, 612; number of American troops arrived before beginning of attack, 612; Howe receives large re-enforcements, 613; number of Americans in the battle not over fifteen hundred, 613, 614; negroes have place in ranks, 614; Charlestown burned by order of Howe, 614; his assault on the whole front; his men approach within two rods of redoubt, when, shattered by a devastating fire, they fall back, 614-616; Howe's column moves on rail-fence, and within eighty yards deploys into line; Americans, under Stark and Knowlton, and cheered on by Putnam, hold their fire till the last, when they pour forth a volley, which throws the British into confusion and retreat, 616; rejoicings of the Americans at sight of fleeing British, whose officers push them forward with their swords; after a delay, Pigot's column rallies and advances, firing, and is received with another volley more fatal than the first; still pushes forward, but cannot reach the redoubt, and presently gives way in great disorder, 616, 617; British light infantry attempts to penetrate the grass fence, but fails; its losses, the dead lying "thick as sheep in a fold;" the ball-studded fence-rails; the hottest fight experienced officers had ever known, 617; artillery firing from ships and batteries, Charlestown in flames, ships in the yards crashing on the stocks; Burgoyne's judgment of the battle, 617, 618; ammunition of Americans almost exhausted, 618; royal army, exasperated at its repulse, prepares to renew the engagement; the light infantry and part of grenadiers left to repeat attack at rail-fence, while rest of forces are concentrated on the redoubt, and cannon placed to rake inside of breastwork; the British advance with fixed bayonets; Clinton joins, at the head of 47th regiment, and marines; the Americans in the redoubt, only six hundred in number, have to encounter six battalions attacking from three sides, 619; receiving a reserved heavy fire, the British waver, and then spring forward, the American fire slackening; first who scale the parapet shot down; officers killed; kept at bay by Americans with clubbed guns; at last Prescott orders retreat, which begins; the fugitives would have been cut off, but for provincials at the rail-fence and the bank of the Mystic, who hold the enemy in check till the main body of American army had left the hill; not till then did the troops of Stark and Knowlton quit the station they had "nobly defended;" the retreat quite orderly, 620, 621; the British unable to continue pursuit beyond the isthmus; one third of their force disabled, and the rest overawed; their heavy losses, 621, 622; American losses, 622, 623.
Buford, Colonel, commanding rear of old Virginia militia, too late to re-enforce Charleston; retreats, and is overtaken by Tarleton, with seven hundred mounted men; with a hundred men, escapes by flight; the rest of his command sue for quarter, but most are killed or fatally wounded, vi. 267, 268.
Burden, Ann, a Quaker, sent to England, i. 361.
Burgesses, house of, of Virginia, act as a convention of the people, i. 171; in Virginia, wages of, 536; oppose Berkeley's proposed "levy on lands, and not upon heads;" right of voting for, restricted, 537.
Burgesses, house of, in Maryland, separates, and a negative thus secured to representatives of the people, i. 195.
Burgoyne, John, a major-general with Howe in America; his obscure origin, military services, and literary and oratorical capacity; eager to efface shame

of his birth with military glory, iv. 482; parades his principles in house of commons, declaring that there is no officer or soldier in the king's service who does not think the parliamentary right of Great Britain a cause to fight, to bleed, to die for, 482, 483; his opinion of battle of Bunker Hill, 618; languidly pursues Sullivan in Canada, v. 299; arrives at Quebec, and assumes command of army; hastens preparations for campaign; his officers, 572; plans a diversion by way of Lake Ontario, while he advances from St. John's; his confidence; meets in congress four hundred Iroquois, Algonkins, and Ottawas, 572; his address to them, 573, 574; acquiescence of the Indians; later, tries to excuse himself by saying that he "spoke daggers, but used none," 574; his bombastic proclamation, 574, 575; declares, in general orders, "this army must not retreat;" sends Fraser in pursuit of St. Clair fleeing from Ticonderoga, and his fleet chases the fugitives who had escaped by water; reports to his government that the army of Ticonderoga is "disbanded and totally destroyed," 576; asks Carleton to hold Ticonderoga with part of three thousand troops left in Canada, but is refused; takes a short cut to Fort Edward, through a wilderness, where a vast amount of work is necessary; confesses that, if Indians were uncontrolled, horrible atrocities would result, but resolves to send them toward Connecticut and Boston, 579; in England, had censured Carleton to Germain for not using Oswego and Mohawk Rivers for an auxiliary expedition; tells Carleton that all possible means are now to be used against the rebels, and that Indians will be held with looser reins, 583; pledges them to stay through the campaign, 587; to aid Saint-Leger by a diversion, sends expedition to Bennington, 587; fords the Battenkill at head of a regiment, to meet Breymann, 589; Canadians and Indians desert; embarrassed as to supplies, 590; in a quandary; refused aid by Howe, remembers Carleton's case, and attempts, with six thousand men, to force his way to Albany; crosses the Hudson River, and invests Gates's camp, vi. 6; September 20, encamps in sight of American lines, 8; condition of his army grows worse; the Indians melt away from him; in council proposes to turn American left; agrees to make a grand reconnoissance; starts with fifteen hundred men; forms a line near Americans, and offers battle; sends Canadians to get in rear of Americans, 10, 11; exposes himself in battle that follows; orders retreat to Fraser's camp, 11; makes his last encampment at Saratoga, 13; his army completely invested; his council unanimous for treating for surrender, 13; stipulates for passage from Boston, 14; his troops remain near Boston; insists that the United States have broken public faith, and refuses to give lists of soldiers who were not to serve in America during the war; sails for England on parole, 51.

Burgoyne's defeat, glory of, reserved for soldiers of Virginia, New York, and New England, v. 583.

Burke, Edmund, deplores the outrage on the Acadians, iii. 131; secretary to Rockingham; his great powers and deficiencies, 487; advocates unlimited legislative power over the colonies, 549; favors reception of the petition of colonies, 551; eager to extend commerce of the empire, 585; ridicules the idea of American representation in parliament, iv. 121; inveighs against Camden for his inconsistency, 129, 130; acting with Grenville, moves resolutions condemnatory of policy recently pursued toward America, 202, 203; elected agent of province of New York, 215; opposes Boston port bill, and says England will draw a foreign force upon her, 297; his great speech on repeal of tax on tea, 303, 304; Wilkes for support at Westminster, invited to be candidate for Bristol; accepts, avowing for his principle British superiority, yet to be reconciled with American liberty, and gains his seat, 429; pursues Chatham implacably, and refuses to come to an understanding with him on general politics; believes the Americans will fall apart, 441; compares England to the archer who sees his own child in the arms of adversary against whom he is going to draw his bow, 462; in parting interview with Franklin, laments separation of colonies, but deems it inevitable; brings forward resolutions for conciliation, censuring parliament for its inconsistent legislation, and warmly eulogizing the colonies, 497-501; his wisdom scoffed away by a vote of more than three to one, 501; expresses surprise at timidity which permitted king's forces to possess themselves of New York city, the most important post in America, 571; foresees an engagement at Boston, and believes that Gage will beat the "raw American troops," v. 57; in house of commons, offers a bill to quiet American troubles by renouncing pretensions to an American revenue, 106; thinks the colonies, unaided, can offer no effective resistance to the power of England and its allies, 244, 245; says the war is "fruitless, hopeless, and unnatural;" desires to go to France and see Franklin, but the friends of Rockingham object, 547; denounces employment of Indians against colonists, 574; urges agreement with Americans at any rate, vi. 55; theories of absolute parliamentary power, and rights of communities and

individuals, so embalmed in his eloquence as to have induced opposite estimates of his character, 79; tries, in 1780, to learn what laws can check slavery, and inclines to gradual emancipation; thinks slavery "an incurable evil," 298; congratulates Franklin on resolutions of commons for an address to the king, 434; not taken into Rockingham's ministry, because not born in the purple, 438.

Burke, William, kinsman of Edmund, favors retention of Guadaloupe, and fears the growth of American colonies, iii. 243; advises that Lord Halifax be appointed to negotiate peace with France, 243, 244; in parliament, says colonists will not lose their constitutions without a struggle, iv. 295.

Burleigh, Lord, remonstrates against the ecclesiastical court, i. 223; what he thought of Puritans, 224; protests against execution of Greenwood and Barrow, for dissent, 226.

Burr, Aaron, a volunteer in Arnold's expedition to the St. Lawrence, v. 123; aide to Montgomery, escapes unhurt when the latter is killed, 135; aide to General Putnam at New York, 400.

Burroughs, George, a minister at Salem village, accused of witchcraft, and committed, ii. 258; scene at his execution, 259.

Burton, a Puritan, maimed for his religious opinions, i. 326.

Bushe, a friend of Grattan, publishes "The Case of Great Britain and America," with vehement invective against Grenville, "whose speeches and doctrines rouse Grattan to enter on his great career in Ireland," iv. 177.

Bute, Earl of, his character and attainments, iii. 161; Prince George's fondness for him; favored by Pitt and opposed by Newcastle and Hardwicke, 162; countenances Pitt, 164; congratulates Pitt on his elevation, 180; defends Abercrombie, 201; called to privy council and cabinet, 256; the king's obsequious friend; his character, 258; takes seals of northern department, 260; has misgivings about Pitt's resignation, 273; intimates to Russian minister that England would help Russia to hold East Prussia, if Russia would hold Frederic in check, 288; becomes first lord of the treasury, 289; his administration, 290; submits his project for peace to Bedford, 290; apprises French ambassador of Bedford's instructions, with warning to keep the fact secret from Bedford, 292; indifferent to further acquisitions in America, 293; a strong party forming against him, 367; arranges for a new ministry, and resigns, 367, 368; retires from public life, 391; sought by Bedford and Grenville, but refuses to negotiate as to a new administration, 570.

Butler, Colonel John, induces Senecas to cross the border of Pennsylvania, under British flag; boasts that his force had burnt a thousand houses and every mill, vi. 144.

Butler, British officer at Irondequot, Canada; lavishes gifts on Indians till they "accept the hatchet," v. 584.

Buts, Thomas, an Englishman, offers to states of Netherlands to take four ships-of-war to America, but his offer declined, ii. 22.

Butterfield, Major, left in command of American force at the Cedars, near Montreal, surrenders pusillanimously, v. 295.

Buttrick, Major John, of Concord, marches at head of column to meet British at Concord Bridge; orders return-fire on the troops, iv. 527.

Bylandt, Count de, commands five Dutch ships-of-war, convoying seventeen merchant-men; surrounded by British fleet, refuses to let his convoy be visited; in the night, twelve of his ships slip away; fires on English vessel about to visit the others; the fire returned; surrenders; this outrage talked about throughout Europe, vi. 244, 245.

Byllinge, Edward, purchaser, with others, of half of New Jersey; quarrels with Fenwick, trustee; embarrassed, and assigns his property to trustees, William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, ii. 101; his claim of right, as proprietor, to nominate deputy governor of West New Jersey, resisted, 106.

Bynge, George, the only one in house of commons who said no, on presentation of Boston port bill, iv. 296.

Byron, Admiral, succeeds Lord Howe in command of British naval squadron in America, vi. 152; receives re-enforcements which make his fleet superior to the French, 259.

CABAL, American, the, some members of, wish to provoke Washington to resign, vi. 40; subtlest members of, intend advancement, not of Gates, but of Lee, 42; French envoy reports that it is supported exclusively at the north, 299.

Cabal, the king's, administration of, indifferent to religion, and careless of every thing but pleasure; but country better satisfied with it than with Clarendon's, ii. 162.

Cabinet of France, a member of, advises leading English colonies to confide in France and Spain, and opening of New Orleans to all nations and religions, and opposes the taking back by France of Louisiana, iv. 150, 151; desires to loosen bonds of trade to protect Europe against Russian inroads, and the independence of all colonies, 154; only part of Louis XVI.'s ministry disposed to take advantage of England's troubles, 362; precedent of English support of Corsicans cited in, in

view of possibility that France might be called on to aid colonies, 440.
Cabot, John, receives his commission, i. 8; discovers western continent, 9; his disappearance, 10.
Cabot, Sebastian, seeks a north-west passage to Cathay and Japan, i. 10; discovers coast-line of the present United States, 11; his long and honorable service under Ferdinand of Castile, 12; his expedition to the Pacific, 12; returns to England, rewarded, and advises to try a north-east passage to Cathay, 66; Charles V. sends for him, 67; he gave England a continent, 67.
Cabrillo, Juan Rodriquez, commands expedition of Spaniards from Acapulco to southern part of Oregon territory, in 1592, i. 72
Cadets, Boston, resent revocation of Hancock's commission by returning the king's standard, and disbanding, iv. 373.
Cadwalader, Lambert, of Philadelphia, commands lines on south of Fort Washington, at Howe's attack; has no heart for the work, v. 451; orders his men to retreat, 452; favors assent to demand for surrender, 452, 453; crosses, December 27, from Bristol, Pa., to New Jersey, and moves to Burlington, 487.
Caldwell, Rev. James, Presbyterian minister at Connecticut Farms, a zealous patriot; his wife shot at the window by a British soldier, and the house instantly burned, vi. 316.
Calendar regulated by parliament for British dominions, iii. 56.
Calloway, Richard, one of the founders and early martyrs of Kentucky, iv. 576.
Calvert, C., secretary of Maryland, thinks that a tax will have to be laid in colonies to sustain standing force for their benefit, iii. 254; rejoices in establishment of American revenue, 410.
Calvert, Sir George (Lord Baltimore) sketch of his career, i. 179, 180; visits Virginia, 181; obtains charter for Maryland, 181; its provisions, 182; a wise and benevolent law-giver, a papist, yet charitable to Protestants, 183; his death, 183.
Calvert, Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, charter for Maryland issued to, i. 183; sails with colony for Maryland, 184; appeases parliament, removes Greene, and appoints William Stone, a Protestant, governor, 193; the oath taken by Stone, 193; strives to prevent reannexation of Maryland to Virginia, 197, 198; reproves Stone for want of firmness, 199.
Calvert, Charles, son of the proprietary of Maryland, strives to extend his jurisdiction, ii. 5; inherits Maryland, 6; limits right of suffrage, 7; opposes attempt to establish Anglican church, 8; his differences with colonists, and with English church and commercial policy, 8; spirit of popular liberty and Protestant bigotry too strong for his colonial system, 9
Calvert, John, in debate on Boston port-bill in house of commons, wants charter of Massachusetts taken away, iv. 296.
Calvert, Leonard, Maryland, proprietary's deputy, repairs to England to take council with Lord Baltimore, i. 191; returns to Maryland, 192; a fugitive, asks aid of Virginia, 192; raises a force, and recovers St. Mary's; his death, 192.
Calvin, John, to France the apostle of the Reformation, i. 515; at Geneva, continues work of enfranchisement, ii. 182; the boldest reformer of his day, iii. 99; his doctrine exclusive and revolutionary; a religion without a prelate, a government without a king; its spread and effects, 100, 101; his converts seek the wilderness, apart from all dominion but that of the Bible, of natural reason and principles of equity, 101; arrays authority of Bible against that of church of middle ages, 101.
Calvinism, attempt to plant it in Florida, i. 53; its political character, predestination, ii. 182; denies sacrament of ordination, 182, 183; its policy in different countries, 183; institutions of Massachusetts its great counterpart, 183, 184; in Connecticut undergoes a change, 184.
Calvinists obtain a patent from the king, i. 20; plant colonies in different countries, 236; union of Calvinist colonies proposed, but views of Massachusetts and Connecticut prove irreconcilable, 339; persecution of, after restoration, 411, 413; expulsion of works great injury to Anglican church, 413.
Cambridge, Mass., people of, in public meeting, declare desire to secure their own invaluable rights, bought with the blood of their ancestors, who died hoping their children would be free, iv. 247, 248; men of, adopt the Philadelphia resolves about tea, and avow their readiness to join with Boston and other towns to deliver themselves and posterity from slavery, 274.
Camden, Lord, holds seals of highest judicial office under Pitt, iv. 15; retracts his opinion that taxation and representation are inseparable, 35; thinks it will not be very difficult to deal with Massachusetts alone, but Boston must be made to repent of its insolence, 101; dreads the event because colonies are more determined than they were on the stamp act; parliament must execute the law, 103, 104; abandons Chatham, and takes Grafton for his pole-star, 120; thinks he ought to retire, but decides not to do

so, 120, 121; dismissed by the king, 181; trusts the people of England will renew their claims to true and free and equal representation, 202; in debate on port-bill returns very nearly to his old principles, 301; says, in house of lords, "were I an American, I would resist to the last drop of my blood," 432; desires acceptance of terms of congress, and augurs from the proceedings of assemblies, the establishment of the rights of colonies, 441; says, in house of lords, "you have no right to tax America, and it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many as of one," 449; says the original cause of the dispute with America was the tea tax, in which he denies having had a hand, 468; in house of lords, replies to ministers in a speech admired in England, and applauded by Vergennes; justifies union of Americans, and proves that England must fail in her attempt to subdue them, 494, 495; denounces Russian declaration as to rights of neutrals as a dangerous edict, vi. 359.

Camden, most important post in chain for holding South Carolina, the key between the north and the south, vi. 272; abandoned by British after destroying many buildings, 404.

Camden, battle of; advance guards of Gates and Cornwallis's encounter; the American cavalry flee, throwing the army into confusion, which Porterfield checks, vi. 278, 279; Gates orders line of battle to be formed; the British position most favorable; American troops badly arranged; Gates orders Stevens's brigade forward, and it is attacked by Webster's division; the raw Virginians flee to the woods, 279, 280; Caswell's command follows, and nearly two-thirds of the American army flee without firing a shot; Maryland brigade finally forced to retreat; Kalb's division long in action, and very brave; the British loss heavy; that of Americans, who save no artillery, not known; every corps dispersed except one hundred continentals led by Gist, 280, 281.

Cameron, deputy British Indian agent for southern department, shrinks from execution of Stuart's plans, predicting barbarities of Indians, if persuaded to take up the hatchet against the rebellious whites, v. 49; excites Cherokees to rise against Americans, 429; makes attempt to a like end in upper South Carolina, 430.

Camp, the, at Cambridge, contains people in arms, rather than an army; soldiers not enumerated, enlisted for different periods; each colony has its own rules of military government, and the troops bound by a specific covenant whose conditions they interpret, v. 15.

Campaign of 1755, British plan of, iii. 119; for 1776, made in hope of finishing the war, so as to disband extraordinary forces within two years; Germans to be substituted for Russians in protecting Quebec; resolved to concentrate forces at New York; one hundred men, with negroes and loyalists, deemed sufficient to recover Virginia; the ministry believe assurances of Martin, that, on appearance of a small British force, the Highlanders and loyalists in North Carolina will rally to the royal standard; a force of five regiments ordered for this service, v. 98, 99; a naval force for the recovery of South Carolina prepared, 99; of 1776, inauspicious to the British; their rapacity, lust, and cruelty, change people of New Jersey from neutrals to active partisans, 497, 498; all but a few points in the colonies free from invaders, who, leaving their strongholds, are surprised and pursued, 498; of 1778, closed by the United States for want of money, vi. 166.

Campbell, Donald, assumes command of New York troops after death of Montgomery; reproached for ordering a retreat, v. 135.

Campbell, Farquhard, discloses Martin's intrigue with Highlanders to North Carolina convention, v. 54

Campbell, Lord Neill, governor of East New Jersey, ii. 144.

Campbell, Lieutenant-colonel, lands at Savannah with three thousand British troops, routs Howe, and captures Savannah and navy stores almost without loss; Germain complains because no Indians shared in the victory, vi. 251, 252; urges inhabitants to support royal governor; takes possession of Augusta, 252.

Campbell, Colonel William, brother-in-law of Patrick Henry, appointed to command a regiment of backwoodsmen, vi. 287; joins expedition to restore Macdowell's men to their homes, 290; shares in battle of King's Mountain, 292; in battle of Guilford, 394.

Campbell, Lord William, governor of South Carolina; is addressed by provincial congress of that colony, iv. 553; knows nothing of his people, and entrusts himself to guidance of violent subordinates; would have no advice from considerate and well-informed; writes home that best people, as well as the rabble, have been led into violent measures by desperate men, and plans the reduction of the province by arms; delays calling an assembly; on receipt of news of Bunker Hill, calls the legislature, denies the existence of grievances, and warns it of the danger of violent measures, v. 45, 46; urging ministry to employ force against three most southern provinces; his arrest proposed for intrigues with country people, 49; aware of design against

Fort Johnson, sends a party to throw down its guns and carriages; having dissolved the last assembly ever held in South Carolina, flees for refuge on board the "Tamer," man-of-war, 50; enumerates in a letter the perils which environ the patriots of South Carolina; thinks a small naval squadron would do the whole business in that province; Charleston, he says, is the fountain-head of all violence, 51; at battle of Fort Moultrie receives a contusion, and dies from its effects in two years, 283.

Campbell, Major, commanding British redoubt at Yorktown; captured by Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, vi. 427.

Canada, conquest of, first proposed to New England, i. 448; desire of New York and other colonies to conquer, ii. 232; New England's belief that its conquest would link together England and her colonies, 250; conquest of, resolved on in England, but fleet detained by yellow fever, 353; conquest of, designed by Bolingbroke, 380; plan of campaign, 381; preparations for defence in Canada, 381, 382; disasters to English fleet, and its return, 382, 383; deemed an incumbrance by some French statesmen, iii. 48; English government proposes not to invade, 119; exhausted after Ticonderoga, and desires peace, 203; receives scanty supplies from France, 212; population and resources, 213; whole male population called to arms, 215; came into possession of England by conquest, 241; opinions as to its retention by England, 243-246; conquest of, would hasten independence of English colonies, 304; cession of, to France, 305; opinions of Vergennes and Mansfield, 305; General Murray proposes to make a military colony of, 387; legal authorities of England decide that duties collected in, might be paid to British officers; old laws overturned, and English substituted, 429, 430; unfitness of officials; judicial abuses; all Catholics disfranchised, 430, 431; English ministry orders collection of same revenue paid to Louis XIV., 490; united with territory north-west of Ohio to head of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, and all authority over this vast region consolidated in the hands of executive power, iv. 414; appeals of American congress to, 417; invasion of, by way of the Chaudière and Isle aux Noix, favored by congress, v. 65; intention of invading, later disavowed by same body; in June, 1775, governor of, proclaims American borderers traitors, establishes martial law, summons French peasantry to military service, and instigates converted Indians to take up the hatchet against New York and New England; these movements make occupation of Canada an act of self-defence to congress, v. 113; French nobility acquiesces in new form of government, but British residents protest against it as a form of arbitrary power; the peasantry inclined to sympathize with colonies, denying authority of French nobility as magistrates, 113; to maintain a foothold in, necessary to win confidence of its people; Wooster's unfitness in this respect, 288; an army of ten thousand men, with siege train and money, also needed; Canadians who had trusted Montgomery, now ready to rise against Americans; all classes hostile, 291; American commissioners to, and their instructions; they find a general feeling that Americans will be driven out, 292, 293; a winter expedition to, under Lafayette sanctioned by congress; Conway to be second in command, and Stark to co-operate; Gates's promises as to force and advantages, and their non-realization; the expedition abandoned, vi. 44; plan for emancipation of, proposed by congress, but, under Washington's advice, abandoned, 172; voluntary cession of, suggested by Franklin as surety of peace, 442.

Canadians cut off from France by superiority of English naval force, iii. 192; general destitution, 193.

"Canceaux," the, a king's ship at anchor in Portland; her captain, Mowatt, and two other officers seized by party from Georgetown; the officer left in command bombards the town, iv. 556.

Cancello, Louis, a Dominican priest, permitted to attempt conversion of the natives in Florida, i. 52; is killed by Indians, 52.

Canibas, the, a tribe of the Abenaki Indians, converted by Jesuit priests, and become hostile to the English, i. 19.

Cannon, James, "honest but inexperienced," chief guide of convention which forms constitution of Pennsylvania, v. 436.

Canonchet, son of Miantonomoh, joins Philip, to avenge his father's wrongs, i. 459; confident under defeat, 462; captured and condemned to death, 462.

Canonicus, sachem of Narragansetts, sends message of hostility to Plymouth Colony, i. 249.

Canterbury, Archbishop of, in proclamation for a fast, charges the "rebel congress" with falsehoods, v. 363, 364.

Cape Ann, colony established there by Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and John White, of Dorchester, i. 264; colony abandoned, 264.

Cape Breton, occupied by French, on surrender of Acadia to England, ii. 393; to be taken by the United States, in first draft of their treaty with France, vi. 56.

Cape Cod, first spot in New England ever trod by an Englishman, i. 88.

Cape Fear, the southern limit of Algonkin speech, ii. 396.

Cape Horn, named by a Dutch navigator for his native town, Hoorn, ii. 35.
Capellen, Van der, Baron, the Gracchus of the Dutch republic, argues against loan of troops to George III., to make war on Americans, "an example and encouragement to all nations," v. 168.
Capital offences, in Massachusetts, bill to transfer trials for, to Nova Scotia or Great Britain, iv. 306; passes commons by a vote of more than four to one, 307.
Cardross, Lord, leads a colony to South Carolina, returns to England and takes part in the revolution, i. 514.
Carleton, Sir Guy, commander of grenadiers in Wolfe's army, iii. 216; wounded at Quebec, 224; commands battalion under Albemarle, 292; Governor of Canada, advises to grant no legislative immunities to the people, to maintain citadels at New York and Quebec, and to maintain a military force that could be moved from one point to the other, iv. 32; thinks it unsafe to march from the St. Lawrence to New York with less than ten thousand men, 349; commissioned by Gage to enlist Canadians and Indians and march them against "rebels" in any American colony, 386; abhors this duty, and reminds Gage of what the Indians are, 386; bringing news of Quebec act, is welcomed by Catholic officials, 415; strives hard to form a body able to protect the province; his measures to that end, 575; assigned to exclusive command in Canada, v. 58; hearing of surrender of Ticonderoga, resolves to recapture it; the peasantry resisting the call to arms, he appeals to the Catholic bishop, who sends a mandate to be read in church, but without effect, 113, 114; gathers nine hundred Canadians at Montreal, who disappear; finds the Indians of little service; though often solicited, will not let the savages cross the frontier, 120, 121; to raise siege of St. John's, plans a junction with Maclean; embarks eight hundred regulars, Canadians, and Indians at Montreal to cross the St. Lawrence; they are fired into by Warner, and forced to retire in disorder, 121; embarks with a hundred troops for Quebec; finds the river guarded by American troops who capture the flotilla and troops, he escapes, and arrives at Quebec; an inefficient military officer, but his humane disposition, caution, and firmness guarantee the strong defence of the city; had been Wolfe's quartermaster, and seen the rashness of Montcalm in risking a battle outside the walls, 129; orders all who will not join in defence to leave, 129, 130; his force, 130; his humane treatment of American captives, 137; maligned to Germain by subordinates in Canada, and charged with killing the Indians, 423; looks on recovery of line of communication between New York and the St. Lawrence as his own work, but for the present aims only to gain control of Lake Champlain, 424; defeats Arnold and is master of the lakes, 424–427; lands at Crown Point and could take Ticonderoga with ease, but reserves that triumph for a new campaign; returns to Canada, to the amazement of British officers, 427; warmly received at a ball in Quebec, ignorant that his disgrace had been ordered, 488, 489; had checked excesses of savages; his scruples give offence, and are overruled by the king's orders to "extend operations;" policy of arming them deplored by humane British and German officers in Canada, 545; originates the project of making re-enforcements for Howe traverse a vast, almost desert, region; nurses hope of leading ten thousand men, victorious, into the United States; the plan seriously defective to those who know the country, 552; accepts service of Six Nations and other Indians, 570; amazed by his supersedure by Burgoyne, 572; ordered by Shelburne to return to New York, vi. 439; supersedes Clinton; his clemency; sends back exiled Carolinians at cost of the king; orders raiding Iroquois, Ottawas, and Chippewas to bury their hatchets, 460.
Carlisle, Lord, one of the three British commissioners sent to make peace with America; spoke in House of Lords of insolence of the rebels, and called the people "base and unnatural children of England," vi. 134; with his associates disapproves the policy of enfeebling New York by detachments to distant points, 157.
Carolina, the principles of her government and of that of Massachusetts compared, i. 483; nobles and courtiers her proprietors, 484; rival claimants of, 484; expeditions to colonize authorized by Virginia, 485; colony planted in, by New Englanders, 485; it does not prosper, 486; explored by "Virginians born," 487; proprietors of, obtain new charter covering land between 29° and 36° 30′ north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 489; provisions of charter, 490; constitutions of, represent only attempt in United States to connect political power with hereditary wealth, 495; statutes of, contrasted with those of Europe, 495; popular enfranchisement made impossible, 497; William Sayle commissioned governor, 497; vital alteration in constitution with respect to religion, 498; proprietaries' government organized with Monk, Duke of Albemarle, as palatine, 498; founded by proprietaries in commercial fashion, 510, 511; emigration to, under West and Sayle, 511; settlement on Ashley

River; immediate establishment of representative government, 510; division of political opinion in; conditions of its foundation not unfavorable, 511; its institutions shaped by character of emigrants; land-grants to negroes, only state essentially planting with slave-labor, 512; colonists demand a new parliament; believed to be fit for growth of olive, mulberries, and oranges; emigration to, from England; chief resort of exiled Huguenots, 515-521; struggles of people with proprietaries, 522, 523; who are secured by respect for vested rights at revolution, ii. 196; political and religious differences in, 196, 197; Sothel's administration a triumph of popular party; proprietaries disavow acts of democratic legislature, 197; Philip Ludwell made governor, but fails to restore quiet, 197, 198; proprietaries vote to let people be governed by powers of the charter, 198; Thomas Smith appointed governor, John Archdale dictator; origin of disputes in, 198; Archdale's conciliatory policy, 199; liberty of conscience conferred on all Christians, except papists, 199, 200; proprietary legislation renewed; refuses hereditary nobility and the dominion of wealth, 200; dissenters excluded from colonial legislature, appeal to house of lords, and intolerant acts of proprietaries declared void by royal authority; power of proprietaries waning; the colony prosperous, 201; staple products, 201, 202; begins hostilities against Spain; to it the first-fruits of the war, debt and paper money, 371.

Carpenters, of Boston, refuse to construct barracks for the army, iv. 390; of Philadelphia, furnish a hall for second continental congress, 567.

Carr, Dabney, an eloquent Virginian, proposes a system of intercolonial committees of correspondence; his early death, iv. 259.

Carrington, Edward, of Virginia, Greene's quartermaster, gives wise advice, vi. 392; receives praise, 393.

Carroll, Charles, of Maryland, on committee of correspondence; commissioner to Canada, v. 292; his election to congress excites hope in disfranchised Catholics; member of congressional committee to visit the army; very friendly to Washington, vi. 46.

Carteret, James, created a landgrave of South Carolina, i. 510.

Carteret, James, natural son of Sir George, made governor of New Jersey, in place of Philip, ii. 72.

Carteret, Philip, assumes governorship of New Jersey, ii. 171; displaced by constituent assembly, and goes to England, 172, 173.

Cartier, James, raises cross and shield with French lilies at the Bay of Gaspé, i. 14; his second voyage and naming of Montreal, 15; his third voyage under Roberval, and failure of the expedition, 16.

Cartwright, John, an enthusiast who labors to purify the British constitution; advocates freedom of Americans, iv. 299; is unwilling to serve in America, 560.

Carver, John, seeks consent of London company to the emigration of pilgrims in Holland to Northern Virginia, i. 237; his death, 248.

Carver, Jonathan, of Connecticut, explores borders of Lake Superior and Sioux country beyond it, obtains accounts of Great River, Oregon, which flowed into the Pacific, and returns to celebrate richness of the region, and advise English settlements therein, and opening of communication with China and East Indies, iv. 167.

Cary, Thomas, appointed deputy governor of North Carolina by governor of South Carolina, and displaced, ii. 203; takes up arms against Governor Hyde, 204.

Casco Bay, visited by Captain Gilbert in 1607, i. 205; islands in, appropriated by Massachusetts, 349.

Casimir, Fort, built by Dutch, at Newcastle, Del., captured by Swedish governor, Rising, a fatal victory to Swedes, ii. 55.

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and an appropriation of ninety thousand dollars; elects three general officers; invests a committee of safety with authority to alarm and muster the militia, 412, 413; votes to pay no more money to royal collector; chooses a receiver-general; institutes a system of taxation; appoints committees of safety, correspondence, and supplies; adheres as nearly as possible to charter granted by William and Mary, 413, 414; foresees that new parliament will be favorable to the ministry; full of confidence, adopts all resolutions of continental congress, and establishes a secret correspondence with Canada, 433, 434; proclaims that "resistance to tyranny becomes the Christian and social duty of every individual," 470; frugal in appropriations, yet holding property and blood cheaper than liberty, 470, 471; resolves that a New England army of thirty thousand men be raised, the proportion of Massachusetts to be thirteen thousand six hundred, 535; resolves that Gage has disqualified himself for serving the colony in any capacity, that no obedience is due him, and that he ought to be guarded against as an enemy; ready to receive a plan of civil government, or, with consent of congress, to form one, 543; proposal to extend hostilities to the sea, but decision repeatedly postponed in hope of a return of peace, 556, 557; sends by swift packet to England an accurate statement of events of April 19, charging Arthur Lee, their agent, to give it wide circulation; professes readiness still to defend person, family, and crown of the king, but refusing to submit to tyranny of his ministry, iv. 558.

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Convicts, shipment of, from England to Virginia, ii. 14.
Convocation, the, of the clergy, of 1606, denies every doctrine of popular rights, maintaining superiority of king to parliament and laws, and exacting passive obedience, i. 232.
Conway, Henry Seymour, desires appointment in America, on Loudoun's recall, but is refused, iii. 193; dismissed from army for his votes in parliament, 404; his speech against stamp act, 449, 450; takes seals of southern department under Cumberland; his contradictory qualities, 488, 489; sends letters to American general and governors, exhorting to persuasive methods, 512; outburst of popular gratitude to him on repeal of stamp act, 575, 576; eager to resign, but remains in office, exchanging charge of colonies for the northern department, iv. 4; leader of house of commons under Pitt, 15; replaced by Lord Weymouth, 64; speaks out against bill altering charter of Massachusetts, and advocates repeal of tax on tea and its preamble as only possible means of conciliation, 303.
Conway, a French officer of Irish descent, eager for higher rank; Washington's opinion of him; writes to Gates, that "Heaven is determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it;" his injurious words about Washington communicated to him by Washington himself; he justifies them, and reports to Mifflin his defiance of the chief, vi. 38; offers to form a plan for instruction of army, and tenders his resignation to congress, 39; complimented by Gates; appointed inspector-

general, and made independent of commander in chief; strives to win from Washington Lafayette's love and trust, and to induce him to abandon the country, 40; writing petulantly to congress, finds his resignation accepted, 44; thinking himself mortally wounded, writes to Washington, pronouncing him a great and good man, 45.
Coode, John, heads insurrection in Maryland, ii. 9, 10.
Cooke, Elisha, agent of Massachusetts in England, proposes to establish fixed salary for no royal officer, and his advice heeded by legislature, ii. 269.
Cooke, member of parliament for Middlesex, shows the cruelty of fixing the name of rebels on all Americans, iii. 531.
Cooper, of Boston, testifies that popular confidence in Washington is beyond example, v. 498.
Cornbury, Lord, succeeds Lord Bellomont, as governor of New York; his character, ii. 234, 235; appropriates revenue, 235; imperious in religious affairs, 236; writes against unwillingness of colonies to furnish men and arms, 281.
Cornstalk, commander of Shawnees in battle with Virginians, iv. 424.
Cornwallis, Colonel Edward, commands expedition that settled Halifax, iii. 31; harsh treatment of Acadians, 31, 32; offers rewards for scalps of Micmacs, 32; seeks aid from Massachusetts to recover Beaubassin, but is refused, 45; inhabitants flee at approach of his force, having burned their homes, 45; his troops compelled to retire, 46.
Cornwallis, Lord, lands in Brunswick county, N.C., and ravages plantation of Robert Howe, — his first exploit in America, v. 242; advances with a small force to Flatbush, 373; having voted that parliament had no right to tax America, takes command in New Jersey, and looks first at Fort Lee, specially endangered by Greene's neglect of Washington's order to prepare for its evacuation, 454; joined by Howe and fresh troops; leaves Grant in command in New Jersey, and starts for England, 469; delays embarkation, and takes command of force at Princeton, 489; leads flower of British army to meet Washington, 490; tries to surprise Lincoln at Boundbrook, 560; on march to Scotch Plain, encounters division of Stirling, and routs it, 568; sent to Billingsport to clear left bank of the Delaware; Greene sent to give him battle; is largely re-enforced; levels fort at Red Bank, which has been evacuated; returns to Philadelphia, vi. 24; leads a foray into New Jersey, 154; arrives at Charleston with three thousand men, 266; moves across the Santee toward Camden, 267; succeeds Clinton in chief command; resolves to keep all that had been gained, and to advance, conquering, to the Chesapeake, and to organize regiments of southern people, 270; reports at end of June, six weeks after fall of Charleston, that he had stopped all resistance in Georgia and South Carolina, and in September would enter North Carolina, 272; thanked by parliament for victory at Camden, 281; prepares for a triumphant northward march; made to believe that all North Carolina will welcome him; requests Clinton to establish a post with three thousand men on Chesapeake Bay, 283, 284; his first measure in South Carolina a reign of terror; atrocities of his subordinates, 284; his van driven back at Charlotte by forty men under Colonel W. R. Davie, 289; surprised by appearance of enemy at King's Mountain, whose success is fatal to his expedition; retreats, 293; his march to the Catawba ford harassed by people of the country; ill with fever, and his army lacking food and forage; sufferings of fifteen days; orders troops sent by Clinton into the Chesapeake to embark for Cape Fear River; thus ends his first attempt to penetrate Virginia, 296; complains to Greene of the hanging of British prisoners at King's Mountain, and is sharply answered, 381; resolves to intercept Morgan, 382; is surprised by result of Cowpens; persists in his original plan of striking at heart of North Carolina, and pushing on to join British on the Chesapeake, 389; leaving Rawdon to defend South Carolina, and joined by Leslie, marches to the south fork of the Catawba; here resolves to turn his army into light troops, and destroys superfluous baggage and wagons, 389, 390; his passage of the Catawba at Macgowan's disputed by General Davidson, 390, 391; at Hillsborough invites all loyal subjects to repair to royal standard, 393; tries to bring Greene to battle, but is baffled, 394; brings relics of his army to Wilmington, and urges on Clinton the adoption of the Chesapeake as the seat of war; moves to Virginia, 400; in march from Wilmington meets little resistance, 401; at head of seven thousand men in Virginia, no formidable enemy before him, 412; sends Tarleton to break up assembly at Charlottesville, and Simcoe to capture stores at Point of Fork; his head-quarters at Jefferson's Elk Hill, 415; estimated destruction of property by his army in Virginia, £3,000,000; gains no foothold, and learns that bulk of people are bent on independence, 416; starts his army for Portsmouth, and arrives near James Island, 417; disgusted with the prospect in Virginia, desires to go back to Charleston, 418; transfers his

whole force from Portsmouth to Yorktown and Gloucester; fortifies these points, though doubting the wisdom of the measure, 420; finds himself blockaded by land and sea, 422; reports to Clinton that, unless help soon comes, he must prepare to hear the worst, 424; after storming of Yorktown, surrenders, 428.
Corsica, intrigues of British cabinet with, iv. 99, 100.
Cortereal, Gaspar, ranges coast of North America, and brings away Indian captives as slaves, i. 13.
Cortes, Fernando, his cupidity excited by reports of the riches of Yucatan, i. 25; proposes to solve the problem of a north-west passage, 27.
Cotton, a passenger in the "Griffin," his political and theological opinions, i. 290; preaches against rotation in office, 291; makes a draft of laws, 292; would tolerate "hypocrites and tares rather than thorns and briers," 362.
Councillors of Massachusetts; of thirty-six appointed by the king, more than twenty decline to serve; the others flee in terror to the army in Boston, iv. 376; mandamus councillors dare not claim their places without a larger military escort than they can have, 400.
Country towns of Massachusetts, their reasoning as to the relations with Great Britain; not rebellious, but sign the covenant, sure that their rights would be restored without bloodshed, iv. 341, 342.
Courcelles, governor of Canada, ii. 322.
Court, general, the first in America, held in Boston, i. 283; session to discuss domestic treachery and parliamentary usurpations, 355; definition of Massachusetts's allegiance to England, 355; refusal of new charter, 355; summons disturbers, 356; its remonstrance to parliament, 356, 357.
Court-martial for trial of André, composition of; lenience of members, vi. 329.
Covenant, the, of twelve gentlemen, to emigrate to New England, if the government and patent should be legally transferred to the colony, i. 275.
Cowpens, the, battle of; Morgan places his troops; Tarleton arrives and makes an attack, vi. 385; obstinately resisted, but perseveres, and gains the American flank; finds himself between two fires; charged by Howard, with Maryland light infantry, and Washington's horse; routed and pursued twenty miles; British destroy their own baggage, 386; fame of spreads widely, and the victors praised by congress, states, and officers, 387.
Coxe, Daniel, claims proprietary powers in western half of East New Jersey, and conveys his authority to the West Jersey society, ii. 224; sends expedition to explore mouths of the Mississippi, which fails, 366.
Coxe, stamp officer for New Jersey, resigns, iii. 496.
Coytmore, commander at Fort Prince George, stops supplies for Cherokees, iii. 229; complained of by Tiftoe, a Cherokee chief, as licentious and intemperate, 231; shot by Indians, 234.
Coronado, Francisco Vasquez, governor of New Galicia, i. 33; forms an expedition in search of the seven cities of Cibola, 33, 34; explores country between present Kansas and the chasm of the Colorado, 33-39; discovers Zuñi, or Cibola, 35.
Correspondence, committee of; chief members, Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, iv. 242; Adams chosen to prepare statement of rights of colonists; and Warren, one of violations of those rights, 243; eighty towns chose, 252; their reply to Cushing's timorous advice, 267; write to New England towns and to New York and Philadelphia for harmony and concurrent action, 276, 277; on receipt of act closing the port of Boston, invites eight towns to a conference; committees agree as to cruelty of the port-bill, and promise to join Boston in every measure of relief; propose to other colonies a general cessation of trade with Great Britain, and avow determination to maintain to extent of their power the rights of America, 321-323; joined by delegates from other counties, and collectively deny power of parliament to change their laws in the slightest degree, 379; propose a provincial congress with large powers; agree to forbid the unconstitutional courts to do business, and place every patriot under protection of county and province, 380.
Cradock, Matthew, governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, proposes to transfer government to colony, i. 274; furnishes two ships for Winthrop's fleet, 276.
Cramahé, lieutenant-governor of Canada, puts the walls of Quebec in condition for defence, v. 127.
Cranfield, Edward, chosen by Robert Mason to be governor of latter's domain in New Hampshire, i. 471; the assembly resists him, and he dissolves it, 472; disturbances follow, and lawsuits multiply, 472; attempts legislation with a high hand, 472; demands money for defence against a feigned invasion, but is refused by assembly, 472; forbids usual exercise of church discipline; more taxes called for under pretence of war, but the people refuse to pay, 473; writes to England, asking to be relieved, and his prayer is granted, 474.
Cranmer, his part in the Reformation, i. 214; his forty-two articles of religion, 214, 215.

Creeks, the, the territory of between the Cherokees and the Savannah and Atlantic; learn arts of civilization, and esteemed most powerful Indian nation north of Gulf of Mexico, ii. 405, 406

Cresap, Michael, of Maryland, on notice by committee of Frederick, sends for old comrades beyond the Alleghanies, and, filling his company with eager volunteers, marches to Cambridge; falls ill, and dies at New York, on his way home, and is buried as a martyr, v. 30.

Crillon, Duke de, commands French and Spanish fleets for capture of Gibraltar, vi. 475.

Croghan, visits Ohio Indians, and negotiates treaty on behalf of Pennsylvania, iii. 54; assembly of Pennsylvania refuses to ratify it, 57; descends Ohio from Pittsburg to take possession of Louisiana, 448.

Cromwell, Oliver, desires to confirm maritime power of England, i. 164; his plans, 165; makes no appointments for Virginia, 171; proclaimed by Stone, governor of Maryland, 198; gives little attention to troubles in Maryland, 200; expresses his interest in New England, offering its people a home in Ireland, 358; "truly ready to serve the brethren and the churches" in America," 359; offers them Jamaica, 360; "the benefactor of the English in America," 360; acknowledged leader of Independents, 386; lustre of his victories ennobles crimes of his ambition, 392; public confidence rested on him alone, 392; supreme authority bestowed on him, 393; his career, 393, 394; his policy and motives, 394, 395; assumes supreme power, 395, 396; attempts, and fails, to make alliance with property of the kingdom, 396; dissolves the parliament, and Penruddoc's insurrection follows, 397; establishes an upper house, its members to be nominated by himself, the peers concurring; the parliament dissolved, 398; confidence in himself and own resources the basis of his power, 398; his death removes last obstacle to restoration of Stuarts, 398.

Cromwell, Richard, acknowledged by Virginia house of burgesses, i. 172; never acknowledged by Massachusetts, 376; his accession unopposed, 398; his resignation, 399.

Crown Point, army for reduction of, consists of New England militia, iii. 137; battle of, 139, 140; victory due to enthusiasm of New England men, 140; abandoned by northern army, on concurrent advice of general officers, and against the protest of Stark and twenty field officers, v. 354.

Cruelties of British officers never imitated by Americans; Sumter spares all prisoners; Marion famed for mercy; British officers ridicule the idea of observing capitulations with citizens, vanquished traitors, 380.

Cruger, a British officer, rescues Brown at Augusta, vi. 288; evacuates Ninety-Six, and joins Rawdon, 406.

Cruger, Henry, of New York, elected member of parliament from Bristol, with Burke, iv. 429.

Culpepper, Lord, grant to him and the Earl of Arlington of all the dominion of land and water called Virginia, for thirty-one years, i. 539; appointed governor of Virginia for life; his policy, ii. 10; only his avarice gives him place in history; is loaded with grants and perquisites; sails for England, 11; returns, and silences discontent by a few executions; his patent made void, and the governorship vacated, 12.

Culpepper, John, leader in Albemarle insurrection, i. 504; sent to England by colony to negotiate a compromise with proprietaries, 505; arrested in England, defended by Shaftesbury, and acquitted, 505, 506.

Cumberland, Duke of, captain-general of British army, intrusted with conduct of American affairs, iii. 110; begins his career with ostentation, 110; causes rigors of mutiny bill to be doubled, 111; proposed to make him sovereign of American colonies, 153; accedes to shameful treaty of neutrality for Hanover, 177; succeeds in forming an administration, 486; its weakness, 489; his sudden death, 528; rebukes ministry for treaties with Brunswick and Hesse, and deplores conduct of Brunswickers, v. 180.

Cumberland, British agent at Madrid, returns from a fruitless expedition, vi. 375.

Cummings, Charles, pastor of Presbyterian church on the Wautauga, iv. 443; one of the committee appointed by assembly, 444.

Cunningham, Colonel William, leads a force from Charleston into interior; kills fifty men suspected of being friendly to the United States; demands surrender of house occupied by Colonel Hayes and thirty-five men; sets it on fire, and the garrison capitulates to be treated as prisoners of war; Colonel Hayes and his second in command hanged; and Cunningham kills some, telling his men to do the like, vi. 381, 382.

Currency, colonial, board of trade propose to reduce it all to one standard; issued by New York and South Carolina, ii. 287.

Cushing, speaker of Massachusetts house, urges that the people endure till their natural increase of strength shall bring a settlement, iv. 267; delegate in congress from Massachusetts, sides with Wilson, and votes for committee to explain position of congress as to in-

dependence; displaced by his constituents, v. 162.
Customs, no officer of, in Massachusetts, many years after Restoration, i. 467.
Customs, in the colonies, officers of, ordered to their posts, and rigidly instructed, iii. 399; a new and uniform system of admiralty courts to be established, 399.
Customs, board of, established at Boston, iv. 50.

DABLON, Claude, a missionary, visits Onondagas, with Chaumonot, ii. 317; invites French colony into land of that tribe, 318; with Allouez bears the cross through Eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, 328.
Dalrymple, an officer of British troops in Boston, eager to be set to work, iv. 186.
Dale, Sir Thomas, sent to Virginia with supplies, i. 109; founds Henrico, 110; frames earliest land laws in Virginia, 115; goes to Europe with Pocahontas and her husband, 115.
Dalyell, aide-de-camp to Amherst, makes sally from Detroit, and is driven back by Indians, iii. 383, 384.
Danbury, Conn., invaded by British force under Tryon, and burned, v. 560; Tryon met at Ridgefield by a force under Arnold and Silliman, and one under Wooster hung on his rear; Wooster killed; Arnold maintains a sharp fight till his position is turned; British resume their march next day, harassed on all sides, 561; ford the river to avoid a rebel battery, and, worn out by fatigue, escape to their ships only by the aid of Sir William Erskine, 562.
Danby, lord treasurer of England, willing to help in crushing popery, and favorable to popish plot, ii. 163; impeached for intriguing with France, 164.
Danforth, Thomas, writer of declaration of natural and chartered rights published by general court of Massachusetts, i. 436.
Danforth, first president of Maine, appointed by Massachusetts, i. 470.
Daniel, Father Anthony, his heroic conduct and death at the massacre of St. Joseph, ii. 313, 314.
Danvers, Mass., favors "strict union of all the provinces," iv. 254.
Dare, Virginia, daughter of Eleanor Dare, and grand-daughter of Governor White, the first child of English parents born on the soil of the United States, i. 85.
Darmstadt, landgrave of, too fond of his soldiers to let them go out of his sight, v. 543.
D'Artois, Comte, younger brother of Louis XVI. and afterwards Charles X., longs for war with England, v. 362; avows his good-will for Americans, 521.
Dartmouth, Earl of, takes seals of southern department, under Cumberland, iii. 489; takes charge of American affairs, iv. 4; favors Townshend's policy of consolidation in colonies, 237; would have regarded conciliation as the happiest event of his life, 245; writes in king's name that Massachusetts rebels are a rabble to be reduced by a small force, 463; declares for immediate rejection of Chatham's plan, 465; says that effects of Gage's attempt at Concord are fatal; happy moment of advantage is lost, 558, 559; writes on behalf of the king that he hopes that in North Carolina the governor may not be compelled to seek protection on board the king's ships, — just as Martin fled to the "Cruiser," v. 54.
"Dartmouth," the ship, arrives on Sunday at Boston with cargo of East India company's tea; Rotch, owner of the ship, promises not to enter her till Tuesday; on Monday, a great meeting in Faneuil Hall resolves that the tea shall be sent back, and no duties be paid on it, iv. 274, 275; the meeting ordered to disperse by governor's proclamation, which is received with hisses; owner and master of "Dartmouth" agree that the tea shall return, and a like promise exacted of other consignees, 275.
Dartmouth College, a school for Indian children, on the frontier, threatened by Indians, iv. 510.
Dashwood, Sir Francis, an opponent of Pitt's engagements with Germany, receives office, iii. 260.
Davenant, Sir William, appointed governor of Maryland by Charles II., i. 196.
Davenport, John, pastor of New Haven colony, i. 320; declines request of Massachusetts to remain in its jurisdiction, but favors practical union of the colonies, 339.
Davis, Nicholas, a Quaker, ordered to depart the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, i. 367.
Davis, Isaac, captain of Acton minute men, his parting from his wife, iv. 524; as they advance toward the British, says, "I have not a man who is afraid to go," 526; leads the way to bridge, and is killed; his widow honored in her last days, 527.
Dauphin of France, not admitted to royal council, and ignorant of business, iv. 318.
Daye, Stephen, the first printer in New England, i. 330.
Dean, James, sent by President Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, to visit Canada Indians, and persuade them to peace, iv. 510; attends council of Five Nations, who promise neutrality, v. 289.
Deane, Silas, versatile, but superficial, appointed commercial commissioner to France; instructed to procure news

from England, through Bancroft, v. 357; asks Vergennes for two hundred light brass field-pieces, and arms and clothing for 25,000 men; is offered merchandise on credit by Beaumarchais; sends for Bancroft, and opens his affairs to him, 358; beset by adventurers, who wrest from him engagements for high office in the American army, 363; appointed member of commission to make a treaty with France, 410.

De Aranda, member of the Spanish ministry, enlarges on the dangers of independent republics in America; advises the subjection of Louisiana, and the keeping New Orleans so insignificant as not to invite attack, iv. 149, 150.

De Barras, commander of French squadron at Newport, though De Grasse's senior, will take his orders, vi. 421; with eight ships of the line, convoys ten transports from Newport, with ordnance for siege of Yorktown, 423.

De Beaujeu, commandant at Fort Duquesne, is killed in battle, iii. 125.

De Berdt, Dennys de, chosen agent in England of Massachusetts house of representatives, iv. 26.

De Bonvouloir, M., a Frenchman of good judgment and discretion; visits American colonies; reports that every man had turned soldier; French ambassador proposes to send him back to America, and Louis XVI. consents, v. 59; his instructions, 60; sees Franklin and others of the secret committee; tells them France is well disposed, and he will present their proposals to her; opposes sending a plenipotentiary, but will receive any thing in charge, 141; his report to French minister forms the subject of most momentous deliberations to French king, 141, 142.

De Bougainville, commander under Montcalm, iii. 223.

De Callières, appointed French governor of New York, in anticipation of its conquest, ii. 347; governor-general of New France, proposes to assert French jurisdiction over land of the Iroquois, 359; resolves to secure mastery of the lakes by establishing a post, and sends De la Motte Cadillac to take possession of Detroit, 359.

Declaration of independence silently prepared in the convictions of the people; as in the birth of Christianity, and in Reformation, the popular desire is once more the voice of the harbinger; the people, weary of atrophied institutions, yearn for fuller knowledge of the rules of right, as the generative principles of social peace, v. 165, 166; Thomas Jefferson chosen to draft it; submitted to Franklin and John Adams, and reported, vi. 324; a passage about the slave-trade stricken out, 325; agreed to by all colonies except New York, 326; its terms, 326–330; observations on, 330–332; not signed by members on same day, but authenticated by president and secretary, and published to the world, 332; not only announcement of the birth of a people, but also the establishment of a new government, 331, 332; its adoption changes contest from a war for redress to an effort to create a self-governing commonwealth, 335; accepted by assembly of South Carolina, 338, 339; August 2, signed by members of congress, which has only a transient army, no confederation or treasury; Samuel Adams the first signer, after the president, 355.

De Clugny succeeds Turgot, as French minister of finance; a rogue and debauchee; Condorcet's comment on his appointment, v. 246.

Dedham, Mass., men of, young and old, go out to harass the retreating British, so that scarcely one male between sixteen and seventy is left at home, iv. 530.

Deerfield, capture of; massacre of inhabitants of, by French and Indians, under Hertel de Rouville, ii. 374.

De Graffenried, agent for establishing palatines in Carolina, captured by Tuscaroras, sentenced to death, but released, ii. 384.

De Grasse, French naval commander in America, ordered to conform himself to the counsels of Washington and Rochambeau, vi. 371, 372; to rendezvous in Chesapeake Bay, and to bring as many troops as can be spared from the West Indies, 421; enters Chesapeake, blockades York River, and undisturbed lands three thousand men on James Island, 422; though shorthanded, engages Graves's fleet in Chesapeake Bay, and compels it to retreat; captures two British ships of thirty-two guns each, and joins De Barras, 423; bent on keeping at sea, leaving only two vessels at mouth of York River, but yields to remonstrance of Washington and Lafayette, 424, 425; defeated and captured in fight with Rodney, 446; brings from Shelburne to Vergennes suggestions which leave Spain the only obstacle to peace, 479.

De Guines, French ambassador at London, listens to Rochford's talk about England's declaring war against France, and encourages his communicativeness, v. 59; replies to Vergennes, incredulous as to folly of British ministry in its American policy, 60; writes to Vergennes, after Richard Penn's arrival, that there can be no conciliation now that Rochford assures him that Boston is to be burnt, and the seat of operations moved to New York; that the plan of ministry is to force America back fifty years, if they can-

not subdue it, 81; persists in thinking negotiations impossible; says that it cannot yield, but must carry out its plan, or resign; that the king is as obstinate and feeble as Charles I., and daily makes his task more difficult, 82; evades request of English secretary of state to deny Lee's assertion, that the Americans will receive the support of France and Spain, 90.

De Hart, of New Jersey, makes a motion in congress to stop issue of paper money by provincial conventions and assemblies, but no one seconds it, v. 65.

Delancey, James, lieutenant-governor of New York, compromises with opposition in the assembly, iii. 66; represents Virginia in congress at Albany, 78; causes three "rebels" to be executed, vi. 459.

De Lancey, of New York, in a few months, enlists about six hundred recruits for the British army, v. 544.

Delaplace, commander of Ticonderoga, surrenders fort to Ethan Allen, iv. 555.

Delaware, Lord, governor of Virginia, under second charter, i. 105; brings succor to the colony, 107; organizes the government, 108; falls ill, and returns to England; in parliament, favors aid to colony, 114; sails with re-enforcements for Virginia, and dies on the voyage, 117.

Delaware, purchase of soil from Cape Henlopen to mouth of Delaware River, by Godyn and Blommaert, two directors of Amsterdam; ratified by Governor Minuit, of New Netherland; the oldest deed in Delaware; first settlement in, by a company, including Godyn and Blommaert, ii. 43; Pieter Heyes's expedition with emigrants the cradling of a state; his settlement called Swaanendael, 43, 44; occupied by the Dutch, 44; becomes property of Amsterdam, 56; colonists driven out by severity of proprietary government, 57; present boundaries established, 130; separated from Pennsylvania, becomes almost an independent republic, 221; assembly of, adopts Virginia resolves, iv. 160; devises plans for sending aid annually to Boston, 351; a little army springs up from the people, 454; assembly approves proceedings of congress, but desires ardently an accommodation with England; for more than twelve years maintains the right of each colony to an equal vote; passes bill prohibiting importation of slaves, which is vetoed by the royal governor, 503; its first convention, assembly and council of safety, act in harmony, v. 39; influenced by example of Pennsylvania, 85, 86; in March, 1776, still hopes for conciliation, 239; assembly approves resolution of congress of May 15; overturns her proprietary government, and gives her delegates discretion as to voting on independence, 303, 304; finishes its constitution, Sept. 20, 1776, 503; accepts articles of confederation, vi. 148.

Delaware and Pennsylvania under one executive head; their inhabitants interchangeably taking service in one or both, v. 39.

Delaware Indians visited by Christopher Gist; promise friendship to the English, iii. 51; pertinent inquiry of a chief, 60; ravage border of Pennsylvania, 159.

Delaware River, Dutch claim southern bank of, against Lord Baltimore, whole country on, transferred to city of Amsterdam, ii. 64; banks of, reserved for Quakers, 77.

De Levi, second in command of French troops in Canada, takes active "part" in battle of Ticonderoga, iii. 199, 200; tries to prevent descent on Montreal by occupying passes of river near Ogdensburg, 214; successor of Montcalm, resolves to reduce Quebec, but is compelled to raise the siege, 239, 240.

De Levy, with force of French, captures Fort Bull, at the Oneida portage, iii. 157.

De Mantel, leader of French and Indian expedition against Schenectady, ii. 349.

Demeré, commander at Fort Loudoun, insists on surrender or execution of offending Cherokee chiefs, iii. 229; killed, with twenty-three others, by Indians, 237.

Democratic tendency, the, in Massachusetts, an effort to check it, i. 291.

De Monts, obtains a patent giving him the sovereignty of Acadia and its confines; also religious freedom for Huguenot emigrants, i. 18; his settlements and explorations, 19; his monopoly revoked, 20.

De Neyon, a French officer at Fort Chartres, exhorts savages to bury the hatchet, iii. 386.

Denmark, has colonies on small West India Islands, and in the East; the first European state to forbid the slave-trade, vi. 92; its subjects forbidden to send munitions of war to Danish colonies in the West Indies, lest Americans should get them; its ports closed to prizes of American privateers, 93.

Depeyster, in command of British at Cowpens, after Ferguson's death; surrenders, vi. 292.

De Pontleroy, a French officer, sent through America in disguise, iii. 417.

De Puysieux, French minister of foreign affairs, favors peace, iii. 58.

De Ramsay, surrenders Quebec, iii. 226.

De Rouville, Hertel, leads force against Salmon Falls, which he destroys with great cruelties; re-enforced, makes successful attack on Casco Bay, ii.

350; leads attack on Deerfield, 374, 375; on Haverhill, 376.
De Ruyter, a Dutch admiral, his victories, and magnanimity to the younger Tromp, ii. 76, 79.
Descartes, visited by the most stupendous thought ever known to man, vi. 71; opens a world in which every man is his own philosopher, 72.
Deserters, a hundred or more, discouraged by disaster, abandon the Massachusetts Bay colony, and flee to England, i. 284; defame the colony, 285.
De Sireuil, young captain of French yagers, mortally wounded at Yorktown, vi. 428.
D'Estaing, Count, admiral of French fleet for America, persuades Marie Antoinette to propose the expedition; writes to congress that he is ready to join the states for reduction of British forces, and intercepts British ships, vi. 149; summons Canadians to throw off British rule, 172; repulsed in attempt to recover St. Lucia, 258; stays six months at Port Royal; sends a force which captures St. Vincent; attacks and receives surrender of island of Grenada; has a running fight with British fleet, in which the latter suffers most, 259; drawn into direct co-operation with United States by wish of congress and his own good-will; captures four British ships-of-war by surprise; concerts with South Carolina an attack on Savannah, 259; summons Prevost to surrender; leads a column of attack; is twice wounded, 260; sails for France, 261; urges French ministry to send twelve thousand troops to America, 318.
De Trépézée, sent forward by Montcalm, at Ticonderoga, to watch movements of enemy, iii. 197; loses his way and encounters right centre of English army, and his force is killed or captured, 198.
Detroit, its situation, occupied by French settlers, iii. 376, 377; population of, iv. 126; proposal to take it by Morris, of New York, and Wilson, of Pennsylvania, rejected by congress, v. 65; re-enforced and fortified by the British, vi. 191.
De Ulloa, Antonio, Spanish governor of Louisiana; his cool reception; obliged to govern under French flag, iv. 122, 123; retires to Havana, 124.
Deux Ponts, Count William de, leads French assault at Yorktown, vi. 426; at height of assault, raises cry of *Vive le Roi*, 428.
De Vaudreuil, orders De Ramsay to surrender Quebec, iii. 226; surrenders Montreal, 240.
Devonshire, Duke of, resigns his office in royal household; his name stricken from council book by the king, iii. 294.
De Vries, his praise of Virginia, in 1632-1633, i. 154.
De Vries, David Pietersen, commands expedition fitted out by patroons of Swaanendael; recalled to find colony destroyed, ii. 44.
Dew, Thomas, of Virginia, projects exploration of rivers between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, i. 487.
D'Ewes, believes that the finger of God had guided Massachusetts, i. 328.
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Fort Montgomery, in command of James Clinton, stormed and carried by British under Vaughan, vi. 9.
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Francis, Colonel Eben, of New Hampshire, ably supports Warner at Hubbardton; charges for the third time at head of his regiment, and holds the enemy at bay till he falls, v. 578.

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Franklin, Benjamin, on a voluntary union of colonies, iii. 59; offers plan of union to congress at Albany, which is accepted, 79, 80; revered as mover of American union, 81; points out resources and advantages of Western America, and advises organization of colonies in the west, 81; argument against taxation of colonies by parliament, 113; made colonel of regiment raised in Philadelphia, 149; agent of Pennsylvania in England, 168; summoned to bar of house of commons; thinks France would like to fan the flames between England and her colonies, iv. 56; chosen agent to lay

complaints of Massachusetts before the king, 209; holds office of deputy postmaster-general for America, and his son a royal governor, but reasons on politics without prejudice, 209, 210; accused by Gage, pursued by Hutchinson's sleepless hatred, and regarded by British ministry as the cause of all the troubles, and in daily peril of arrest, 427; avows that there is no safety for his country, except in total emancipation, 430; explains to Lord Howe measures, including repeal of regulating acts, by which alone tranquillity could be restored, 438, 439; resolves to go home; with him goes the last hope of compromise, 496; in congress, supports boldest measures, urging union, and wishing independence as the spontaneous action of a united people, 581; after Bunker Hill, writes to England, "Americans will fight; England has lost her colonies for ever," 624; writes to Strahan, saying, "You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am yours," v. 12; had not been active in continental congress; after consultation with Jefferson and others, reports an outline for confederating the colonies in one nation; his scheme aims at a real and enduring union, and contains the two great elements of American political life, 23, 24; while in Boston with committee of congress, confirms the affection and confidence which Washington ever bore to him, 66; his theory of purposes of British confirmed by news from Maine, 67; will not take his seat in legislature on account of oath of allegiance to George III. exacted, 84; the only member of delegation to congress in favor of independence, 85; appointed member of commission to make treaty with France, 410; is believed when he says that independence is sure, 520; places public opinion of France on the side of America, vi. 60; had advised his country against wooing Spain, but retains confidence of French cabinet, 164; excludes Spain from American negotiations, 443; proposes to Oswald the American conditions of peace, 454; disobeying congress, withholds the conditions of peace from Vergennes, 455; instructed by congress to effect the loan of four million dollars, 475; opposes guarantee, in the treaty to English, of right to collect debts due them in America, 477.

Franklin, William, son of Benjamin, appointed governor of New Jersey, to succeed Hardy, iii. 211; active in soothing and confusing patriots; arrested and kept under guard till sent to Connecticut, v. 307; proposes to Germain to reduce one of the middle colonies by hanging or exiling all its rebels, and confiscating their estates, vi. 171.

Fraser, a Highlander, acting brigadier under Burgoyne, v. 572; attacks St. Clair at Hubbardton; Warner turns and attacks, and prevails till Riedesel comes up, when he retreats; commands the right of Burgoyne's army; fatally wounded at second battle of Behmus's Heights, vi. 11; his dying exclamation, 13.

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Frederic II., of Hesse-Cassel, his character, v. 173–176; writes to Voltaire, expressing desire to learn the art of governing men; his education disavowed by the great Frederic; his crime. 181.

Frederic, king of Prussia, alone among European sovereigns bulwark of Protestantism, iii. 182; prayed for in New England, 183; his territory invaded by allies, 185, 186; George II. of England refuses to help him, 186; wins victory at Rossbach, 187; wins a great victory over Austrians at Leuthen, recovers all Silesia, and saves Prussia, 190; says of Howe's evacuation of Boston, "The retreat, if not necessary, was opportune," v. 202; foretells bankruptcy of France, if peace is broken, vi. 85; rejects plan for trade with America; had predicted American independence, and regards declaration of it as proof that colonies cannot be subjugated, 120; supports rights of neutrals, but declines direct trade with America; his summary treatment of Elliott, the British minister, 123; rejects overtures for an alliance with England, 124; promises not to be last to recognise independence of the United States, and in January, 1778, writes, desiring their complete success, 128; will never make alliance with England, 221; accedes to armed neutrality, 359.

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Free inquiry, spirit of, penetrates Catholic world, as it had penetrated the Protestant; illustrative cases of Luther and Descartes, vi. 71, 72; becomes speculative and skeptical in France,

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French cabinet, not one of chiefs of, primarily friendly to United States, vi. 83; strives to win co-operation of Spain in American alliance, and thus delay action, 160; rushes into war to cripple England, 176; agrees to send troops to America, but hesitates as to number, 318; carries on the war without a plan; Franklin has already the promise of a gift of six millions and a loan of four, and Necker consents to a loan of ten, 371; declines to furnish means for the siege of New York, 414.
French Canadians, service of, in British army, called for, v. 541.
French colonization, in North America, first effort to restrain, by Virginia colony, i. 112.
French East India company, its decay, iii. 348.
French fleet, the, twelve ships of the line and three frigates, anchors in Bay of Delaware, too late to intercept Lord Howe's squadron, vi. 149; with thirty-five hundred troops, arrives at Newport, 150; looked to for relief by southern states, 258.
French officers at Brandywine; gallantry of Manduit Duplessis; Louis de Fleury, whose behavior congress recognizes; Lafayette, whom Washington commends to the surgeon, as if he were his son, v. 599.
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French posts, principal, in North America, ii. 345, 346.
French priests, early labors of, in Canada, ii. 297.
French troops at Newport, eager for an attack from the British, vi. 319; sail for Hudson River, speeded cordially by the inhabitants, 414; entreat Washington to order assault on exterior posts at Yorktown, 425.
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Friesland, famous for its love of liberty, declares in favor of receiving the American envoy, John Adams; its example followed, vi. 433.
Frobisher, Martin, a navigator, goes with a single small craft to Labrador, i. 69; penetrates farther north than any former mariner, 69; his expedition in 1578, and its paltry results, 70, 71.
Frontenac, Count, governor of Canada, in war between France and England, charged to recover Hudson's Bay, to protect Acadia, and aid in conquest of New York, ii. 347; puts Quebec in a state of defence, and scoffs at Phipe's demand for surrender, 351, 352; leads expedition into Western New York, ravages country of Onondagas and Oneidas, 356.
Fuca, John de, story of his sailing, in 1593, into the straits that bear his name, a mere legend, i. 72.
Fuentes, Spanish minister to France, hopes the English will master their colonies, lest the Spanish colonies should catch the flame, iv. 103.
Fuller, Rose, calls Boston port-bill a foolish act of oppression, and says it can be executed only by a military force, iv. 296, 297; moves repeal of tax on tea, 303.
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Fur-traders, two French, in 1654, push west beyond Lake Superior, ii. 320; others pass winter of 1659 on that lake, and return to Quebec with much peltry, 321.

Gadsden, Christopher, at Congaree, commands artillery, iii. 232; his answer to invitation of New York Sons of Liberty, 566, 567; had leagued patriots of South Carolina to oppose all foreign taxation, iv. 26; his message to Boston, accompanying first gifts of rice from South Carolina, 343; in continental congress, urges that Gage should be attacked and routed, 403, 404; remains in congress on retirement of his colleagues, 407; rebukes jealousy of New England, and eulogizes its people, v. 64; makes passage from Philadelphia to Charleston, in a small craft, amid great difficulties, 209; presents to South Carolina convention the standard to be used by American navy; speaks openly for independence, 233; a prisoner on parole; a persuasive example of republican virtue; is imprisoned at St. Augustine, vi. 285; falsely charged with conspiracy by André, 328.
Gage, successor to General Prideaux,

ordered to take possession of passes near Ogdensburg, but fails to obey, iii. 214; made civil governor of Massachusetts, and sent over with four regiments; ordered to shut port of Boston, and to bring ringleaders to punishment, iv. 301; fit neither to reconcile nor to subdue; fears to arrest Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Warren, as ordered, 324; his proclamation, denouncing the covenant and all who signed it, read throughout the continent with indignation, 347, 348; on observance of fast day by the people, issues proclamation against "hypocrisy and sedition," 358; receives regulating act, and two other oppressive ones, 370; assents to the council's violating the act of parliament by meeting in Boston, 381; writes to England, that, "to reduce New England, a very respectable force should take the field, 385;" proposes in a private letter that the obnoxious acts be suspended; in an official paper, that the colonies should be cut adrift and left to anarchy and repentance, 430; superseded by William Howe; Hume's characterization of him, 481; prepares to seize provincial stores at Concord, but most are removed; orders that no one be permitted to leave Boston, 516; proscribes Samuel Adams and John Hancock as rebels and traitors, all in arms around Boston, and members of provincial government and congress, and establishes martial law in Massachusetts, 591; calls for thirty-two thousand troops; writes to Dartmouth that "we need not be tender of calling on the savages," 592; writes of Bunker Hill, "The success, which was very necessary in our present condition, cost us dear, . . . the conquest of this country is not easy," 624; tries to terrify Americans by predicting coming of Russians, Hessians, and Hanoverians; his cruelty to prisoners, v. 32; cuts down the Boston Liberty Tree, 33; recalled, but without official censure, 58; sails for England; dismissed with high rank and emoluments, 66; one of his last acts to plot with British admiral revenge for detention of Captain Mowatt, at Portland, 67.

Gage's agents, their efforts to influence continental congress to concessions, iv. 399.

Galitzin, Prince, Russian envoy at the Hague, invites states-general to a union for protection of neutral trade and navigation, vi. 357, 358.

Galloway, Joseph, of Pennsylvania, a royalist, urges vigorously complaints against proprietaries, iii. 434; acts as volunteer spy for British government; proposes sending colonial envoys to British court, but the suggestion is spurned, iv. 392; loses his importance, 403; seconds Ross's motion to insulate Massachusetts, 406; elected to second general congress, refuses to serve, 457; goes over to Howe, v. 457.

Gallows, use of, established by the English; their officers threaten highest American officers and statesmen with; set up by Cornwallis for those he styles deserters, vi. 330.

Galvez, colleague of Florida Blanca, and minister of Spain for the Indies; honest and laborious, and prejudiced in favor of commercial monopoly, v. 534.

Galvez, Spanish governor of Louisiana, learning of war between Spain and England, drives the British from the Mississippi; plans recovery of East Florida, and taking of Pensacola and Mobile, vi. 229.

Gama, Vasco da, his voyage to Hindostan, i. 10, 11.

Gansevoort, Lieutenant-colonel, commands fort at carrying-place, between St. Lawrence and Hudson. v. 584; sends re-enforcements to Herkimer, who drive through quarters of the Yorkers, capturing Sir John Johnson's papers, &c., 585; receives from congress a vote of thanks and a command, 586.

Garay, Francisco de, governor of Jamaica, his expedition to Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River, i. 25, 26; killed in a dispute with Cortes, 26.

Gardner, Isaac, of Brookline, a man of promise, killed by British on nineteenth of April, 1775, iv. 531.

Gardner, Thomas, instructed, as representative of Cambridge in Massachusetts legislature, to see that "all their rights might be transmitted inviolable to their latest posterity," iv. 161; favors a solemn appeal to Heaven and a joint effort to drive out tyranny, unless their rights are restored, 260; proposes a county congress in Middlesex, Mass.; considers the call to stand up for the country the call of God, iv. 372, 373; mortally wounded at Bunker Hill; his death mourned by his townsmen, and he has funeral honors by order of Washington, iv. 622, 623.

Gareau, Leonard, a missionary among the Hurons, starts with Dreuillettes on a mission to the far west, and is killed by Indians, ii. 320.

Garnier, French chargé at London, writes that act relieving British officers in America from responsibility to American courts must result in complete reduction of colonies or their independence, 328; to Vergennes, that he has bought a member of parliament, who will furnish valuable secret information, 428; writes to Vergennes that every negotiation by present British ministry will fail in the colonies, and that the submission of the Americans is not to be expected, 484; says Franklin will cut out work enough for ministers who have persecuted him, 496.

"Gaspee," the, a British vessel of war, chases the Providence packet, runs ashore, and is captured, iv. 235; Thurlow and Wedderburn pronounce its burning worse than piracy, 249; commissioners, on her capture, elicit no evidence, 267.

Gates, Horatio, adjutant-general of continental army, his trifling character, v. 6; made major-general, and appointed to command in Canada, 299; resents Washington's expression of regret for abandonment of Crown Point, and intrigues with New England members of congress to get Schuyler's place, 354; his dishonorable conduct before Trenton; hastens to Philadelphia to intrigue with congress, 478; New England members determined to make him commander of northern department, 554; boasts of his repulse of Carleton, and refuses to serve as a subordinate at Ticonderoga; ordered by congress to take command there, 556; stations Washington's troops, 556; complains to Hancock that too many troops are drawn to the Jerseys; writes to Lovell, abusing Washington; loses his independent command, 557; elected by congress to succeed Schuyler, and granted all he demands, 590; encamps at Behmus's Heights, vi. 4; does not appear in second battle of Behmus's Heights, 12; had he been firm, Burgoyne's army would have surrendered as prisoners of war, 13, 14; consents to Burgoyne's stipulations, 14; does not send Morgan's corps to Washington, as ordered; announces his victory, not to Washington, but to congress, 22; complains to congress of the betrayal of his correspondence to Washington, and comes to rupture with him, 40; denies the charge of conspiring to supersede Washington, 45; appointed to independent command of southern department, 275; plans to march directly to Camden; ignores the best route, and starts on the shortest, 276; issues a confident proclamation; might have turned Rawdon's flank, and easily captured Camden, 277; has only three thousand and fifty men fit for duty, "enough for our purpose," he says; gives orders to march at night, and starts in haste, 278; runs away from battle, and pushes on to Charlotte, and thence to Hillsborough, 281; subjected by congress to a court of inquiry, 380.

Gates, Sir Thomas, one of three commissioners to govern Virginia colony, i. 106; reaches Virginia to find the colony in wretched condition, 107; first named in original patent for Virginia; takes three hundred emigrants to Virginia, and assumes the government, 110.

Gatinois, French regiment of, shares in storming of Yorktown, vi. 426; Louis XVI. names it "the Royal Auvergne," 428.

"Gazette, the Boston," attacks on Bernard in, and censured by council; house refuses to order prosecution of the printers; acquitted on trial, iv. 77; series of queries calls attention to original charter of colony, which reserves to the crown no negative on its laws, 110; its solemn warning, 240, 241.

General committee of New York, one hundred in number; eighty-three meet as soon as chosen, and bind themselves to submit to committees and to congress, to withhold supplies from British troops, and at risk of life and fortune to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by parliament, iv. 547; send letter to the king, signed by eighty-eight members, 547, 548.

General government, in America, its tendency toward helplessness, and the growth of spirit of separatism among the people; name of "United States" gives place to "Confederated States;" cannot form regiments by its own authority; thirteen distinct sovereignties and thirteen armies, having scarcely a symbol of unity, vi. 174, 175.

Generalissimo of continental army, Massachusetts desires congress to appoint one, iv. 589; Washington preferred by Joseph Warren, Warren of Plymouth, and others, iv. 590.

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George II., of England, cares for little except his mistress, iii. 63; impatient of rule of aristocracy, 107; his desire for peace, 242; dies in the hour of victory, 254.

George III., on his accession, first sends for Newcastle, iii. 255; his speech in council, 255, 256; his ruling passion the restoration of prerogative, 257; hates "popularity," but is the instrument of its advance, 258; institutes courts in New York; names judges, and pays them, 291; strikes Duke of Devonshire's name from council-book, 294; esteemed by his courtiers a patriot king, 369; gives his sanction to system of colonial taxation, 399; gives his "hearty approbation" to Grenville's "wise regulations" as to colonies, 415; presents American question to parliament, as one of "obedience to the laws and respect for legislative authority of the kingdom," 439; crazed at passage of stamp act, 451; on recovery, frames plan of regency, 454; humiliating terms offered him by Grenville, and accepted, 462, 463; again appeals to Cumberland, and through him summons Pitt, 484; unknowingly promotes the revolution predicted by Voltaire, 490; accounts from America grieve him, 528; notifies parliament that orders had been issued for maintaining lawful authority in America, 538; declares himself for a

modification, not the repeal, of the stamp act, 569; gives his assent to "fatal repeal of the stamp act," 585; chooses rather to lose colonies than to abate British claims of absolute authority, iv. 3; disapproves and rejects petitions of colonies, 131; sets himself and all Great Britain to subdue the town of Boston, 134, 135; prevents repeal of duty on tea, 197; his character, 197; his highest object to confirm his authority, 239; adopts General Gage's opinion in favor of a vigorous policy, 290; his fierce denunciation of C. J. Fox, 291; assents to act changing charters of Massachusetts, and destroys freedom of her town-meetings, 328; orders procurement of evidences of treason on the part of Franklin and Arthur Lee, 340; dissolves parliament, and brings on new election before proposals for conciliation from America can be received, 398; to new system, also Connecticut and Rhode Island on the ruins of their charters, 406; never harbors a thought of concession, 428; says blows must decide whether they are to be subject to England, or independent, 430; issues proclamation to suppress rebellion and sedition, which is read at the royal exchange amid hisses, v. 80, 81; scoffs at thought of insurrection, but places troops where disorder is feared, 89; had regarded the loss of the colonies as preferable to a connection on American principles, 109; says there could not be a man bold or mad enough to treat for Britain on the basis of independence, vi. 62; confesses that time may come when it will be wise to abandon all North America, save Canada, Nova Scotia, and Florida, 147; says no troops shall be withdrawn from colonies, nor their independence acknowledged, 225; the firm friend of the slave trade, 298; in 1769, assents to a Georgia law making slaves chattels, 307; a month after surrender of Yorktown, writes: "No difficulties can get me to consent to the getting of peace at the expense of a separation from America," 431; consents, reluctantly, to Rockingham's stipulation of no veto of independence, 438; approves attempt to "sound Mr. Franklin," and appointment of Oswald, 439; speaks of independence as "the dreadful price" now offered to America, 447; can contribute only his prayers to negotiations for peace, 473.

Georgia, languishing under a corporation, which taxes, but does not protect, iii. 84; men of substance abandon it; trustees desire to surrender their charter; people strong enough to restrain delegated authority, 85; majority of representatives send messenger to New York to promise concurrence in doings of congress, 504; most flourishing of colonies, iv. 86; legislature chooses Benjamin Franklin as its agent, 86; approves conduct and correspondence of Massachusetts and Virginia, 140; congress adheres to all measures of resistance, and resolves not to purchase or employ any slaves imported from Africa from that time, v. 24; people of, say Britain may destroy their towns, but they can withdraw to back country, and tire her out, 164; forms its new constitution, Feb. 5, 1777, 504; signs articles of confederation, vi. 148; in three months from capture of Savannah, all property of rebels in the state is disposed of, 262; the name of British grows hateful; their approach, ruin; their greed destroys the slave's hope of freedom, 262; in rural parts, patriotism revives, and the civil government is restored, 461.

Gerard, a secretary of Vergennes, at Philadelphia, disapproves the taking part by French officers in any cabal, vi. 45; communicates intentions of king of France to American commissioners, 57; appointed minister to United States congress, 71; urges members of congress to renounce desire for increase of territory, 177; ordered to ascertain ultimate demands of congress, 196; urges abandonment of claims to fisheries, and valley and navigation of Mississippi, 198; says, if forced to choose between alliance with Spain and one with the states, the king of France will not take the latter, 203; tries to persuade congress to end the war by a truce, and to effect Spanish alliance by trusting magnanimity of Spanish king, 204.

Germain, Lord George, derives all the American disturbances from repeal of stamp act, iv. 295; would put an end to town-meetings and political debates; give corporate power to a few, as in England; assimilate their constitutions to the English; take away their charters, 300; intrusted with American department; cashiered for cowardice; eager and active in enlisting savages for British army, 544; with Burgoyne plans the northern campaign, both seeing the way clear for the army to march to Albany and New York, 545, 546; on news of Trenton and Princeton, and evacuation of New Jersey, thinks Howe should be removed, that Clinton should command army in Canada, and Burgoyne that in New York, 546; defends declaration of commissioners to America, insisting that the Americans had become French by their alliance, vi. 154; persuaded that United States will fall with their finances, but, ignorant how to conciliate the war-weary, he adopts sanguinary measures to subdue; beset by refugees, who fire his passions, 170, 171; approves

complot of Clinton and Arnold, 320; sees no reason to doubt the recovery of the whole country for the king, 419; heaps praises on Cornwallis, 419; forced to retire from the cabinet; raised to the peerage, but scorned in the lords for his cowardice and incapacity, 431.
Germain's plan of southern campaign of 1778; Pensacola to be strengthened; Georgia and South Carolina to be occupied; Florida rangers and Indians to attack southern frontier; line of communication to be established across South and North Carolina; Charleston to be taken; royal government to be restored in North Carolina; all America south of Susquehannah to return to its allegiance, vi. 250.
German empire, a relic of middle ages; its composition and sovereignty, iii. 314, 315.
Germans, the, of Philadelphia, all on side of liberty, iv. 329.
Germantown, order of Howe's force, vi. 16; right wing of Americans surprises the British picket; the British retreat; Cornwallis hurries forward his grenadiers and Hessians; Musgrave, with six companies of the British fortieth, occupies Chew's house; Greene, commanding American left wing, is not heard from; Sullivan and Wayne separate and advance; Washington summons Musgrave to surrender, but the bearer of the flag is killed, 17; Washington goes to the front; Greene's delay, and confusion of his command; attacks British right with two brigades, and is driven back; fatal blunder of Woodford, 18; Washington orders a retreat; the disaster due to tardiness of Greene and inefficiency of Armstrong's militia; partial success encourages congress and the army; the affair convinces Frederic of Prussia and the French cabinet that independence is inevitable, 19.
German troops, potentates assume right of hiring out their troops, who share in every great contest from Poland to Lisbon, sometimes on opposite sides; crowds of adventurers offer their aid; George III. contracts with a Hanoverian lieutenant-colonel for four thousand recruits; he forages among the Swiss, and, despite opposition of German diet and Austria, gets one hundred and fifty men; has recruiting stations in Neuwied and Frankfort; his agents aided by British ministers and diplomatic agents, v. 169, 170; men of Anspach not trusted with arms, and mutiny, 542; whole nnmber of, 3,596; all from Protestant principalities, 542; facts as to the hiring of, gathered from papers of princes and ministers concerned; they prove that the transmission of uncontrolled power inevitably develops corruptness and depravity, 543, 544; every dynasty that furnished them to the British has ceased to reign, while the three Saxon families survive in realms increasingly prosperous, vi. 115.
Germany, founds no colonies in America, but gives it, in part, its laws of being, vi. 91; German nobles take advantage of quarrel between popes and emperors to oppress the people; rise of free towns, 93; the power of the pope, 99; sale of absolution in Greece and Rome, 99, 100; Luther's teachings, a vindication for all men of the rights of reason, 101, 102; his writings, 103; Charles V. deserts his own standard, 103, 104; thoughts of Germany and America concur; Gustavus Adolphus recommends American colonization as a blessing to the Protestant world; German emigration to America, 105, 106; the thirty years' war; its effect on Germany, 106; elector of Brandenburg becomes king of Prussia and head of the Protestant church, 107; England tries to set Russia against chief Protestant power of Europe, 108, 109; Kant and his method, 109, 110; one of first Germans to defend the cause of the United States, 110; Lessing thinks that Americans are building the lodge of humanity, 110, 111; Herder thinks the United States shaped by nature for a new civilization; Klopstock sees in American war the inspiration of humanity, 111; Goethe, always a friend to liberty, rejoices in successes of Americans, 112; Schiller's sentiments such as became the poet of Germany; German political interest centres in America, but representatives of German intelligence join to welcome United States to a place among nations, 113; passage of subsidized troops, in 1776, permitted in; abuses of recruiting; British agents sensitive to defamation bestowed on them; rulers of larger states think the dignity of the empire insulted, v. 541.
Gerry, Elbridge, delegate to congress from Massachusetts, in place of Cushing, v. 164; in congress, obtains a reconsideration of article on fisheries, vi. 200; champion of American rights to fisheries, as had under British rule, 201; excites a strong debate in congress, 203.
Gibbon, the historian, can find no room for reply to Fox's speech on American affairs, iv. 467; writes to a friend about the expected Russian troops, v. 98; pronounces the war with America "a tough business;" "the thinking friends of the government are by no means sanguine," 365; agrees with Lord Minto, that, after substance of power is gone, the name of independence may be granted to Americans, vi. 55; in debate on address to the king to disavow declaration of com-

missioners, divides silently with the friends of America, 154.
Gibraltar, garrison of, reduced to famine, and relieved, vi. 375; whole force of Spain concentrated on the recovery of, 441; Shelburne dares not propose its cession to Spain, 471; attack by French and Spanish fleets repulsed, 475.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, writes to prove the possibility of a north-west passage, i. 68; obtains patent for colonization, 73; his expedition fails, 74; a second attempt, which also fails, and its commander is lost at sea, 75.
Gilbert, Raleigh, commander of ship "Mary and John," in Plymouth company's expedition, i. 204; visits Casco Bay, and sends his ship to England, 205.
Gimat, Lieutenant-colonel, commands a battalion at storming of Yorktown, vi. 427.
Gimmings, Sergeant, promoted by Washington for good conduct in Meigs's expedition, v. 563.
Gist, Christopher, sent by Ohio company to examine western country, iii. 50; invited to live with Wyandots, 50; reaches last town of Delawares, just above mouth of Scioto, 51; first white man to see land beyond Scioto, 51; his negotiations with Miamis (see *Picqua*), 52, 53; on a second tour, explores south-east of Ohio, as far as the Kanawha, 60; joins Washington's army, 76.
Gist, Colonel Nathaniel, commissioned to take into public service two hundred red men and fifty whites of neighboring counties, in order to counteract the arts of British emissaries on the borders of Virginia and the Carolinas, vi. 51.
Gladwin, commander of fort at Detroit, iii. 378; re-enforced by Dalyell, 383.
Glen, governor of South Carolina, proposes meeting of all colonial governors to adjust quotas for service on the Ohio, iii. 73.
Gloucester, Duke of, brother of George III., received at Metz by the Count de Broglie, and makes acquaintance of Lafayette, iv. 564.
Gloucester, Mass., freemen of, affirm their readiness to stand for their rights and liberties, iv. 248, 249.
Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, Va., fortified by Cornwallis, vi. 420; the British shut in at by French and Virginia troops, 425.
Glover, commanding brigade, engages Howe's advance below East Chester; in an action, commended in general orders, v. 441.
Glover, Joseph, an English clergyman, sails for New England with printing-press, but dies on the way, i. 330.
Glover, William, elected governor of North Carolina by proprietaries' deputies, ii. 203.
Godfrey, Edward, governor of Lygonia, protests against appropriation of that province by Massachusetts, i. 348.
Goertz, Prussian minister to Russia, reports that time has come to fix a public law for neutral powers in a maritime war, vi. 247.
Goethe, his birth and education; acquires ideas of popular liberty, and wishes Americans success, vi. 111, 112; youngest minister of Weimar, absent from conference which refuses to furnish troops to the British, but approves its action, 115.
Goffe, William, one of judges of Charles I., escapes to New England, i. 406.
Gomez, Stephen, a Portuguese navigator, seeks northern passage to Cathay; discovers Hudson River, and brings home a cargo of Indian slaves, i. 28.
Gondomar, Spanish embassador to England, his prophecy as to American colonies, i. 124.
Gonzalez, Antony, a Portuguese officer, introduces negro slaves to Europe, i. 132.
Goodwin, John, his children bewitched, ii. 248, 249.
Gordon, Rev. William, of Roxbury, Mass., declares against perpetuating slavery; asks for final check on sale of slaves by an act of the state, vi. 307, 308.
Gorgeana, the name given by Gorges to York, Me., on its becoming a city, i. 347.
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, his attention turned to Maine, i. 91; leads Sir John Popham into a scheme for colonizing in New England, 94; with John Mason, takes a patent for Laconia, and makes settlements on banks of Piscataqua, 257; invites the Scottish nation to become guardian of frontier of Maine, 259; governor-general of New England, 263; obtains patent for territory between the Kennebec and New Hampshire, 263; lord proprietary of New Somersetshire, 264; slanders Massachusetts, 322; his character and career, 347.
Gorges, Robert, receives patent for tract on Massachusetts Bay, and appointed lieutenant-general of New England, i. 255; failure of his colony, 255; his civil dignity ends in dispute with Weston, 256.
Gorges, William, sent by his uncle, Sir Ferdinando, to govern territory between Kennebec and New Hampshire, i. 263.
Gorges and Popham expedition, the, sailing of, i. 97; discussions of members, 98; arrival in Bay of Chesapeake, 98; pitiable condition of the colony, 99.
Gorham, Me., reports its swords not yet grown rusty, iv. 253.
Gorton, Samuel, an enthusiast of Rhode Island, pronounces the clergy enemies to colonial independence; is imprisoned, i. 338; but liberated; carries complaints to England, 354, 355.

Gosnold, Bartholomew, in 1602 sails to Cape Elizabeth, Me., visits Cape Cod, enters Buzzard's Bay, i. 88; builds fort and storehouse on the island Elizabeth, the foundation of the first New England colony, 88, 89; his reports of his voyage, 89; persuades Wingfield, Hunt, and John Smith to join him in establishing a colony, 94; death of, 99.

Goulding, William, patent issued to, and others, for region from Sandy Hook to mouth of Raritan, ii. 71.

Goupil, René, a captive novice, killed by Mohawks for making sign of the cross, ii. 309, 310.

Gourgues, Dominic de, leads expedition to avenge the massacre of French in Florida by Spaniards, captures Spanish fort, and hangs prisoners, i. 61.

Government of colonies, two systems of, one founded on prerogative, the other on supremacy of parliament, iii. 23; the latter ultimately prevails, 23, 24.

Governor, authority of, discussed in Massachusetts, i. 351; rotation in office enforced, 351; government of law, not of discretion, demanded, 351.

Governor of Virginia, under King William, extraordinary; helplessness of people against him, ii. 206.

Governor's council, of Massachusetts, the few members left advise not to send troops into interior of province, but to constitute Boston a "safe place of retreat," iv. 382.

Gower, president of the council under Hillsborough, iv. 64; sneering at American "rights," declares himself in favor of enforcing the measures against the colonies, 449; demands rejection of Chatham's plan, 465.

Grafton, Duke of, holds seals of northern department in Cumberland's ministry, iii. 487; his character; seeks Pitt, and gains his confidence, 548; resigns his office in the ministry, iv. 4; left in position of prime minister, 49; approves the late regulations for America, and says that abrogating charters of American colonies would free them from their fetters, 52; yielding to king's importunities, prepares to dismiss Shelburne, 120; resigns his office, 182; demands rejection of Chatham's plan, 465; rebukes Camden for disavowing responsibility for the tea-tax, 468, 469; entreats Lord North to bring about a reconciliation; says that the contest is not only hopeless, but fraught with disgrace, v. 100; to the king complains of violent and impracticable schemes of ministers, saying, "Deluded themselves, they are deluding your majesty;" as to hiring of German troops, says, "Twice the number will only increase the disgrace, and never effect the purpose," 100; takes part with Duke of Manchester in opposition, and resigns his place as keeper of the privy seal, 103; attempts, in house of lords, to plead for conciliation, 201.

Grand pensionary of Holland, Van Bleiswijck, brings business before states of Holland to be recommended to states-general, vi. 232, 233; a weak politician, and inclined to England, 233; favors accession to Russian declaration of principles of neutrality, 360.

Grant, James, Major, of Washington's command in Forbes's expedition, sent against Cherokees, iii. 279; burns fifteen Indian villages, 280; extends English frontier seventy miles west, and compels Cherokees to covenant peace, 281; he affects superciliousness toward southern colonists; fights a duel with Middleton, of South Carolina, 281; asserts in house of commons that he knows Americans well, and that they will not fight, ridiculing them, to amusement of the house, iv. 466.

Grant, commands two brigades in Howe's army at battle of Long Island, v. 375; commands in New Jersey, on Cornwallis's departure for England, 469; warns Donop against attack on Trenton, 476.

Grantham, British ambassador at Madrid, deceived by Florida Blanca, attests sincerity of Spain's desire to bring about pacification, vi. 180; appointed to foreign office, 452; assures Franklin that the establishment of an honorable and lasting peace is the aim of the ministry, 471.

Granville, Earl of, president of privy council, his enlightenment of Franklin as to king's instructions, iii. 168; declares that colonies must not interfere with Great Britain in European markets, 169.

Grape Island, in Boston harbor, British attempt to secure the hay on; two thousand men from Weymouth, Braintree, and Hingham swarm to the place, and the English retreat, iv. 573.

Grattan, Henry, leader of Irish patriots in 1778; in Irish parliament, moves an amendment to address, that the country can be saved only by free trade, vi. 379.

Graves, Admiral, arrives at Boston in the "Preston," iv. 348; succeeds Arbuthnot in naval command at New York; of small ability and skill; on a useless cruise before Boston, and cannot join Sir Samuel Hood, vi. 423; discovers French fleet at anchor at mouth of Chesapeake; his fleet so damaged in action that ensues, that he returns to New York, abandoning the "Terrible," 423.

Gravier, a missionary, succeeds Allouez among the Miamis; his achievements; his death, ii. 360, 361.

Gray, Samuel, killed by British soldiers in Boston, iv. 190.

Great Barrington, Mass., judges of inferior court of Hampshire meet at;

the regulating act having received king's approval, a mob forces the judges to promise to do no business, iv. 374, 375.
Great Britain, opposed to Roman Catholic world and American mind, ii. 271; parliament holds itself absolute and unaccountable, 272; retains Gibraltar, making Spain her implacable enemy, 389; makes war on human freedom, allured by phantom of absolute authority over colonies, iv. 308; its house of commons become venal, 308; excels the world as a planter of colonies, 312; seeks to create a distinct empire to coerce and restrain the original colonies, and to this end unites in one province Canada and the territory northwest of the Ohio, to head of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, 414.
Grenada, Island of, duties on produce of, levied in colonies, iii. 429; captured by D'Estaing's fleet, vi. 259.
Green, Roger, leads a company from Nansemund to rivers that flow into Albemarle Sound, i. 487.
Green, Timothy, publisher of the "New London Gazette," on Nov. 1, 1765, issues paper containing an appeal for liberty by Stephen Johnson, of Lyme, iii. 520, 521.
Greene, Colonel Christopher, of Rhode Island, in command at fort on Redbank, vi. 20.
Greene, Nathaniel, commander of Rhode Island troops at Cambridge, iv. 543, 544; starts to share in the conflict on news of Lexington, but returns to seat in legislature; elected general of Rhode Island brigade, 544, 545; elected brigadier-general of continental army, v. 7; writes to Ward, in congress, from Rhode Island, urging the declaration of independence, 156; commands forces in Brooklyn, 371; thinks that, considering the difficulties, the retreat from Long Island was the best effected he ever read of, 387; advises a general retreat and burning of New York city and suburbs, 392; commands a force at Fort Lee, 434; shares rash confidence of congress, and thinks there is little to fear this campaign, 439; writes to Washington for instructions, but, not waiting for them, sends Rawlings's rifle regiment to Fort Washington, 447; frames his measures directly contrary to Washington's orders; instead of evacuating, re-enforces Fort Washington, and reports to congress that Howe cannot take it, 449; permits thirty British flat-boats to pass his post, 450; would never assume responsibility for capture of Fort Washington, or confess his errors of judgment, but ascribes the defeat to a panic, 453; surprised by British, makes hasty flight, 455; sent to Philadelphia to explain the pressing wants of the army, 555; his unaccountable delay at Germantown, vi. 18; made quartermaster-general, and wants to retain command of a division, 48; in secret partnership with a member of commissary department, 49; repels attack on Sullivan's right wing, and defeats the enemy, 152; asks for the southern command, 254; resigns quartermaster-generalship abruptly, and congress, on advice of Washington, appoints him to southern department, 342; receives like powers with Gates, but subject to commander in chief, 380; gains confidence and love of his troops, 382; want of national sentiment in the troops; praises Washington, 383; fired to emulation by Morgan's success; advised by Morgan, joins him at Sherrald's ford, 389; joins Morgan's army at Guilford courthouse, 392; his command crosses the Dan twelve hours ahead of British, 392; complimented for retreat by Washington and others, 392, 393; re-enforced, prepares to hazard an action, and encamps near Guilford courthouse, 394; has the confidence of Virginia and the south, 398; on Cornwallis's escape, determines to carry the war into South Carolina, 401; takes position on Hobkirk's Hill near Camden, 402; fails in siege of Ninety-Six, 405; joined by Sumter and Marion, pursues Rawdon, and offers him battle, 405; detaches troops to compel evacuation of Orangeburg, 406; pushes the British to Eutaw Springs, and attacks them, 407; his victory and defeat, 407, 408; prepares to renew the fight, 408; regains his old position on heights of Santee; what he had accomplished in three months, 409; writes that nothing can save Cornwallis but a rapid retreat to Charleston, 424.
Greene, Thomas, successor of Leonard Calvert as governor of Maryland, i. 192.
Green Spring, skirmish at; Wayne sends Galvan to capture a British field-piece; Galvan, confronted by the British line, retreats to meet Wayne; the latter, finding himself outnumbered, fights on till Lafayette arrives to the rescue; losses small and equal, vi. 417, 418.
Grenville, George, retires from British ministry on Pitt's dismissal, iii. 145; desires to be chancellor of exchequer on Legge's dismissal; offers bill authorizing employment of officers of the navy as custom-house officers; first who undertook rigidly to enforce navigation acts, 366; succeeds Bute as first lord of the treasury, 369; favors protective system, 373; seeks information in every quarter before imposing tax system on America, 388; first lord of treasury, 391; adopts the scheme for taxing colonies, 396; claims for England exclusive trade with its colonies, 399; did not intend to introduce despotic government into America, 493,

confesses propriety of allowing America representatives in the body which taxed it, 411; persists in imposing stamp-tax, but agrees to postpone it a year, 411, 412; seeks palliatives to reconcile America to tax, 312; favors America in the whale-fishery, 412, 413; gives notice of a bill for stamp duties in America, 414; tendency of his policy toward the colonies, 416; resolves on proposing American representation, 443; proposes details of stamp act to house of commons, and argues in its favor, 444, 445; his greatest triumph, 485; surrenders seals of office, and urges the king not to separate his British and American dominions, 486; his administration turned out for exercising its constitutional right to control the king in the use of the court favor, 489; in house of commons, moves to consider America as "resisting the laws by open and rebellious force," 531; declares meetings like those in Boston to be illegal, and deserving of punishment; favors prohibition of American fisheries, iv. 76; his influence the special resource of Hutchinson and Oliver, 87; agrees with Burke that the order requiring Massachusetts to rescind a vote under a penalty is illegal and unconstitutional, 130; his last and most honorable public act, the introduction of a bill to establish a more impartial mode of deciding disputed elections, 201.

Grenville, George, the younger, attacks administration in harsh terms, and names Lord Chatham as the proper person to treat with America, vi. 59.

Grenville, Thomas, son of George, chosen by Fox to communicate with European belligerents as to peace; ignorant and inexperienced, welcomed in Paris by Franklin, who introduces him to Vergennes, vi. 444; offers Vergennes and De Aranda peace on the basis of American independence and treaty of 1763, 444, 445; claims right to treat with America, but confesses that he is acting without the sanction of parliament, 447, 448.

Grenville's policy examined by a New York freeman, iii. 472–474.

Grenville, Sir Richard, commander of Raleigh's expedition in 1585, i. 78; burns an Indian village, 79; sails for England, 79; returns with supplies, after departure of colony, 83.

Greenwood, John, hanged for dissent, i. 226.

Grey, Major-general, attacks Wayne's command, and routs it, v. 600; sets fire to shipping at New Bedford, and levies cattle and money on people of Martha's Vineyard, vi. 152.

Gridley, Jeremiah, counsel for the crown in trial touching writs of assistance, iii. 274.

Gridley, Richard, an engineer, accompanies Prescott to Breed's Hill, and draws lines of a redoubt, iv. 604, 605; forsakes Prescott, 605.

Grimaldi, Spanish ambassador at Paris, reports an ardent desire for peace there; tries to make a protecting alliance with France, iii. 261; minister of foreign affairs, proposes to aid secretly the English colonies, if the king of Spain should not be known in the matter, v. 231; wishes not to raise a republic on the western continent, but to let England exhaust herself in a long civil war; admits American ships to Spanish ports, even privateers, but wishes no change in relations of colonies to England, fearing their independence for Spain, 363; driven from ministry and country, 533.

Grindal, in 1576 made archbishop of Canterbury, but, refusing to suppress the liberty of prophesying, is suspended and made to resign, i. 222.

Grotius, first utters sentiment that "free ships make free goods," i. 164; reports designs of Netherlanders as to explorations in America, ii. 24; favors aristocratic party in United Provinces, and is arrested, 36; condemned to imprisonment for life, 37; establishes doctrine of freedom of the seas, 77.

Guadaloupe, captured by British, iii. 210; private letters from, that North America could never remain long subject to Britain; that acquisition of Canada would strengthen colonies to revolt, 244.

Guercheville, Marchioness de, protector of Jesuit missions in Canada, i. 19; joint projector of French colony at Mt. Desert, 19; her right to colonize, 112; her mission destroyed by Argall, 113.

Guilford court-house, battle of; position of Greene's army, vi. 394, 395; advance of Cornwallis, and flight of North Carolina militia; British press back second American line, 395; are beaten back by the third, with great loss; Stewart's first and second battalions of the guards cut to pieces; the Hessians defeat the Americans, 396; Greene leaves his cannon and the field to the enemy, 396, 397; though defeated, the Americans' conduct gallant; transforms American army into pursuers, the British to fugitives; Cornwallis's testimony, 397.

Gunning, British ambassador to Russia, tells Panin that the rebellion in America will soon be stopped, and asks leave to tell his king that he may reckon on a body of her majesty's infantry, v. 63; thinks the empress means to send twenty thousand men, 63; armed with a letter from George III. to the empress, accepting her offer of troops, is instructed to ask of her twenty thousand troops, 92; waits on Panin by ap-

pointment, who denies that any offer of troops has been made, and adds that the empress was opposed to having her troops employed in America, 94; denied an audience of the empress, desires Panin to deliver the letter of George III.; offers to be content with fifteen thousand men; again refused an audience by the empress, 95; on arrival of courier with project of treaty, sends it to Panin, and lowers his demand to ten thousand men, but Panin gives him the empress's answer, and declines further discussion, 96.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, sees advantages of American colonies; employs funds of colonizing company for invasion of Germany, ii. 46; commends colonization just before his death, 47; naturally friendly to France for its aid in revolution of 1771; oldest colonizers of the Delaware his subjects; eager to possess a colony; accepts Russian declaration, vi. 359.

Guzman, Nuño, president of New Spain, i. 33.

Gyles, Thomas, murdered by Penobscot Indians, ii. 349.

Habeas Corpus, benefit of, claimed by Massachusetts; affirmed by Queen Anne to Virginia, ii. 279.

Haddrell's Point, near Charleston, a post established there, v. 50.

Hakluyt, Richard, one of assignees of Raleigh's rights in Virginia, i. 85; encourages an expedition to New England, 89; his activity in promoting colonization, 94.

Hale, Nathan, a captain in Knowlton's regiment, a Yale graduate, very young, volunteers to enter the British lines in disguise; seized, and carried before General Howe; avows his name and rank, and his purpose; Howe orders him to be executed without a trial; the services of a clergyman and a Bible denied him; his noble speech on the gallows; his letters destroyed by the provost-marshal, v. 407, 408.

"Half Moon," the, Hudson's ship, in which he ascends the Hudson River, ii. 25-28; detained at Dartmouth by jealousy of English, 33.

Halifax, Earl of, defends representative government in privy council, i. 481; his character, iii. 25, 26; finds colonies tending to legislative independence and rebellion, 26; determined to secure Nova Scotia and the Ohio valley, 28; pronounces country west of Alleghanies centre of British dominions, 29; signalizes his entrance to office by planting Protestant colony in Nova Scotia, and granting lands for a Virginia colony on the Ohio, 32; aspires to a seat in cabinet, 46; by royal command, proposes a plan of union of American colonies, founded on prerogative, and impracticable, 109, 110; takes office under Pitt, 179; desirous to take charge of department of colonies, 300; secretary of state, under Grenville, takes southern department and colonies, 392.

Halifax, the town, founded by expedition under Colonel Edward Cornwallis, iii. 31; settlement of, seen with anxiety by the French, 44; second and successful expedition sent to take Chiegnecto, or Beaubassin, 47.

Halket, Sir Peter, his remains and his son's buried on Braddock's Field, by detachment of Forbes's army, iii. 207.

Hallowell, comptroller of Massachusetts, sent to England, bearing royalist accounts of riots in Boston, iv. 92; examined by Lord North and Jenkinson, testifies to generally favorable condition of sentiment in the colonies, that the discontent was mainly confined to Boston, 98, 99.

Hall, Lyman, presents himself to second continental congress, as a delegate from the parish of St. John's, Ga.; is received with a right to vote, except when the question is taken by colonies, iv. 570.

Hamilton, Alexander, first appears at meeting of New York; his history, iv. 355, 356; his sympathies at first with the British, 356; a pamphlet from his pen in circulation since December, 1774, and in February, 1775, he puts forth another, declaring his advocacy of a limited monarchy, and his attachment to essential rights of mankind and to civil liberties, 458; believes that colonies will, ere long, unite in an indissoluble chain, 466; serves a battery at Raritan bridge, v. 459; joins Washington's staff, and becomes familiar with national affairs, 553; gives congress a false alarm, so that members leave their beds, and flee to Lancaster, 600; commends young Laurens's project of raising black troops, vi. 256; thinks André's death just, but would have his feelings respected, 330; Washington's ablest secretary; his opportunities for sound judgment of public affairs, 343; invites Duane to call a convention of all the states, with power to form a general confederation; traces causes of congress's want of power; doubts not that a republic can be formed over an extended territory, 345, 346; the fittest man for special envoy to France, but not known to congress, 350; his views like those of Robert Morris, 413; studying law at Albany, explains to New York legislature how the United States can obtain a constitution; a delegate to congress from New York, and becomes colleague of Madison; one supplements the other, 466, 467.

Hamilton, Andrew, governor of part of New Jersey, under West Jersey society, ii. 224.

Hamilton, Lieutenant-colonel, leads storming party at Yorktown, vi. 426.
Hamilton, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, writes to secretary of state that small parties of Indians will "fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio," and discourages every thought of mercy, v. 423; sends out fifteen parties of red men, with white officers, to ravage the frontiers of Virginia, 510; and Pennsylvania, 584; sends savages to American frontier; takes Vincennes, and drives people back to British allegiance; announces to Spanish governor his purpose to recover Illinois, vi. 187; his management of Indians; planning murderous expeditions, when attacked by Clark, and surrenders the town after long resistance, 189, 190.
Hampden, John, rumor that he embarked for New England, i. 327.
Hampton, Va., blockaded and attacked by Dunmore, who is driven off with loss, v. 145.
Hancock, John, of Boston, owns first American ship that went to sea with a rich cargo without stamped papers, iv. 532; the king gives orders to tempt him by marks of favor, 226; produces to house copies of Hutchinson's letters, and scatters them throughout the colonies, 264; urges people not only to pray, but act, "and even die for the prosperity of our New Jerusalem," 294; his commission in Boston cadets revoked by Gage, 373; warned by Warren of Gage's intentions toward Concord, 516; elected president of continental congress, 582; desires to serve under Washington, v. 14; forwards to Washington authorization of congress to attack Boston, 154; while president of congress, leans toward the south, which is unanimous in voting him thanks on his resignation, while three northernmost states of New England vote nay, vi. 309; vain, and neglectful of business, 413.
Hanging Rock, a British post in South Carolina, surprised by Sumter; a regiment of refugees flee, and their panic is caught by the Prince of Wales regiment, vi. 273.
Hanoverian troops hired by George III.; five battalions mustered into British service, to garrison Gibraltar and Minorca; tempted by recruiting agents of Frederic of Prussia; embark at port of Ritzebüttel, October 5, and kept in harbor by the winds till November 1, v. 58.
Hansford, Thomas, a Virginia partisan leader, surprised by Beverley, and condemned to death by Berkeley; his noble dying words, i. 555.
Harcourt, Lieutenant-colonel, of British army, captures Charles Lee, v. 465.
Hardwicke, Lord, invited to enter British cabinet; refuses, and gives the king advice, iii. 389.
Hardy, governor of New Jersey, dismissed for commissioning judges during good behavior, iii. 291.
Hardy, Sir Charles, commands British fleet to meet French and Spanish invasion; does not or will not see the enemy, vi. 226.
Hariot, member and historian of Raleigh's expedition in 1585, inventor of system of notation in algebra, i. 78; his observations in Virginia, 79, 80; his testimony induces new expedition, 83.
Harlem, heights of, Washington's army remain on nearly four weeks; its surroundings and defences, v. 433, 434.
Harmony between American and French officers, and in mixed council of war, vi. 421.
Harnett, Cornelius, of New Hanover, N.C., called the Samuel Adams of North Carolina; says of news of Lexington and Concord, "For God's sake, forward it by night and by day," iv. 533; elected president of provincial council of that colony, v. 56; exempted in Clinton's offer of pardon, 242.
Harris, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, is refused an audience of, vi. 231; says Panin receives all his ideas from Frederic of Prussia, and tries to circumvent him through Potemkin, who, he thinks, can be bought for eighty thousand pounds, 239; asks empress for her armed mediation, which is refused, 240; chagrined by Panin's answer to King George's letter, seeks Potemkin for consolation, 243; to detach Russia from complainants of British violations of neutral rights, promises that Russian navigation shall never be interrupted by British vessels, 244.
Harris, Captain, at Bunker Hill struck at redoubt at last charge, falls into arms of Lord Rawdon, his lieutenant, and saved; of four soldiers who lifted him, three mortally wounded, iv. 621.
Harrison, Lieutenant-colonel, represents Washington in conference as to exchange of prisoners; foils the insidious questions of his British associates as to the corruptibility of Washington, v. 549, 550.
Harrison, of Virginia, member of continental congress, conducts John Adams to the chair, saying, "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions" [Samuel Adams and Hancock having been proscribed], iv. 582; his answer to Dickinson, v. 12; member of congressional committee sent to reform the continental army, 65.
Harrod, at Bolling Spring, Ky., his pioneer achievements; builds first log cabin in Kentucky; his disappearance, iv. 576.
Hartford, Conn., site of, bought and occupied by Dutch before any English immigration to Connecticut, ii. 45.

Hartley, visits Franklin as an informal agent, and is told that conciliation is possible only though independence, v. 547; sends copies of Lord North's conciliation bills to Franklin, vi. 61; is again sent to Paris to ask of Franklin an offer of some alliance, or some favor in trade, 70.
Harvard College, founded in 1638, i. 330; general support of, by New England colonies, 369.
Harvey, John, commissioner to investigate affairs of Virginia, i. 147; commissioned governor, 153; his method of administration, 154; courts favor of Lord Baltimore, 154; hateful to colonists, 154; deposed, and goes to England, 155; his case examined by privy council, 155; receives a new commission, and returns to Virginia, 156; superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, 156.
Hatteras Indians, conjecture that survivors of Roanoke colony were adopted by, i. 86.
Havana, its importance; its conquest attempted by England, iii. 292; besieged by English, and its surrender, 293.
Haverhill, attacked by French and Indians under Hertel de Rouville and Des Chaillons, and many people massacred, ii. 426, 427.
Haviland, Colonel, leads force from Crown Point to Montreal, iii. 240.
Hawke, Sir Edward, attacks and defeats French fleet under Constans, iii. 226.
Hawkins, Sir John, a slave-merchant, succors French colony in Florida, i. 56; first to interest England in slave-trade, 136.
Hawley, Joseph, member of Massachusetts legislature for Northampton, declares that "the parliament of Great Britain has no right to legislate for us," iv. 24; expelled by Hutchinson from bar of superior court, 25; unfitted by his excitable nature to guide, 69; writes letter to members of congress, saying, "We must fight, if we cannot otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation," and that "our salvation depends on a military union," 374; thinks four New England colonies could sustain themselves against Great Britain, 391; first to discern the coming national government, writes to Samuel Adams, "It is time for your body to form into a parliament of two houses," v. 83, 84.
Hayley, M. P. for London, rebukes the levity of the house of commons, iv. 462.
Hayne, Isaac, of South Carolina, after fall of Charleston, obtains British protection, but vows never to serve under British flag; on failure of British to protect him, leads militia against them; made prisoner, and sent to gallows by Rawdon, against entreaties of Hayne's children and the women of the province, vi. 406, 407.
Haynes, a passenger on the "Griffin," his character, i. 290.
Haynes, Josiah, an octogenarian, deacon of Sudbury church, after Concord fight, urges an attack on British troops at South Bridge, iv. 528; killed while pursuing the British, 529.
Hayti, island, first spot in America that received African slaves; first example of African liberty, i. 136.
Hayward, James, of Acton, mortally wounded while pursuing the British from Concord, by a regular, whom he killed, iv. 529.
Heads of executive departments of congress substituted for executive committees; finances, Robert Morris; foreign affairs, Robert Livingston, agreeably to the wish of Luzerne, vi. 413.
Heath, Sir Robert, patent for Carolina issued to, i. 484, 485.
Heath, William, of Roxbury, Mass., elected brigadier-general of continental army; honest, but vain and incompetent, v. 7; put in command of posts on Hudson River, 449.
Heemskerk, Van Jacob, a Dutch navigator, vainly tries to pass to the south of Nova Zembla, ii. 22.
Heister, Lieutenant-general, chief commander of Hessian troops; brave, but without military genius, v. 177; his recall demanded; unwilling to have his men killed in disproportionate numbers, 540.
Hemp, bounty on American, restored, but American manufactures of linen frowned on, iii. 412.
Henly, Lord, denounces people of Boston for defiance of authority, iv. 129.
Henly, Thomas, of Charlestown, Mass., "one of the best officers in the army," killed, in an attempt to capture Randall's Island, v. 408.
Hennepin, in the pay of William III., publishes a book, in which he falsely claims to have first descended the Mississippi; has an audience with William III., to urge settlement of banks of Mississippi, ii. 365.
Henry VIII., still a Romanist, i. 211; his rigid and cruel policy, 212.
Henry, Patrick, says in congress, of Warren's death, that "a breach on our affections was needed to rouse the country to action," v. 7; elected colonel of first regiment of Virginia regulars, 43; governor of Virginia, 303; receives with scorn Rush's letter abusive of Washington, and sends it to that general, vi. 43; pleads against Maury, a clergyman, in a trial on a contract for payment of tobacco, claiming for Virginia the right of directing her affairs against monarchy and priestcraft, iii. 406; charged with treason, 408; in assembly, maintains that Virginians inherit equal franchises with people

of Great Britain, and that assembly alone has right to lay taxes, 468, 469; attempt to strike out his resolutions from the journals; "Virginia rang the alarm-bell for the continent," 470; his argument against slavery, iv. 233, 234; objects to Galloway's scheme for president-general, 402; hearing of Hawley's prophetic words, "We must fight," says, "I am of that man's mind," 411; his estimate of Washington, 412; moves in convention to put colony in a state of defence, 505; leads independent company of Hanover to Williamsburg, 550; denounced in governor's proclamation, 551.

Herbert, George, anticipates the speedy spread of religion in America, i. 121.

Herkimer, leader of Tryon county militia in encounter with St. Leger's troops, v. 584; badly wounded, but remains, giving orders, 585; "first reversed the gloomy scene" of the northern campaign, according to Washington; a monument voted to him by congress, 586.

Hervey, a boy of sixteen, lieutenant in British sixty-second, at battle of Behmus's Heights mortally wounded, says, "Tell my uncle I die like a soldier," vi. 7.

Hesse-Cassel, prince of, writes to George III., offering his regiment of five hundred men; hurries to England to urge his proposition, v. 91; eager to serve King George III., and demands a special subsidy for his zeal, v. 178; has a rival in his own father, but furnishes ninety-one recruits, and four hundred and sixty-eight additional yagers, 540.

Hesse, elector of, leases his troops to England, iii. 145.

Hesse, landgrave of, begins to think his services as a dealer in troops may be demanded, iv. 562.

Hessian troops hired by George III., v. 174; among the best in Europe, 177; their proportion of the population one in four of able-bodied men, 180; arrive at New York, eager for war, 371; total number furnished; their losses by battle and fever, 540; landgrave impresses men, to make good their losses, vi. 53; two regiments captured at Yorktown, and recognising their countrymen in French regiment, embrace, 429.

Heth, William, second lieutenant in Daniel Morgan's company, v. 30.

Hewes, of North Carolina, expects, if he suffers as an American rebel, to be translated, "as Enoch was of old," iv. 410.

Higginson, Rev. Francis, brought over by Massachusetts Bay company, i. 269; his happy death, 282.

Higginson, John, minister of Salem, quotes Scripture against Andros's legal authorities, ii. 257, 258.

Highlands of the head-springs of Yadkin and Catawba, spirit of independence animates people of, who are mostly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, iv. 577.

Highlanders, two battalions of, raised by Pitt for service in America, iii. 164; in North Carolina, ministry still hopes to rouse them to king's service, iv. 563; settle in Carolina; whole neighborhoods from Rasay and Skye pass over to Carolina, carrying with them their language, customs, and opinions, v. 52, 53.

Hill, John, commands land force of expedition for conquest of Canada, ii. 380, 381.

Hillsborough, Earl of, at head of board of trade, iii. 392; secretary of department for colonies, iv. 64; orders Bernard to require Massachusetts house to rescind the resolution which gave birth to circular letter, or to dissolve it, 83, 84; resolves to make Bernard lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and Hutchinson governor of Massachusetts, 88; takes his opinions from Bernard, 96; declares that parliament must give up its authority over colonies, or reduce them to submission, 139; his plan for altering charter of Massachusetts laid aside, 153; says nothing can be granted to Americans, save what they ask with a halter round their necks, 158; emboldened by strength of ministry and apparent tranquillity in America, gives free scope to his conceit and passion; left with few supporters, the king tires of him, and his colleagues conspire against him, 237; demands of Richmond how Rockingham would have England crouch to the vipers and rebels in America, vi. 59.

"Hind," the, a vessel in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to North America, i. 75.

Hingham, military election in, set aside by magistrates; triumph of the authorities, i. 352; the root of the trouble "a presbyterial spirit," 352; result of discussion the restriction of magistrates' power over militia, 353.

Historian, the office of, v. 69; he traces vestiges of morals through the practice of all ages, and confirms by induction the intuitions of reason; must have an unbiassed mind, candor, analytical power, v. 69, 70; impartiality in accounting for political conflicts easy, if behind every party lies an "eternal thought," and if generating cause of every party is a permanent force, essential to the well-being of society; every party originates in human nature and the necessities of life in a community, 71; the dangers of partiality, 71, 72.

Historians, American, the tone of, with reference to Revolution, forbearing; they bring to their work no prejudices against England; slanders of courts originate not with citizens of a repub-

lic, who look on aristocrats and sovereigns as men, v. 73.
History, receives vitality from continuity of man's progress, iii. 7; by recognising past ages as a part of life, she wins power to move the soul; most cheering of all pursuits, 8.
Hobkirk's Hill, battle of; Greene's pickets attacked by Rawdon; his prompt dispositions, vi. 402; failure to execute his orders; two regiments give way; British break his centre, and he retreats; the losses equal; Rawdon retires to Camden, and, re-enforced, pursues Greene, but is kept at bay, 403.
Holdernesse, Earl of, successor of Duke of Bedford, his characteristics, iii. 57; transferred to northern department, 105; his resignation bought by a pension and reversion, 260.
Holland, vindicates freedom of the sea, i. 163, 164; extent of her commerce, 164; discusses proposals of peace and commerce with Virginia, 174; shelters the English separatists, 236; her war with England does not disturb the American colonies, 358, 359; desire of western settlements to reduce New Amsterdam, 359; three of the four united colonies declare for war, but Massachusetts urges delay, 359; first voyages from, to America, in 1597, ii. 23; becomes example of maritime freedom, 294; threatened by Great Britain for permitting commerce between St. Eustatius and the United States, v. 524; British ambassador at Hague demands disavowal of salute to an American vessel by the fort on St. Eustatius, and the recall of its governor, 525; this demand incenses the nation; recalls the governor, but returns the paper to Yorke, the ambassador.
Hollis, Thomas, writes from England to Boston to build no hopes on the king, and foresees independence of America, iii. 297.
Holt, John, publishes a paper at Norfolk, Va.; two of his printers and printing material carried off by Lord Dunmore, v. 144.
Homespun, general inclination in New England to be clad in, iii. 566.
Hood, Sir Samuel, commands British squadron sent to Chesapeake Bay, vi. 423.
Hood, Zachariah, stamp-master for Maryland, flees to fort of New York, iii. 496.
Hooker, Thomas, a passenger in the "Griffin," "the one rich pearl with which Europe more than repaid America for the treasures from her coast," i. 291; leads emigrants to Connecticut, 312; his correspondence with Winthrop, 317.
Hooper, William, a native of Boston, in North Carolina convention brings forward Franklin's plan of a confederacy; his draft of an address to the British people, disavowing desire for independence, and asking only to be restored to the *status* existing before 1763, adopted, v. 55; his house burned by order of Governor Martin, 242; his noble tribute to Washington, 499.
Hopkins, a New England clergyman, founds morals on the doctrine of disinterested love, enjoining the duty of every one to sacrifice himself for the glory of God and the freedom of his country, iv. 239.
Hopkins, governor of Rhode Island, thinks "little dependence could be had on voluntary union," iii. 116.
Hopkins, Samuel, a theologian of Rhode Island, first broaches idea that negroes may be emancipated and transported to Africa; his memorial to congress, v. 216.
Hore, of London, leads expedition to Newfoundland, i. 65.
Horsmanden, member of "Gaspee" commission, urges abrogation of charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and consolidation of them in one royal government, iv. 257.
Hosmer, Abner, of Acton, Mass., killed at the Concord fight, iv. 527.
Hostility, first act of, against colonies by Great Britain adopted when America thought of nothing more than petitioning, and the non-importation agreement, which was as yet void, iv. 89.
House of commons, having been "purged," self-constituted sole legislature and sovereign of England, "a sort of collective, self-constituted, perpetual dictatorship," i. 391; readily votes supplies for military establishment in colonies, and renews grant of land-tax, iii. 404; resolution that king has power to bind the colonies and their people, in all cases, passed, 563; Conway asks leave to bring in a bill to repeal the stamp act; the act repealed, 575; the bill passed, affirming authority of parliament over America in all cases, and declaring opposing resolutions of American assemblies null, 582; doors of, closed against American agent of colonies and American merchants, 44; Townshend demands interposition of parliament in the case of New York, urging that that province be restrained from any legislative act till it complied; proposed establishment of board of commissioners of customs in America, and changes in duties; the minister to establish a civil list in every province, and to grant salaries as far as American revenue went, 45, 46; urges that every American before entering office should sign an acknowledgment of the unlimited sovereignty of Great Britain, 47; Grenville moves that the rebellion in the colonies be suppressed by force, 47, 48; the king asked to make inquisition for treason in Bos-

ton, 146; reply of Sir George Saville to aristocrats, 178, 179; bill read to regulate government of Massachusetts, abolishing town-meetings except for choice of town-officers, changing mode of electing councillors and representatives, giving appointment of sheriff to governor, and making jury system a snare, 302, 303; Barré declares that the scheme of subduing colonies was "wild and unpracticable;" Lord North is sustained, 431; petitions in behalf of America, and her friends in England ridiculed as "dead in law," 462; Acland, moving the king's address, reduces question at issue to this: "Does Britain choose to acquiesce in the independence of America, or to enforce her submission?" Adair urges experiment of yielding to colonies' demands; Sir Gilbert Elliott would send with armament terms of accommodation; Rigby votes for the address, because it sanctifies coercive measures; America must be conquered; the house confirms its previous vote, v. 101, 102; discussion of treaties with Brunswick and Hesse; Lord North exults in arrangement which gives needed troops at a low price; the measure denounced by Cavendish, as a disgrace to Britain; the ministers sustained, 179, 180; debate on king's address in November, 1776, leaves ministry with full power in parliament, 416–418; in February, 1778, repeals its measures for enforcing absolutism of parliament, passed in 1774, vi. 147; an increased minority reveals growing discontent at continuance of the war, 399; members of, in recess of 1781–82, reason calmly about the war, convinced of its hopelessness; a motion made by Conway against its continuance negatived by a majority of only one; five days later, his resolution of the same purport carried by nineteen majority, 434; the king's answer to address being equivocal, Conway brings forward a second, declaring that the house will consider enemies to the king and country all who would continue the war for reducing the colonies; it is adopted without a division, 434; Lord North announces that his administration is at an end, 435; in Rockingham's ministry, house for first time seriously considers reform in representation, 449; debate between Fox, Conway, and Burke, on Shelburne's policy, 452, 453.

House of lords, agrees to stamp act, iii. 451; majority joins in declaring that protection without dependence and obedience is a solecism in politics, in defence of stamp act, and in urging suppression of rebellion, 529–531; pledge themselves to support king's dignity and legislative authority of kingdom, 538; Camden reiterates his opinion that parliament has no right to tax Americans, 580, 581; on second reading of bill repealing the stamp act, it passes by 105 to 71; protesting peers declare that the American plea of non-representation may be used by all persons in England not represented, 583; Shelburne regards petition of congress as the fairest ground for accommodation, and is overborne by a majority of two to one, v. 102; treaties with Brunswick and Hesse sustained, though Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, reproves the ministry, and deplores the conduct of Brunswickers, 180; bitter expressions against the colonies; general opinion favors remodelling the government of all, iv. 39; Bedford moves an address that the king would declare the Massachusetts act of amnesty null and void, 180; the debate assures Americans that the war, if it came, would be a war with the ministry, not with the British people, 450; debate on Chatham's plan; attributed to an American; resisted by ignorance, prejudice, and passion, and rejected by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-two, 464, 465.

Houston, delegate in congress from Georgia, hearing of severities of the British in his state, writes that the loss of Charleston will promote the general cause, vi. 272.

Houtman, Cornelius, a Dutch navigator, circumnavigates Java in 1595, ii. 22.

Howard, Lord, of Effingham, governor of Virginia, his avarice, ii. 13; establishes a chancery court, himself chancellor, 15.

Howard, Martin, chief justice of North Carolina, corrupt and profligate, iv. 105.

Howard, Lieutenant-colonel, commands Maryland light infantry at Cowpens, vi. 385; charges the British, and breaks their ranks, 386; receives a silver medal from congress, 387.

Howe, Lord, selected by Pitt to be soul of expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; his capacity and judgment, iii. 193; killed in a skirmish, 197; and honors to his memory, 197.

Howe, Lord, brother of Lord Howe who fell at Lake George, and of William Howe, and an esteemed naval officer, to be commissioned as colonial commander in chief; his conversation with Franklin, iv. 438, 439; reports result of interview with Franklin to North and Dartmouth, 439; appointed naval commander for America, and pacificator, 482; advocates bill for depriving New England of her fisheries, 488; breaks off negotiations with Franklin, 491; wishes well to colonies, and still friendly with Chatham, v. 244; commissioned to restore peace, 339; his declaration to Americans, 340, 341; eager to meet Washington, addresses him as a private man; grieves at the

rejection of his communication; writes to Franklin that to promote peace and union is the great object of his ambition; Franklin's answer, 343, 344; his eyes opened by it, and he sees that his commission gives him no power except to pardon, 344; entertains General Sullivan, and persuades him to act as a go-between, 391; with his brother, General Howe, prepares a declaration far transcending his instructions, 406; arrives with Cornwallis at Trenton, just in time to see last of Washington's army across, 459; will not hearken to the king's hint to burn Boston and ravage New England, 563; his fleet in Delaware River, vi. 19, 20; imperfectly manned, but his fame attracts volunteers, 149; his ships damaged by storm, which prevents a fight; gives up his command to Admiral Byron, and never again serves in America, 152.

Howe, William, candidate for parliament from Nottingham; says the ministry have pushed matters too far, that the whole British army cannot conquer America, that he would refuse a command there, iv. 429, 430; confers with Franklin, 480; is appointed commander in chief in America, 481; accepts as by order from the king, and is reproached for breach of faith by voters of Nottingham, 482; arrival in Boston, 573; commands troops against Charlestown, 608; assaults whole front of American works, leading one column in person, 615; is repulsed with great loss, 616; unhurt in the battle, and his valor praised, 622; his attack on the American lines denounced by refugees and candid British officers as a needless exposure of his troops, v. 3; complains that "congress and committees rule every province," 20; assigned to exclusive command in old colonies, 58; amazed at sight of fortifications on Dorchester Heights, 197; calls a council which decides to assault Americans, 198; calls a second, which advises instant evacuation of Boston, 199; detained in Nantasket Roads, and there receives despatches approving his reasons for not leaving Boston, 202; sends Washington a note, not recognizing his official title, and a second, whose address is ambiguous, both being returned, 343; his plan of attack at Long Island elaborate, 374, 375; his personal appearance; not earnest against Americans; formed to make war by rule; not nice in money matters, fond of pleasures, 383, 384; praised by Germain, and nominated K. C. B. by the king, 415; calls for ten line-of-battle ships and many recruits, 418; embarks the van of his army, and lands it on Throg's Neck, 439; loses hope of gaining Washington's rear, and resolves to strike at White Plains, 441; sure that American army will melt away; prepares to take up winter quarters in New York, leaving Donop to hold the line from Trenton to Burlington; refuses to see Lee, held as a deserter from the British army, 468, 469; receives thanks and honors from the king for the Long Island victory; gives himself up to social pleasures, 477; lies six months in sluggish ease, 489; January 18, the king's birthday, invested with order of the Bath, 497; intrusted with conduct of war within the United States, 539; accepts offers to recruit from all promising persons, 544; asks for re-enforcement of fifteen thousand men, wherewith to recover a country a thousand miles long; persuades Germain that capture of Philadelphia will restore Pennsylvania to allegiance, 548; not sanguinary, though cruelties are inflicted by his subordinates, 550; his plan to finish the war in one year, 551; indignant at adoption of Carleton's plan, and writes to Germain that he has abandoned the hope of finishing the war in a year; inert in Indian recruiting, and scorns hints from England to lay waste the country, 552, 553; hopes to get in Washington's rear, and marches his whole army in direction of Scotch Plains, 567, 568; June 30, leaves soil of New Jersey for last time, sending his army to Staten Island, 568; embarks his main body for expedition against Philadelphia; after long delays, anchors in Elk River, fifty-four miles from Philadelphia, 593; sends army in two columns toward Philadelphia, 595; tries to turn Washington's right, but fails, 595; encamps at Germantown, and September 26 Cornwallis takes possession of Philadelphia, 602; his plan to take Philadelphia in time to send aid to Burgoyne defeated by Washington's efforts to detain him, 602; moves his army to Philadelphia, vi. 21; spends rest of the winter in intrenchments, 37; so engrossed in pleasure at Philadelphia that he does not molest the American army, 46, 47; a brilliant festival given to him by his officers, 130, 131; sends Grant, and follows with re-enforcements, to capture Lafayette, 131, 132; crestfallen, returns to the city, and four days later gives up command to Sir Henry Clinton, 132; his failure due to sluggishness and love of pleasure; his manner of resignation a defiance of his government, and a declaration that the colonies cannot be reduced by force; saved from reproof in England by the greater mistakes of Germain, 132, 133.

Howe, Robert, of Brunswick county, N.C., trains the people in the use of arms, v. 51; in command at Norfolk, Va., and tries to arrest the flames, 151, 152; his plantation burned by

Cornwallis; exempted from Clinton's offer of pardon, 242; commander in southern district of Georgia; marches against St. Augustine; loses one quarter of his men by an epidemic; resists three thousand British at Savannah; his flank turned, and his force routed, vi. 251; superseded by Major-general Benjamin Lincoln, 252.

Howe, William, commands a battalion under Albemarle, iii. 292.

Hubertsburg, the treaty of, a triumph for freedom, iii. 301; hailed by freedom of mind in Germany as its own victory, 311.

Huck, a captain of British militia in South Carolina, fires the house of a clergyman, and burns every Bible which contains Scottish translation of the Psalms, vi. 271; is attacked by Sumter, who destroys nearly his whole force, 273.

Huddy, Joshua, Lieutenant, hanged by Captain Lippincot and loyalists of New Jersey; Washington's request for delivery of Lippincot refused by Clinton; a court-martial condemns his act, but finds a loophole for him in his orders, vi. 459.

Hudson, Henry, commands expedition projected by London merchants in 1607, to discover the near passage to Asia; goes nearer the pole than any earlier navigator, ii. 25; sails for China, changes his course for North America, and, touching at points on north-eastern coast, goes as far south as Chesapeake Bay, and returning ascends the Hudson, 26, 28; returns to England, 29; his services claimed by his king, 31; sails in "The Discovery" to north of Newfoundland, 32; the ship locked in ice, and the crew mutinous, and Hudson cast into a boat and cut loose, 32; his fate a mystery, 33.

Hudson River, the, as seen by Hudson, ii. 29, 30; company of Dutch merchants send five vessels to, 33; states-general grant them monopoly of trade between Virginia and New France; the river for a time known as the Maurice; monopoly of company expires, 35; command of, necessary to defeat plan of separating New England from middle states by junction of Howe with Canada army; the river surveyed below King's Bridge, and Putnam undertakes to obstruct the channel, v. 370.

Hudson's Bay, regions on, given to Prince Rupert and his associates, i. 432.

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King's Mountain, battle of; British, under Ferguson, posted on summit, in strong position, vi. 291; the Americans attack; Campbell's and Shelby's columns pushed back, but rally; sustain a brisk fight of fifty-five minutes; the right wing gains the summit, and commands British position; Ferguson having been killed, his force attempts to retreat, but, failing, surrenders, 292; the victory changes aspect of the war, quickens Virginia and the Carolinas to new efforts, 293.
Kirk, Sir David, and his brothers, demand surrender of Quebec; withdraw, on Champlain's refusal; afterwards receive capitulation of the city, i. 261.
Kirkland, Moses, of South Carolina, assures Governor Campbell that, on appearance of a British force, four thousand men would join it; is sent to commander in chief at Boston, to concert an expedition against the south, v. 48.
Kittery, Me., the people of, offer their lives for liberty, iv. 253.
Knowledge, emancipation of, follows increase of political liberties, ii. 79, 80.
Knowlton, commander of volunteer rangers, killed in fight at Fort Washington; in agony of death, asks if the enemy were beaten, v. 405.
Knox, Henry, General, writes reply to Farmer's Letters, in which he doubts if there is any such thing as representation in the British constitution, iv. 146, 147; inefficiency of his command, v. 368
Knyphausen, lieutenant-general of Hessian army, v. 177; takes possession of upper part of New York Island, 447; supersedes Heister, and returns home to die of wounded pride, 540; in command at New York, vi. 263; forms battalions of loyalists; forms three divisions for occupation of New Jersey, 315; lands at Elizabethtown; is harassed by Colonel Dayton, 316; instead of eager loyalists, finds sturdy lovers of independence, and is confronted by Washington's army, 316; his army advances to Springfield, meeting several checks; burns the houses there, and retreats, 318.
Kosciuszko, a Pole, disappointed in love, devotes himself to freedom, and enters American service as an officer of engineers, at Ticonderoga, v. 555; sent by Greene to select a camp, vi. 382; engineer at siege of Ninety-Six, 405.

L'Archevêque, a member of La Salle's colony; with Duhaut, murders Moranget, ii. 342.
La Corne, commands French force which found shelter among the Acadians in Nova Scotia, iii. 44, 45; declares his purpose to hold every post as far as river Messagouche, till boundaries should be fixed, 45.
Laet, Jean de, member of chamber of Amsterdam, writes an elaborate work on the West Indies, ii. 40.
La Fayette, Gilbert Motier de, enthusiastic in his love of republics, and adventurous in tastes; is inspired with sympathy for New Englanders, and America wins in him a volunteer, iv. 564, 565; dissuaded by Count de Broglie, but persists, v. 362, 363; goes

with Kalb to port of Los Pasages, in Spain, where he receives the king's order to give up his expedition, but, disregarding it, embarks for America; waited for by the English; at sea, writes to his wife in praise of America, 527; receives rank of major-general, when congress learns that he desires no pension or allowance, 592; wounded at Brandywine, keeps the field till end of battle, 597; wins applause of congress by routing a party of Hessians, vi. 24; at a banquet given him by Gates, defies the intriguers of board of war, and makes them drink Washington's health, 44; a large force of British sent against him, when Lee says American troops cannot stand against the British, notifies Washington that his presence is needed, 139; commands a division in Rhode Island, 150; exhorts savages of Canada to regard English as enemies, 172; returns to Paris, and is received by the king with gentle reproof, and asked by the queen for good news of "our beloved Americans," 180; advises Vergennes to send twelve thousand men to America, 318; wonders at the endurance of American troops, 349; detached to Virginia to capture Arnold, 410; rescues Wayne's troops at Green Spring, 418; urges Washington to march to Virginia in force, 418; concentrates his force eight miles from Yorktown, and prophesies to Maurepas, 420, 421; advises Vergennes to await events before making peace, 421; his name pronounced with veneration in Paris, 430.

La Galissonière, governor of New France, sends Bienville with 300 men to valley of Ohio, iii. 29; takes advantage of gentle character of Acadians to plant them on the frontier, as a barrier against English, 30; surrenders government to La Jonquière, 32.

La Jonquière, successor of La Galissonière, as governor of New France; instructed to confine English within the peninsula of Acadia, iii. 32.

Lake Champlain, difficulties of Americans in opposing Carleton's operations on; a fleet of small craft built, and commanded by Arnold and Waterbury, v. 424; Carleton's vast fleet of flat-boats, manned with sailors, and well-officered with co-operating troops, 424, 425; Arnold attacked in the rear by Carleton's fleet; the action; the British fleet anchor, and the Americans quietly escape, 426; pursued by Carleton, and their vessels captured or destroyed, 427.

Lake George, Johnson's camp at, iii. 138; gathering of Abercrombie's troops, 196.

Lallemand, Gabriel, companion of Brébeuf, and with him tortured and murdered at St. Louis, ii. 313, 314.

Lamberville, Jesuit missionary among Onondagas, an innocent decoy, forbearance of chiefs toward him, ii. 155.

Lameth, Charles de, a French volunteer, first mounts the parapet at Yorktown; wounded in both knees, vi. 427.

Lancaster, Mass., Indian massacre at, i. 462, 463.

Landing of the British at New York, September 13, the day fixed for; four ships-of-war sail into East River, and six others follow, Washington meantime removing his guns and stores; on the fifteenth, eighty-four boats laden with troops land between Turtle Bay and the city, v. 398; Washington finds Massachusetts and Connecticut troops running away, and Putnam's division in lower part of the city likely to be cut off; his personal energy and daring; seems to seek death in his efforts to rally his troops, 399; the flying patriots escape to Bloomingdale; the American colors struck on Fort George, and British flag raised by Lord Dunmore; movements of Putnam's division under guidance of Aaron Burr; it is saved by a woman, 400; Washington the last to retire, 401.

Lands, tenure of, in Virginia, i. 114, 115; of the commonwealth in Massachusetts granted to freemen, 337.

Lane, Ralph, governor for Raleigh, of the colony of Carolina, in 1585; his credulity, i. 81; his discoveries inconsiderable, 82; his departure with colonists for England, 83.

Langdon, of New Hampshire, his counsel to the king, iv. 94; reads to army the declaration of continental congress for taking up arms; the same read on Prospect Hill, amid such acclaim as alarms the British on Bunker Hill into battle array, v. 19.

Langdon, president of Harvard College, prays with Prescott's troops as they start for Bunker Hill, iv. 604

Language, the English, apostrophe to, iii. 302.

Language, Indian, copious for matters within Indian's knowledge; a synthetic character pervades all Indian languages, ii. 410; original language has a fixed character, which may be modified, but not essentially changed, 416; Indians' language refutes theory that they are wrecks of more civilized nations; improvements in, 417.

Las Casas, suggests the employment of negroes in Hispaniola, i. 135; but lives to repent of it, 135.

La Salle, Robert Cavalier de, a Jesuit, but leaves the fraternity; goes to Canada; returns to France, is ennobled, and receives grant of Fort Frontenac, ii. 333; fired by news of Marquette's discoveries, obtains a commission for perfecting the discovery of the Mississippi, 334; first launches a vessel on Niagara River; proceeds to the Illinois, 335; builds a

fort, which, in his despair, he names Crevecœur; returning to Illinois, finds the post deserted; descends Mississippi to the sea, and claims territory for France, naming it Louisiana, 338; returns to Quebec, to embark for France; forms colony for that territory; lands in Bay of Matagorda; takes possession of Texas for France; seeks the Mississippi in canoes, but fails; resolves to go to Canada on foot, and return to relieve the colony; shot by a comrade; father of colonization in the great central valley of the west, 338-343.

Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, head of special commission for colonies, i. 322.

Laudonnière, leader of Coligny's second expedition to Florida, i. 55; escapes from massacre by Spaniards, 59.

Laurens, Henry, chosen vice-president of South Carolina, v. 235; thinks, if arms could be had for three thousand black men, British could be driven from Georgia, and East Florida subdued in two months, vi. 256; appointed by congress to negotiate a loan of ten millions in the Netherlands, 335; captured on his voyage to Europe, and in his papers found an unauthorized project for a treaty concerted by Neufville and William Lee, 361; confined in Tower as state's prisoner, 362; transfers South Carolina's contract for supplies with Holland for supplies from the state to the United States, and pays all arrears from Franklin's fund of six millions, 372; elected a commissioner of peace, 378.

Laurens, John, serves D'Estaing as aide and interpreter, vi. 150; is eager to go to Charleston, and command a regiment of blacks; arrives there, with advice of congress to arm slaves, 256; scornfully refuses to bear message of South Carolina council to invaders, 257; chosen by congress special envoy to France, 350; delivers to French ministry his demand for a loan of twenty-five million livres, and says menacingly that the failure of his mission may drive the states to their old allegiance, and hostility to France, 371; commands a detachment at storming of Yorktown; among the first to climb the redoubt, capturing Major Campbell, its commander, vi. 427; killed in repelling a party of British in South Carolina, 462.

Lauzun, Duke of, commands dragoons at Gloucester, Va.; attacks and tramples down Tarleton's legion, vi. 425, 426; carries news of Yorktown to Paris, 430.

Laval, Francis de, bishop of Quebec, longs to go on a mission to far west, ii. 321.

Law, American, the growth of necessity, not of the wisdom of individuals, iv. 568.

Lawrence, Richard, an Oxford man, with Governor Drummond, brings news to Bacon of Berkeley's violation of his pledge, i. 550.

Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia, a malignant persecutor of Acadians, iii. 131, 132; praised for his cruelty by board of trade, 136.

Lawson, surveyor-general for northern province of Carolina, captured by Tuscaroras, charged with severity, and executed, ii. 384.

League and covenant, reported by Warren, of Boston committee of correspondence, to suspend all commercial intercourse with England, and not to purchase or consume goods from there, after last day of August; names of those refusing to sign to be published; copies of covenant sent to every town in the province for subscription, iv. 341; this act a proof of desire for conciliation, 341; attempts at intimidation increase subscriptions, 348.

League of Roman Catholic powers, not controlled by policy of Roman bigotry; new principles intervene, iii. 286.

Le Caron, a Franciscan monk, penetrates to rivers of Lake Huron, ii. 297.

Leddra, William, tried for Quakerism, refuses a pardon, on condition of leaving the colony; is hanged, i. 368.

Ledyard, Colonel, commander at Fort Griswold, having surrendered, is run through the body by a British officer, vi. 412.

Lee, Arthur, supported by Samuel Adams and one third of house, as a candidate for agent of Massachusetts in England; chosen substitute to Franklin, iv. 209; with Richard Penn, presents petition of congress to Dartmouth; told that there would be no answer, expresses sorrow at a refusal which will cause so much bloodshed, v. 81; commissioned by congress to ascertain the disposition of foreign powers, 141; appointed member of commission to make a treaty with France, 410; stopped at Burgos, and meets Grimaldi, who amuses him with extravagances, and insists on his return to Paris, 536; intrigues to supplant Franklin, vi. 67; against advice of Franklin, goes by way of Vienna to Berlin; is repulsed by Kaunitz at former city; refused an interview by Frederic, but treated with respect, 122; his papers stolen at instigation of Elliott, British minister at Berlin, 123.

Lee, Charles, has precedence of all military men in America, by virtue of his rank as major-general; courts patriots, who make sure of his aid, iv. 373, 374; volunteers mustered by him near Annapolis disperse, owing to his arrogance and incapacity, 454; denies military capacity of England, and insists that in a few months efficient infantry might be formed of Ameri-

cans, 458; gives, as a toast, "A speedy and general insurrection in Great Britain and Ireland," 550; an adventurer; clings to British officers, and looks on Americans as "bad company;" hopes to be made American commander in chief, v. 4, 5; excites disgust at Cambridge, but respected by Washington on account of his supposed military experience, 14; British officers disposed to tamper with him; invited to an interview by Burgoyne; publicly declines to meet Burgoyne, but secretly writes him that, on his honor, the Americans were sure of being sustained by France and Spain; his secret kept in America, but comes through British ministry to Vergennes, 18; revises his opinion of Americans, and repudiates the thought of reconciliation, 186; sent for by congress, in preparation for any accident to Washington, and his coming prayed for by officers of army, 395; after battle of Fort Moultrie, tries to extort from congress indemnity for the possible forfeiture of his property in England, 428; blames Washington for not threatening to resign, 440; left behind by Washington at White Plains with 7,500 troops, with instructions, 448; resolves neither to join nor re-enforce his superior, 449; remains in idleness sixteen days, indifferent to Washington's explicit orders to join, 456; again implored by Washington to join him; returns an evasive answer; orders from military chest a payment forbidden by law, 460; receives two orders, after loss of Fort Lee, to pass into Jersey, which he disobeys; his deceitful letter to Bowdoin; receives important instructions from Washington, which he garbles, and sends to Bowdoin with his own comments, 461; also receives a letter from Reed, full of flattery, and writes an answer, which falls into Washington's hands, 461, 462; slanders Washington in a letter to Gates, 464, 465; captured by British; his pusillanimity and rant, 465, 466; demands advantage of the Howes's proclamation, which is refused; his letter to Captain Kennedy not genuine, 466, *note;* congress and Washington intervene for him; a deserter, he redeserts, and offers to negotiate for return of colonies to allegiance; authorized by Howes, asks congress to send two or three members to him, 548; his request refused, and himself suspected of treachery, 549; repeats his request, with same result, 550; presents to the Howes a plan for reducing Americans, at the same time writing to Washington in affectionate terms, and claiming pity; his plan rejected by the Howes, 550; though ordered to be sent to England, remains in America, 550; exchanged for Prescott, 569; plotting to ruin the army, advises in council not to attack the British, carrying with him all the officers, exept Greene, Lafayette, Wayne, and Cadwalader; at Hopewell, urges building a bridge for the enemy rather than an attack on them, vi. 137; says Washington's plans must fail, 138; delays attack at Monmouth, till ordered by Washington, and then moves languidly and aimlessly; tells Lafayette that they cannot stand against British soldiers; defeats operations by confused orders, 139; leaves most of his command to act for themselves, and is then indignant at their retreat, 139; abashed before Washington; ordered to the rear by Washington, and leaves the field, 140; treated with forbearance, but writes that this campaign will close the war, — British terms being accepted, — and demands reparation for injury; found guilty of disobedience and misbehavior; suspended from command for twelve months by court-martial; censured by congress, and dismissed from service; no longer hides his desire that America shall return to her allegiance; favors rotation in military office, so that Washington may go out, and for the United States predicts two years of anarchy, followed by tyranny; dies of fever, in October, 1782, 142.

Lee, Francis, delegate to general congress from Virginia, v. 44.

Lee, John, one of Franklin's counsel before privy council, iv. 285; his reply to Wedderburn feeble, 288.

Lee, Major Henry, of Virginia, enters main work of Paulus Hook with a party, and captures one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, vi. 211, 212; detached to serve in the Carolinas, 380.

Lee, Richard Henry, of Virginia, his descent and education; his speech against slavery, and favoring a prohibitory tax on the trades, iii. 278, 279; prediction of results of passage of the stamp act, 418; takes part in conference which announces the policy of Virginia, iv. 335; proposes in congress that colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent, that all political connection between them and Great Britain is totally dissolved, favoring foreign alliances and a plan of confederation, v. 267; aids in framing constitution of Virginia, 303.

Lee, William, repulsed by Frederic of Prussia, vi. 220; concerts terms for a commercial convention between Netherlands and the United States, with De Neufville, of Amsterdam; this act regarded as a nullity by American commissioners; dismissed from its service by congress, 236.

Legge, chancellor of exchequer, returns on Pitt's dismissal, iii. 145; dismissed from office, 259.

Legislation of Virginia colony, its characteristics, i. 173, 174.

Legislature, the, of Virginia, assembled July, 30, 1619, i. 119; its proceedings, 119, 120
Leibnitz, foretells a general overturn in Europe, v. 246, 247.
Leicester, Mass., men of, think it their duty to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of their liberties, iv. 250.
Leisler, Jacob, matures the "Dutch plot" in New York, ii. 173, 174; governor of New York; takes possession of fort, 227; asks orders from Sloughter; is arrested and condemned for high treason, and sentenced to death, 229; his attainder reversed, and his principles ultimately become those of colony, 230, 231; assembly of New York makes appropriation for his family, 233; charges Winthrop of Connecticut with treachery, in expedition against Montreal, 351.
Leitch, Major, commands three companies of Weedon's Virginia regiment in fight at Fort Washington, and receives three balls in his side, v. 405; "one of Virginia's noblest sons," 406.
Le Moyne, Father, envoy to Onondagas, ii. 316; still hopes to soften the Mohawks, 317; compelled by latter to return; visits and propitiates Five Nations, except Mohawks, 319.
Lenni-Lenape Indians, the, occupy New Jersey, the valley of the Delaware, and the Schuylkill basin; degradation of one branch, the Delawares, ii. 396.
Lenox, Mass., farmers of, resolve that they are not required to crouch between the two burdens of poverty and slavery, iv. 250.
Leon, Juan Ponce de, his early life, i. 23; embarks for Florida, and becomes its governor, 24; killed by Indians, 24.
Leonard, Daniel, member of the Massachusetts house for Taunton, deceives the governor into belief that legislature tends to concillation, and that, on arrival of more ships, indemnity to East India company would be publicly advocated, iv. 342; holds up spectres of "high treason," "anarchy," &c., arguing that colonies had no grievances, that British government would sweep away all resistance, and that New England, or perhaps Massachusetts, would be left to stand alone; his harangue read with triumph by the loyalists, 472, 473.
Leslie, a British officer at Boston, lands at Marblehead with two or three hundred soldiers, and goes to Salem to capture military stores; proceeds to Danvers; pledging his honor not to go over thirty yards on the other side, is allowed to cross the bridge; an alarm spreads, and he hurries to Marblehead, and embarks, iv. 487; commands Dunmore's force in the attack on Woodford at Great Bridge, v. 149; abandons the fort, and retreats to Norfolk, 150; commands British force in fight at Fort Washington, 404; is censured by Howe for imprudence, 406; in command in South Carolina, and his troops give up hope of subjugating the state, vi. 461.
Lessing, the antitype of Luther, his admonition to his countrymen, vi. 73.
L'Estrade, Baron de, joint leader with De Deux Ponts of French assault at Yorktown, vi. 426.
Letters of royalists in America, shown to Franklin, in proof that all evils complained of by colonies were provoked among themselves, written by Hutchinson, Oliver, and Paxton, to bring about coercion, iv. 245, 246; sent to America by Franklin, with proofs of the traitorous designs of their writers, 246; read to house of Massachusetts in secret session, and show a scheme to bring military rule into the province and abridge its liberties; vote of house to this effect, 263; discussed and preached upon throughout colony, 265; controversy about them in England, 283-285.
Leverett, agent of Massachusetts in England, instructed to make interest in its behalf with parliament and privy council, i. 435.
Levi, Henry de, a religious enthusiast, made viceroy of Canada in 1624, i. 21.
Lewis, Andrew, commander of army of South-western Virginia against the Shawnees, iv. 423; remains in camp till end of action, and "odium is thrown on his conduct," 424; re-enforced after the battle, crosses Ohio and joins Dunmore, 424; chosen brigadier for Virginia, despite the odium he incurred at Kanawha; forced by congress to resign, v. 213.
Lewis, Charles, brother of Andrew, commands a company in battle with the Shawnees, and is mortally wounded, iv. 423, 424.
Lewistown, in New Netherland, invaded by Marylanders, but reclaimed as belonging to Duke of York, ii. 83.
Lexington, Mass., people of, resolve to drink no more tea till repeal of revenue act, iv. 152, 153; Hancock and Adams receive there a message from Warren, announcing approach of British troops, 517; its population and sturdy patriotism, 518.
Lexington Common, April 19, 1775, alive with minute men, iv. 518, 519; dismissed, to return at beat of drum; reassemble, in part, on approach of Pitcairn's troops; ordered to disperse, and, refusing, are fired on by troops; bidden to flee by their captain, a few return a harmless fire, 519, 520; the first martyrs in the cause of liberty, 520; their eulogy, 521; British troops cheer for their victory, and march for Concord, 523.
Lexington, Ky., the hunters of the Elkhorn valley give the name to their encampment, iv. 534.

Liberal government, an enduring, can be established in England only by junction of Chatham's followers and the liberal wing of Rockingham's supporters, vi. 437.

Liberties, the, of Massachusetts, how they were preserved, i. 357, 358; body of, demand for, 332; and its adoption, 332; its provisions, 332–335; essential elements of New England life grew up before their establishment by authority, 335.

Liberty in England, in reign of Charles II., its devious course to a refuge in Holland, ii. 167; the largest, enjoyed by Connecticut and Rhode Island, of all the American colonies; the two compared, 243; personal, in affairs of conscience, diffused through Europe and America, iii. 310; the authority of reason invoked; skepticism the method, revolution the tendency, of the new reform, 310; cause of, advancing, iv. 19; passion for, in Massachusetts, such that dying fathers call their sons to their death-beds, and charge them to love freedom more than life, iv. 373; American, defended by Fox and Rockingham, as the bulwark of the rights of the British people; to lose America seems to them a less evil than to hold her conquered, v. 109.

"Liberty and property," the cry of commercial classes in England, ii. 193.

"Liberty," the sloop, seized at Boston by customs-officers for false entry, and cut away by man-of-war's boats, iv. 90; a riot results; the council find the riot to be only "a small disturbance," 91; a town-meeting drafts address to governor, demanding removal of the ship "Romney," 91, 92; Bernard replies mildly, but hastens to get troops sent to Boston, 92.

Lilbourne's scheme of government for England, after death of Charles I., most consistent offered, i. 390.

Lillie, Theophilus, of Boston, sells tea in violation of agreement; finds a post set opposite his door, with a hand pointing in derision; Richardson, an informer, asks a countryman to drive against the post, and is stoned by boys, one of whom he kills, iv. 186.

Lincoln, Major-general, commands post at Boundbrook, N.J.; is nearly surprised by Cornwallis; retreats, but regains his post, v. 560; in concert with Gates, sends five hundred troops, under Colonel John Brown, to harass Burgoyne's rear, vi. 5; appointed to southern command; an inert soldier; his military career, 252, 253; takes post on eastern side of Savannah, 253; re-enforced by two thousand North Carolinians, 253; his offer to retire not accepted; detaches Ashe with fifteen hundred, on separate service, 254; undertakes expedition against Savannah, 255; repairs to Charleston, 261; toils at fortifications, setting sea and shore batteries, and sinking vessels, 265; refuses Clinton's summons to surrender, 266; calls council for the first time; proposes evacuation, but does not act at once; the British re-enforced, American cavalry dispersed; Fort Moultrie falls, and evacuation impossible; signs a capitulation, 266.

Lincolnshire, movement in, in aid of colonization, i. 265.

Lindley, Mary, wife of Robert Murray, invites Howe and his staff, as they approach her house on Incleberg, pursuing the flying rebels from New York, to stop and lunch; beguiles them to a two hours' stay, during which every patriot regiment escapes, v. 400.

Linzee, captain of the "Falcon," a British vessel of war, v. 31, 32.

Lisbon, port of, closed by Spain against Low Countries, ii. 22.

Lisle, forced into British service, leads his battalion to its old commander, with Sumter in the Catawba settlement, vi. 273.

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"Lively," a British frigate, fires on Prescott's party on Breed's Hill, iv. 605.

Livingston, Robert, of New York, in his eighty-fourth year foretells the conflict with England; his last words, "What news from Boston?" v. 115; hopes congress, in treating for peace, will insist on having Canada, Hudson's Bay, the Floridas, and the whole continent, independent, vi. 150.

Livingston, Robert R., his comments on the stamp act, iii. 420, 421; says that, if American liberty should fail, he would carry his family to Switzerland, the only free country in the world, v. 115; first American secretary for foreign affairs, sends to Franklin final instructions for negotiating peace, vi. 432.

Livingston, William, his anticipation of independence; instructs New Jersey committee of correspondence that tea should not be paid for; a delegate to general congress, iv. 358; governor of New Jersey, proposes manumission of negroes to the assembly, but withdraws the message; is determined to push the measure, vi. 305, 306.

Locke, John, his genius detected by Shaftesbury, i. 493; his error in framing laws for Carolina, 494; his code of laws for Carolina harmonizes with his theories on government, 497; protests against interpolated clause in constitution, that, while every religion should be tolerated, church of England should be national religion of Carolina, 497, 498; created a landgrave of South Carolina, 510; his ideas of government compared with Penn's, ii. 119–121; member of board of trade, 275; his military plan for colonies, 276, 277.

Logan, long the friend of the white man, in revenge for the slaughter of his kindred, takes thirteen scalps, and says, "Now I am satisfied for the death of my relations, and will sit still," iv. 421, 422.

London, citizens of, entreat the king to put an end to "this unnatural and unfortunate war," vi. 430; the same wish expressed by public meetings in Westminster, Southwark, and in Middlesex and Surrey counties, 431; meet and desire the king to dissolve parliament and dismiss the ministry; their address refused by the king, but entered on the books of the city, 562.

London company, great meeting of, i. 121, 122; the king interferes, election of treasurer postponed, 122; auspicates liberty in America, 125; opposition in, seeks alliance with the king, 145; refuses to surrender charter, 146; writ of *quo warranto* against, 147; dissolved, and its patents cancelled, 149; what it had accomplished, 149, 150.

Long Island, planted by English under grant of Lord Stirling; arms of Dutch in, thrown down in derision, ii. 45; the whole of claimed by Lord Stirling, 55; battle of; Howe's force, the most perfect army in the world, supported by a vast fleet, v. 373, 374; American force mostly militia, 374; Washington orders that Jamaica road be secured, — an order not obeyed, 374; Putnam rashly orders Stirling to advance and repulse the enemy, 375; but neither informs Washington, nor orders Stirling to retreat, 376; Clinton gains the heights, 376; and Howe, coming up with his whole force, orders a general attack, 377; Sullivan's redoubt and guns captured by Hessians, 377; and his men, in a panic, mercilessly slaughtered, a few escaping, 378; Stirling maintains his position, and after four hours orders retreat; his gallant feat with five companies of Marylanders, at whose devoted bravery Washington cries, "My God! what brave men must I this day lose!" endeavoring to escape, is attacked in tremendous force, and his party cut to pieces, 379; refusing to surrender to British general, gives his sword to General Von Heister, 379, 380; the disaster due to Putnam's incapacity, 380, 381; distrust and dejection in American camp, only Washington winning confidence, 382; he inspects American works and British camps, and encourages skirmishes; receives valuable re-enforcements; his calmness and persistence cheer the army, 383; resolves on retreat, 385; the embarkation uninterrupted, and nine thousand men landed in New York, 386, 387; inhabitants of, left to mercy of English after the battle, and some take oath of allegiance, 392.

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Loudoun, Earl of, appointed commander in chief of British forces in America, and governor of Virginia, iii. 151; his dilatory policy, 157; assembles large armament at Halifax, 169; embarks, as if for Louisburg, but sails for New York, 170; proposes to encamp on Long Island for defence of continent, 176; recalled, and votes in parliament to sustain British authority in colonies by force, 191.

Louis X., of France, his ordinance declaring that every man ought to be born free, i. 130.

Louis XIV., of France, declares war against England, i. 448; his remorse in old age, 515; his subjection to Madame de Maintenon, 516; forbids emigration, 516, 517; advises that Iroquois be captured, and made galley-slaves, ii. 153; his rumored intention to send a large fleet to lay waste coast of New England, and capture New York, 357; opposed by troops of many nations, 371; his feeble and hopeless condition, 386.

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when Washington stops its retreat; Greene defeats an attack on his right; Wayne repulses the enemy with great slaughter; British retreat, and Americans prepare to renew the fight next day, but Clinton withdraws to heights of Middleburg, and thence to New York, 141; all American generals, except Lee, do well; seven hundred blacks fight in this battle, 142.
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Morton, resident in what is now Quincy, admonished by Governor Endecott, i. 266.

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Mugford, James, of Marblehead, captures and brings to Boston the British ship "Hope," laden with fifteen hundred barrels of powder, the most valuable prize taken; is attacked by thirteen boats from a man-of-war, beats them off, but is mortally wounded, v. 253.

Muhlenberg, Peter, preacher to Germans, in the valley of the Blue Ridge; quickens their patriotism, v. 147; colonel of a regiment formed from his own congregation, 164.

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Murray, of Rutland, required to resign his seat in council; his brother's warning to the patriots, and their reply, iv. 376.

Musgrove's Mills, a post of royal militia and regulars at, attacked and captured by Colonel James Williams, who kills sixty of the British, vi. 287.

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Natchez, founded by D'Iberville, and first called Rosalie, in honor of Countess of Pontchartrain, ii. 366.

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National bank, chartered by congress; its notes to be payable on demand, receivable for duties and taxes, and for dues from the states; doubt of power of confederation to charter a bank; is forbidden to use any powers in any state, in conflict with its laws or constitution; this prohibition regarded by Madison as admission of defect of power; buys its own promises at a discount, vi. 463.

National government, a, Washington sees the need of, and appeals to states to make sacrifices for the public good; writes to George Mason, declaring that the liberties of the country were never in such peril, and, urging a return to first principles in government, calls on the able men of the country to come forth, vi. 194–196.

Naval code of England, extended to all persons employed in king's service, on lakes and rivers of North America, iii. 153.

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St. Clair, best of brigadiers in the north, reaches Ticonderoga, v. 571; is confident of his ability to repulse the British, 575; seeing preparations of Burgoyne, retreats, 575, 576; and marches with two thousand good troops to Fort Edward, 578; assumes responsibility of evacuating Ticonderoga, 580.
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St. Croix, region east of, secured to England by Captain Rous's expedition, iii. 130.
St. Eustatius, the fort of, salutes American brig, and its governor is far from betraying any partiality between Great Britain and her colonies, v. 525; pronounced by Yorke, British minister to the Hague, "the golden mine of the moment," vi. 363; its surrender demanded by British West India fleet and army, and granted, 365; its amazing wealth; the Dutch flag kept flying, and decoys seventeen vessels into port; confiscation general, 366; captured by French fleet, and restored to United Provinces, 445.
St. Francis, priests of, chosen by Champlain for his companions, but, these being excluded from New World, Jesuits selected, ii. 298.
St. Genevieve, on the Mississippi, a French settlement of five-and-twenty families, iii. 511.
St. George, fort at mouth of Kennebec, built by Popham colony, i. 205.
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St. John (afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke), secretary of state; his characteristics brilliant, but selfish and faithless; forms design of conquering Canada, ii. 379, 380.
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St Louis, village of, attacked by Mohawks, who massacre inhabitants, and, having tortured, kill Brebeuf and Lallemand, ii. 314, 315.
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St. Lusson, chosen by Talon to hold congress of Indians, ii. 326.
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St. Simon, Marquis of, commands French troops of De Grasse's expedition; though senior in years and military

services, puts himself under Lafayette's orders, vi. 42.
Salaries of civil officials, in England and America, iii. 15.
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Salem, N.C., a Moravian settlement, an ideal community, vi 391.
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Samoset, an Indian, welcomes the Pilgrims, i. 247.
Saltonstall, Richard, protests against the proposal to establish hereditary nobility, i. 305; writes from England, denouncing severity of Massachusetts, 361.
Sandwich, Lord, head of the British post-office; most malignant of the ministers against America, iv. 64; on capture of the "Gaspee," resolves never to cease pursuing Rhode Island till her charter is taken away, 235; sure that low establishment proposed will be fully sufficient to reduce undisciplined Americans, 433; thinks Chatham's plan deserves only contempt, and is of American origin, 464; calls the colonists raw and cowardly, abuses them for not paying their debts, 495; most active at cabinet meeting, June 14, 1775; able, greedy, and bent on coercion, 562; regrets that administration is cramped in its colonial policy by the cry of liberty, v. 243; after Howe's retirement, gives naval command at New York to incapable officers, vi. 422, 423.
Sandys, George, resident treasurer of the London company in Virginia, i. 121.
Sandys, Sir Edwin, member of London company, elected governor and treasurer, i. 118; determined to reform abuses in colony, 121; secures protection for Virginian staple against foreign tobacco, 149; favors application of Pilgrims for a patent, 237; elected president of London company, 240.
Saratoga, convention of, broken by British at surrender, by concealment of public chest; Burgoyne complains of its violation by Americans seeking to evade its obligation; congress suspends the embarkation of his troops, and demands list of all persons included in surrender, which is refused; British commissioners try to intervene; congress votes to detain captives, till receipt of ratification of the convention by the highest authority in Great Britain, vi. 136.
Sartine, French minister of marine, sustains opinions of Vergennes on the American question, v. 222; his advice to the king, 230, 231; charged with fitting out expedition for invasion of England, vi. 226; superseded in French ministry by Marquis de Castries, 370.
Sassafras root, cargo of, taken to England by Gosnold, i. 89.
Sauvolle, brother of D'Iberville, dies of fever, while seeking gold in Missouri, ii. 367.
Savages, employment of, against colonists, threatened in Tryon's march against the "regulators" in North Carolina; first adopted in practice by Gage, iv. 385; no English precedents for the act; intention of employing, ostentatiously proclaimed, 387; the president of Columbia College, an Englishman, writes that, failing submission to parliament, the Indians would be let loose on the border, 387; in British army, to supply deficiency of whites; Germain takes deep interest in this work, and the king gives particular directions for disposition of the force in Canada, v. 544.
Savannah, news of Lexington reaches, May 10, and adds Georgia to the union; her frontier threatened by eight thousand Indians, iv. 553; the king's magazine robbed of over five hundred pounds of powder; sends sixty-three barrels of rice and £122 in specie to Boston; raises a liberty pole on king's birthday, iv. 553; chief justice refusing to take bail for a South Carolina recruiting officer, a crowd breaks open the jail, and frees the prisoner, who beats up for men at the door of the chief justice and near the house of the governor, v. 45; captured by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with much spoil, vi. 251, 252; landing of French troops at; fortified by British commander by the aid of negroes, 259; D'Estaing summons Prevost to surrender, 259; Prevost, re-enforced, refuses; Lincoln joins the French; an attack resolved on in two columns; Dillon's command, entangled in a swamp, is exposed to British batteries; D'Estaing's column advances to huddle under a heavy British fire; Hume

and Bush, lieutenants of South Carolina second regiment, plant American standard on the ramparts, and both fall; Sergeant Jasper mortally wounded, yet brings off the flag; assailants retreat after a fight of fifty-five minutes; the losses, 260; the French sail for France, and the patriots of Georgia take to the backwoods, 261; evacuated by loyalists and British troops, 461.

Say and Seal, Lord, a friend to Puritans, contemplates removal to Massachusetts, but insists on recognition of his hereditary dignity, i. 304; member of colonial council appointed by Charles II., 419.

Savannah River, in the, a few British ships take stamped clearances, iii. 532.

Saville, Sir George, M.P. for Yorkshire, declares that the greatest evil that can befall England is invasion of the people's rights by parliament, and that the house has betrayed its constituents, iv. 178, 179; asks that Franklin may be heard at bar of house, 463; says that, if rebellion is resistance to government, it must sometimes be justifiable, 478.

Sawbridge, in house of commons, says bill for transferring capital offenders is meant to enslave America, iv. 307.

Saxe-Gotha, duke of, his little army coveted in vain by the British, v. 543.

Schenectady, expedition of French and Indians against; inhabitants massacred or put to flight, ii. 349, 350.

Sayle, William, commissioned governor of Carolina, i. 497; constituted a proprietary governor of region from Cape Carteret to bounds of Spanish possessions, 509, 510.

Sayre, Stephen, an American, sent to the Tower of London, v. 89.

Schiller, the poet, escapes being assistant surgeon in Würtemberg regiment, vi. 54.

Schoolmasters, after the Restoration, forced to subscribe to all contents of Prayer Book, i. 412.

Schuyler, Peter, his letter to De Vaudreuil, protesting against Indian massacres, ii. 377.

Schuyler, Philip, chosen by New York as her candidate for major-general of the continental army; the vote for him not unanimous; directed to repair to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and authorized to take possession of any part of Canada, v. 10; has only twelve hundred men, 114; joins Montgomery at Isle-aux-Noix, 116; attempts an attack on the fort at St. John's; sends out a small force, which returns in disgrace; returns to Ticonderoga, leaving the command to Montgomery, 117; moves on loyal Highlanders in the Mohawk valley, and overpowers them under Sir John Johnson, whom he paroles; loves his country more than rank or fortune, but is unwilling to be supplanted by Gates, an intriguer, of lower rank, 556; takes his seat in congress, and complains of curtailment of his department; announces intention to resign; but, repenting, apologizes for offensive words, and is invested with sole command of Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, 557, 558; visits Ticonderoga; public opinion rising against him for loss of Ticonderoga, 580; permits half of New England troops to go home, 580; retreats to a point below Fort Edward, and vapors about his "exposure;" promises to dispute every inch of ground, and in less than a week retreats to Saratoga, 581; writes despondingly to Washington, anticipating an increase in British force, 583; relieved from command; his removal bitterly resented by a few New Yorkers, vi. 4.

Scot, of Pitlochie, favors emigration from Scotland to America, ii. 142.

Scotch-Irish, a colony of, welcomed in South Carolina, i. 514.

Scotland, strongly Presbyterian, regards with horror the triumph of Independents in England, i. 391.

Scotland, the mind of, at variance with its representatives in parliament; Adam Smith, Reid, and Robertson educating the youth of, to love of freedom, iii. 576.

Scottish exiles, scheme to establish colony of, in South Carolina; its partial execution under Lord Cardross; their settlement at Port Royal laid waste by Spaniards, i. 514.

Scriven, a gallant American officer, killed while a prisoner in hands of British in Florida, vi. 251.

Scrooby, the home of William Brewster, i. 227; people of, choose John Robinson to be their pastor, Brewster being their ruling elder, 234; resolve to emigrate to Holland, 234; their first attempt thwarted, 234, 235; a second and successful attempt, 235.

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Seal of the United States; significance of its emblems, vi. 468.

Sears, Isaac, leader of anti-stamp act

riot in New York city, iii. 521; moves that every man provide himself with four-and-twenty rounds; is arrested, and refuses to give bail; is rescued by his friends, and borne with cheering to a meeting in the Fields, iv. 512; brings mounted men from Connecticut to New York city, and sacks the printing-house of the tory, Rivington, &c.; goes to camp at Cambridge, and finds a patron in Lee, v. 184; appointed assistant adjutant-general to Lee, 185.

Secrecy of debates in parliament comes to an end, in consequence of ministers exciting public mind about America, iv. 307.

Ségur, Marquis de, succeeds Montbarey in French cabinet, vi. 370.

Seminary at Quebec, founded in 1635, ii. 303.

Senecas, the, begin hostilities in Virginia, i. 544; build a fort in Maryland; besieged, and escape, ravaging the country, 544, 545; slaughter "three hundred Christian persons," 545; treaty with, by Maryland, Virginia, and New York, ii. 17; keep fresh the memory of the chief who fell at Oriskany, vi 143; lured by Colonel John Butler to cross border of Pennsylvania under the British flag; attack men of Wyoming, taking two hundred and twenty-five scalps; the forts capitulate, and with all the dwellings are burned; spread destruction over the country, 144; their prowess and humanity extolled by Germain, who resolves to send other like expeditions to older settlements, 144, 145; in Western New York, have gifts, but no protection, from British, 214.

Sequoah, a Cherokee, analyzes the syllables of his language, and makes symbols to express them, ii. 409.

"Serapis," the, British frigate, captured by Paul Jones, v. 241, 242.

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Seventeen acts of Pennsylvania complained of to king by proprietary of that province, iii. 249; the king's decision, 250; Pitt and Burke prominent in this case, 250, 251.

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Sharpe, governor of Maryland, and commander in chief of British troops in America, vainly solicits aid from colonies, iii. 114; proposes a poll-tax on the taxable inhabitants of colonies, 203.

Shawnees, inhabit basin of Cumberland River, but move to South Carolina, Alabama, and Pennsylvania, ii. 397; visited by Christopher Gist, adheres to English, iii. 51; prowl from Alleghany River to Sullivan county, Tennessee, iv. 422; fiercest of all western Indians, 423; with Mingoes and Delawares, prepare to attack army of South-western Virginia; fight nearly all day; retreat across the river; the battle the most bloody and best contested in the annals of forest warfare, 424.

Shawnee town, meeting at, of Indians, to devise revenge for capture of Picqua by French and French Indians, iii. 61; sentiments of Delawares, Miamis, Shawnees, and Weas, 61.

Shelburne, Earl of, head of board of trade, iii. 374; inclined to limit legislative authority over colonies, 387; does not share plans for taxing America, 388; withdraws from office, 391; refuses presidency of board of trade under Cumberland, 489; argues in favor of repeal of stamp act, 529; has care of American colonies in Pitt's last administration, iv. 15; tries to regain their affections by winning their confidence; his assurance to Massachusetts, and injunctions to governors to be moderate; masters all American questions, chief of which is the formation of an American fund; reprobates the political dependence of American judges; confirms grants of lands in Vermont under the seal of New Hampshire; disapproves principle of the billeting act; favors changes in Canada by assimilation of French and English laws, and rendering Catholics eligible to assembly and council, 33, 34; the greater his interest in American affairs, the more is he spoken of by the court as an enemy, 34; quiets controversy with America as to billeting act, 531; colonies taken from him, 64; says the trouble in colonies is much exaggerated, 99; dismissed from office, 120; had planned, in concert with France, to rescue Poland, 153; his comments on Jeffer-

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Sheldon, Colonel, commanding American lines, where Arnold arranges for an interview with British agent, vi. 320.

Shenandoah, emigrants on the banks of, devote themselves to the cause of liberty, iv. 352; in convention at Staunton, commend Virginia delegates to congress to applause of succeeding ages, 486.

Sherburne, Major Henry, sent by Arnold to relieve the fort at the Cedars; ignorant of its surrender, is attacked by Indians, and many of his men captured and scalped, v. 295, 296.

Sherlock, bishop of London, urges the king to establish an American episcopate, iii. 27; thinks that Virginia "had nothing more at heart than to lessen the influence of the crown," 27; his complaint about Virginia, 247.

Sherman, Roger, chosen representative to the legislature from New Haven, Conn., iii. 497; says no assembly will ever admit right of parliament to tax the colonies, iv. 94; encourages the Massachusetts delegates to general congress, and declares that parliament can rightfully make laws for America in no case whatever, 377.

Shirley, Mass., will not sit down easy, till its liberties are restored, iv. 253.

Shirley, William, delegate to convention at Albany, iii. 19; develops his system for government of colonies, 35; goes to England, to appeal to ministry against contumacy of New York assembly, 36; his threat against Massachusetts, 39, 40; claims for English all land east of Penobscot and south of St. Lawrence, as being ancient Acadia, 47; submits new scheme of union to Franklin, 112; proposes to allow colonies representation in parliament, 113; renews his arguments for union, and warns against Franklin's Albany plan, 113, 114; urges taxation as well as union of colonies, 114; his letter on population of colonies, and their desire for independence, 141, 142; placed at head of American forces, 146; his advice to board of trade, that parliament should levy and collect an American revenue, 147; superseded by Earl of Loudoun, and ordered to England, 151; compliments Washington, 155, 156.

Shute, of Hingham, in sermon before Massachusetts legislature, denies supreme authority of parliament, iv. 88.

Silk-weavers, a bill for benefit of, favored by Grenville, opposed by Bedford, and defeated; petition the king for redress; beset house of parliament; respect the king, but stone Bedford's carriage, and surround his house, iii. 458.

Sioux, the, inhabit prairies east of Mississippi; a hereditary warfare between them and the Chippewas; visited by French traders and missionaries, ii. 399.

Six Nations, French eager to retain friendship of, iii. 22; ask protection of New York for their friends north of Ohio, against French, 49; priests sent among, to proselyte, by French, 58; at Albany congress, urge union and action, 79; send delegates to meet Nipisings, Ottawas, Algonkins, at Montreal, 161; attend congress at Fort Stanwix, and make large concessions of land, iv. 127, 128; the king relies on their attachment, and sends emissary to induce them to take up arms against the rebels, 564; send message to governor of Canada, complaining of British neglect, vi. 213; inclined, by inability of English to protect them, toward neutrality, 213, 214.

Sixty-second regiment (British), leaves Canada five hundred strong, and comes out of battle of Behmus's Heights with less than sixty men, v. 7.

Skelton, Rev. Samuel, brought over by Massachusetts Bay company, i. 269.

Skene, a dangerous British agent, captured by a party of expedition against Ticonderoga, iv. 555.

Skepticism, v. 248, 249.

Skinner, Cortland, of New Jersey, enlists more than five hundred men for British army, v. 544.

Skirmishes, in July, 1775, party of Americans drive in British line, and capture several muskets; two days later, three hundred volunteers secure seventy sheep, fifteen cattle, and sixteen prisoners, on Long Island, Boston harbor; another party burns the hay stacked there for the British cavalry; companies from Hingham and Weymouth reap and bring off the grain from Nantasket, v. 19; party sent by British to repair Boston light-house attacked by Major Tupper and men from Squantum and Dorchester, who kill the lieutenant, and capture fifty-three prisoners; the patriots' conduct praised by Washington, 20; a party of riflemen get behind the British guard advanced on the side of Charlestown, kill two men, and take five prisoners, 31; encounters of hostile forces near New York, 373.

Slavery, in Virginia, its introduction, i. 126; historical sketch of, 126-129; traffic pursued by Europeans fifty years before the discovery of America, 131; how introduced into Europe, 132; in North America, 133; in Hispaniola, 134; in Rhode Island, public sentiment opposed to it, 138; in Maryland, recognised in 1639, and slaves exempted from declaration of rights, 189; favored by royal instructions, 330; coeval with first settlement on Ashley River, 512; brought to Manhattan by Dutch West India company, ii. 60; not enough of, in New England, to affect character of the people, except in Newport, iii. 98; no hope of its abolition by congress; in no state is it established in the organic law as a permanent social relation; in no constitution, save that of Delaware, are the words "slave" and "slavery;" limited by natural causes in the north; thrifty in the south, vi. 302-304; in Virginia, many of her statesmen confess its inequity and inexpediency; colonial legislature demands its abolition; George Mason foretells the blight that will avenge it; declaration of rights sets forth that all men are by nature free; Virginia, in 1778, prohibits introduction of slaves, and orders emancipation of those brought from abroad, 303; the statute drafted by Jefferson to define Virginia citizenship confines the right to white men; emancipation, 304; sentiment in Delaware as to it; in New York; in Vermont, 305; in New Jersey; in Pennsylvania, 306; which leads the way toward introducing freedom for all, 307; in South Carolina, 307; in Massachusetts, 307, 308; its existence in the United States not recognised in peace convention till near its close, when, on demand of Laurens, a clause is inserted, prohibiting, on British evacuation, "the carrying away any negroes or other property of the inhabitants," 843.

Slaves, negro, first imported into New England, in Salem ship "Desire," i. 137; first imported by Dutch men-of-war, in 1619, 139; proportion of, in South Carolina, 22 to 12, 512; number of, in Virginia, in 1671, 528; statutes concerning, 529, 530; double the whites in number, and gain every year, iv. 231; importation of, opposed by Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York, 232; Massachusetts had denounced slavery, as well as sale of slaves, 232; the king makes no reply to prayer of Virginia, and remains protector of slave-trade, 232; his servants in colonies ordered to maintain it, 232, 233; colonial laws checking slave-trade carefully examined by the king, 260, 261; people of Providence would prohibit importation of, and set free all born in colony, 327.

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Sloughter, governor of New York, arrests Leisler and his council, ii. 229.

Smith, Abigail (Mrs. John Adams), living in her humble home, toiling industriously, and learning, ill and unaided, writes to her husband, on hearing of the king's proclamation: "I could not join to-day in the petitions of our worthy pastor for reconciliation. . . . Let us separate; they are unworthy to be our brethren;" her voice the voice of New England, v. 82, 83.

Smith, Adam, the peer and teacher of statesmen, gives best expression of the mind of Scotland; applies to American questions those principles which made Scotland efficient in promoting human liberties; would have the colonies either fairly represented in parliament or independent, v. 110, 111.

Smith, Arnold's messenger to André; the two have an interview in his house,

vi. 324; attends André part of his way to New York, 325, 326.
Smith, John, coadjutor of Gosnold in promoting colonization, i. 94; his superior capacity excites jealousy in the Gorges expedition, 98; excluded from its council, but is restored, 98; government of colony falls to him, 100; his life, 100; is captured by Indians, 101; represses attempt at desertion, 102; explores Bay of Chesapeake and its rivers, 103; made president of the council; enforces industry in the colony, 104; leaves Virginia, 106; his character, 106; his voyage to New England in 1614, 206, 207; attempts to establish a colony with sixteen men, but fails; captured, on a second attempt by French pirates, and escapes, 207.
Smith, Lieutenant-colonel, leads eight hundred British troops to Concord, iv. 515; warned by guns and bells, sends for re-enforcements, 516; writes that Americans "did not make one gallant attempt during so long an action," 538.
Smith, Lieutenant-colonel Samuel, of Maryland, in command of fort at Mud Island, vi. 20; thinks it not defensible; slightly wounded; resigns command, 23
Smith, provost of college of Philadelphia, delivers before congress a eulogy on Montgomery; a vote of thanks to him opposed in congress, because he had said that body was in favor of continued dependence, v. 211.
Smith, Thomas, appointed governor of South Carolina by proprietaries, failing to enforce order, proposes that one of proprietaries should visit South Carolina, with powers of inquiry and redress, ii. 198.
Smith, William, historian of New York, urges an American union, with an American parliament, iii. 153; signally rebuked by members of the provincial congress for proposing a separate petition by that colony, v. 140.
Smyth, Chief Justice, of New Jersey, member of "Gaspee" commission, throws blame for its failure on the popular government of Rhode Island, iv. 257.
Smythe, Sir Thomas, president of London company; his policy excludes colonists from a share in the government, i. 116; resigns, 118.
Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded and favored by crown in aid of Anglican church, ii. 279.
Society for Constitutional Information, of London, raises one hundred pounds for relief of widows, orphans, and parents of Americans who preferred death to slavery, and were murdered by the king's troops; an account of what had been done published by Horne Tooke in the "Public Advertiser;" three printers fined £100 each, and Horne pursued relentlessly by Thurlow, and afterwards fined £200, and imprisoned twelve months, Thurlow asking that he be put in the pillory, iv. 560.
Sokokis, an Indian tribe on the Saco, many of them emigrate to Canada, ii. 395.
Soldiers, first sent to America, after Revolution of 1688, ii. 274.
"Somerset," the, a British ship of the line, lies off Charlestown while Breed's Hill is fortified, iv. 605.
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Soto, Ferdinand de, the companion of Pizarro, i. 39; commissioned to conquer Florida at his own cost, 40; his expedition sails from Cuba, 41; his explorations and cruelties in Florida, 41–47; ascends the Mississippi, 47.
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South America, fears of Spain that seeds of discontent might be wafted into, from United States, vi. 88; all Dutch settlements in, captured by British, 366; plan for an expedition to, via India, laid before the British cabinet by Lord North, 368.
Southampton, Earl of, promotes Waymouth's expedition to New England, i. 90; member and treasurer of London company, 122; his death, 324.
South Carolina, levelling principles prevail, and civil and ecclesiastical posts are at disposal of the people, iii. 26; most ready of all colonies to form a union, 49; her people increase power by

encroaching on executive, 85; modes of life and characteristics of people, 85, 86; legislature vindicates "their birthrights as British subjects," 234; tries to check slave-trade by its own laws, 279; war with Cherokees weans its people from Great Britain, 279; assembly resists Governor Boone's claim to be sole judge of elections, 393; assembly of, debates invitation to congress of delegates, pronounces for union, 481, 482; her great influence in congress, 513; assembly adopts proceedings of congress, 523; legislature of, grants every requisition, remits a thousand pounds for a statue of Pitt; but complains of tenure of judges at king's pleasure, and prays for modifications of the navigation act, iv. 9, 10; praises the ninety-two members of Massachusetts houses, who would not rescind, 95; the assembly dissolved by governor, 131, 132; refuses to comply with billeting act, and publishes names of dissentients from non-importation agreement, 174; remits £10,500 for support of bill of rights, 177; meeting of citizens, strives to keep up spirit of resistance, but in vain, and commerce in all goods but tea resumed, 215, 216; affections of, alienated from England, 228; its own judges dismissed, and replaced by foreigners; assembly elects Richard Lowndes speaker, and is ordered to elect another; refuses, and is prorogued by governor, 254; excited by imprisonment of Thomas Powell, publisher of South Carolina "Gazette," by the council, 270; planters love their civil rights more than ease and security, and declare that all Americans must resolve to stand by one another even unto death, 334, 335; merchants and planters of, agree as to necessity of a general congress, who were authorized to agree to suspension of exports as well as imports; assembly confirms these proceedings, and adjourns just as the governor sends to prorogue them, 357; adopts measures of continental congress without change, elects delegates to next, encourages people to learn use of arms, 451; if blood shall be spilled in Massachusetts, her sons will rise in arms, 452; a committee of five appointed to put colony in state of defence, 552; provincial congress issues bills of credit for £140,000, which public spirit kept up in value half a year, 552; militia officers resign commissions received from governor, and submit to orders of congress; a council of safety charged with executive powers, 552; Lord Campbell, the new governor, arrives, and is addressed by provincial congress, which declares its preference of death to slavery, 553; political and religious preferences of various sections of the provinces, v. 47, 48; over twenty thousand pounds of powder acquired by boarding ships off the coast; export of rice allowed only in exchange for arms and ammunition from Hispaniola and French and Dutch islands, 49; arrest of governor proposed, but defeated, 49; convention of, startled by Gadsden's open declaration for independence, 233, 234; a constitution established for the province, 234; its provisions, 235; government organized amid general rejoicing, 235, 236; wins praise for her example in instituting a complete government, 238; her delegates in congress first vote against independence, but the next day vote for it, 319, 320; appoints test for the voter, and declares that Christian Protestant religion is constituted the religion of the state, 514; for two years unvisited by an enemy; in 1778, establishes a permanent government; bill for a new constitution approved by legislature, negatived by President Rutledge; Rawlins Lowndes, the new president, sanctions the bill, vi. 155, 156; provisions of the new constitution; all persons refusing to support it against Great Britain, exiled, 156; legislature of, supersedes Lowndes and recalls John Rutledge to be governor, 253; advice of congress to arm slaves rejected with disdain, 256, 257; the desperate condition of the state; many begin to regret the contest for independence; government sends to ask terms of capitulation of invaders; council proposes neutrality during the war, 257; British general declines to treat with civil government, and says the garrison must surrender as prisoners of war, 257; her own courage to bring her out of desolation, 263; for six weeks after capture of Charleston, all opposition ceases in the state, 267; under panic, all resistance to British suspended; attempt to crush out spirit of independence; confiscation of property threatened against all who oppose the king's arms; pardon offered to the penitent; restoration of former political immunities to the loyal, 268; successful enterprise against the British, 276, 277; slavery under the British rule, 285; people of, never conquered, 286; people see no peace except through expulsion of the British, 406; assembly enacts banishment of active friends of the British, and confiscation of their estates, 461.

South Hadley, people of, compare prohibiting slitting-mills to Philistines prohibiting smiths in Israel, iv. 253.

Southern states, safety of, depends on success of Greene's retreat from the Catawba to north bank of the Dan, vi. 392; ravages in, by parties of British, 458.

Spain, territorial acquisition of, i. 22; threatens to send ships to Virginia to

remove colonists, 111; claims Carolina as a part of Florida, 484; has a Spanish world in America, ii. 294; her government a despotism, 369; by peace of Utrecht, loses all her European provinces, and retains all her colonies; has not strength proportioned to her colonial possessions, 388; holds aloof from quarrels between France and England, iii. 58, 59; an absolute monarchy, with French court and Italian ministers, 316; her insignificant marine the result of commercial monopoly, 317, 318; founder of protective system, fears opening of colonial commerce, and jealous of English colonies in America; fears, too, they will become republican, iv. 147, 148; divides North America with England, 148; cabinet agrees that Louisiana must be retained as a granary for Havana and Porto Rico, and as a barrier to English encroachments, 149; king fears effect of example of Louisiana on other colonies, 150; he secretly sends O'Reilly to extirpate the sentiment of independence at New Orleans, 152; famous for explorations; a glorious future predicted for her, v. 531; her religious history, 532; has a ministry wholly composed of Spaniards, 533; unprepared for war; her commerce depressed, her navy weak, her revenue diminished, 535, 536; the court drawn toward alliance with France, 536; its complications with England; had, under Grimaldi, given money to Americans, but only through France, 537; abandons intention of giving three million livres to the United States, vi. 57; dreads Americans as colonial insurgents, not as a new Protestant state, 88; most hostile of European powers to United States, fearing effect on her own colonies, 158, 159; baffled by France, tries to use Great Britain in checking growth of the United States; desires first to dictate, as a mediator, terms of settlement with England, or to concert with England plans to narrow their domain, and hasten their ruin, 160; accepts convention framed by Vergennes, adding stipulation of no peace without restoration of Gibraltar, 182; self-condemned by offer of mediation and declaration of war, 224; hears of insurrection begun by ex-Jesuits in Peru, but still inclines to separate negotiations with England, 375; weakness of her authority in her American colonies intensifies her hatred of United States, 441.

Spanish America, French statesmen think England, by emancipation of, may indemnify itself for loss of colonies, with great benefit to the commerce of France, vi. 441.

Spanish colonies, management of, a serious care to Spain; their extent, remoteness, and tenuity of ties with mother country, vi. 86; restraints on commerce grievous, 87.

Spanish commerce, depredations on, by Dutch West India company, ii. 41.

"Speedwell," the smaller of the two Pilgrim ships, i. 241; puts back to Plymouth, and is dismissed, 242.

Spencer, Joseph, of Connecticut, elected brigadier-general of continental army; old and respectable, but inexperienced, v. 7.

Spencer, Oliver, attacks equal force of Waldeckers at Springfield, N.J., and, taking some prisoners, puts the others to flight, v. 496.

Spies of Gage, find people intent on military exercises, or listening to patriotic clergymen; the loyalists deriding their feeble preparations, iv. 472.

Spiritual unity binds together every member of human family, ii. 78.

Spitzbergen, discovered by Dutch navigators, Heemskerk and Barentsen, in 1596, ii. 23.

Spotswood, governor of Virginia, declines to march troops to aid Governor Hyde in North Carolina, ii. 204.

Springfield, abandoned by Connecticut to Massachusetts, i. 318; a mob threatens any one who shall enter the courthouse, and the judges of inferior court agree not to put their commission in force; assemblage declares that Gage's troops shall be met by at least twenty thousand men, iv. 381.

"Squirrel," the, a bark of ten tons, in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert was lost, while returning to England, i. 74.

Stair, Earl of, chosen for viceroy of American colonies, but declines appointment, iii. 151.

Stamp act, American, authorship of, Jenkinson's testimony, Lord North's, iii. 394; opposition to, in England, 410, 411; its beauties, as portrayed by Grenville to colonial agents, 415; passes houses of commons and lords, 457; receives royal assent by commission, 451; general belief that it would be easily enforced, 453; the harbinger of American independence, 465; associations formed to resist it by all lawful means, 480; arrangements made to enforce it, 490; all the royal governors take oath to carry it into effect, 518; stamp-officers everywhere resign, 519; all colonies unite in resistance to it; deprecate the declaration of independence, but abhor submission, 524, 525; rejoicings over its repeal in London, 585; the expense of, over £1,200, and revenue from, mainly from Canada and the West Indies, about £1,500, iv. 245.

Stamps, propositions to impose use of, on American colonies, iii. 39; British press defends the scheme, 164; commissioners of stamp duties ordered to prepare draft of act for imposing duties on American colonies, 393.

Standing council for regulating the colonies, commission to, includes names of Clarendon, and the Earl of Manchester and Viscount Say and Seal, the two latter good friends to New England, i. 419.
Stanhope, a British officer, released on parole by Washington; forfeits his honor, v. 33.
Stanley, Hans, declares in house of commons that Americans must be treated as aliens, and advocates change in charter of Massachusetts, so that the king shall have appointment of the council, iv. 129.
Stark, John, a New Hampshire trapper, iii. 60; lieutenant in New Hampshire regiment in Crown Point expedition, 137; captures a party of French, but is overpowered; promoted, 166; skilled in the ways of Indians; hardy, odd, but true, and trusted; chosen colonel of New Hampshire regiment; detached with a battalion to take post at Chelsea, where his force becomes a model for discipline, iv. 535, 536; throws up rough shelter at Bunker Hill, and fights independently; best officer from New Hampshire; not made one of six new brigadiers, as being self-willed; retires to his farm, v. 554; gathers a brigade at Charlestown, N. H.; bivouacs within a mile of Baum, to whom he vainly offers battle; joined by Seth Warner and his regiment, and concerts plan of battle, 588; sends five hundred men to rear of Baum; takes the front with two or three hundred men, 588, 589; his tribute to the valor of his troops, 589; esteemed a conqueror after battle of Bennington, vi. 13.
State, creation of, as in America, preliminary to it, new directing intelligence must represent sum of the intelligence of thirteen provinces of various nationalities and beliefs, iv. 569; its organic unity to be reconciled with the individuality of each of its members; comprehensive law and individual freedom essential to well-being of; two opposite tendencies in all governments, central power and individuality, each essential, v. 70, 71; the idea of right its life-giving principle, 71; the idea of humanity teaches how to judge equitably the reciprocal relations of states; the common aim and the bond of duty, 72; the pride of men creates differences among themselves; their pride seen in statute-book and policy of Great Britain, and to-day a heavy bias on the judgment even of liberal Englishmen, 72, 73.
Staten Island, bought in 1670, by Michael Pauw, a director of Dutch West India company, ii. 43; settlement on, ruined by tribes of New Jersey, 49; attempt of Sullivan to capture loyalists on; Ogden lands, and captures and brings away eighty prisoners; Sullivan crosses to, and divides his force; captures tories, and rifles Quaker houses of paper, achieving nothing of importance, v. 592; his rear-guard of two hundred troops is captured, 593.
States, governments of, dearer than general government; points of difference between the two, vi. 174; tendency to leave all power in, a natural consequence of their historic development, 342; of the confederacy, during suspension of active hostilities, many moulding the forms of their new government to fix in living institutions the thoughts of people on freedom of conscience and religion, v. 435.
Statute, thirty-fifth, of Henry VIII., only one by which criminals could be tried in England for offences in America, and its provisions extend only to treasons, iv. 131.
Stedingk, Baron de, writes to king of Sweden of assault on Savannah; is badly wounded; is a social "lion" at Paris, vi. 261.
Stephen, Adam, would go to the far west rather than submit his life, liberty, and property to the arbitrary disposal of a venal aristocracy, iv. 486.
Stephens, William, a famous ship-builder, i. 331.
Stephenson, Marmaduke, tried for Quakerism, curses his judges, and is hanged, i. 367.
Steuben, Baron, a Prussian, made inspector-general of American army; obtains rank of major-general, and at Valley Forge works reform in use of the musket and manœuvre, vi. 49; guards stores at Point of Fork, Va.; persuaded by Simcoe, British commander, that the whole British army is after him, he flees, 465
Stevens, joins Gates with seven hundred Virginia militia, vi. 278.
Stiles, Rev. Ezra, of Rhode Island, notes universal lack of confidence in any official below the crown, iii. 284.
Stirling, Lord, a brigadier in American army; ordered by General Putnam, on Long Island, to advance and repulse the enemy, v. 375; attacked by great force, and deserted by all except Maryland and Delaware troops; with a few survivors, attempts escape, but fails, 379; refuses his sword to the British general, but gives it to General Von Heister, 379, 380; routed at Scotch Plains by Cornwallis, 568; at battle of Brandywine, 597.
Stockbridge (Mass.) Indians, promise to intercede with Six Nations in behalf of colonists, among whom they live, iv. 510; encampment of, near Boston, v. 16.
Stone, William, governor of Maryland, i. 193; yields his commission to Catholics, 199; raises force, and seizes provincial records, 199; overpowered by republi-

cans; sentenced to death, but spared, 200.
Stony Point, garrison of, withdraws on approach of British force under Clinton, vi. 208; Wayne ordered to retake it; he attacks in two columns, using only the bayonet, and instantly gains the fort; a brilliant victory; the fort razed, but reoccupied later by a British force, 210, 211.
Stormont, Lord, British ambassador at Paris; his letter cited in house of lords to prove France's desire for peace, iv. 479; is told by Vergennes that France sees England's embarrassments with uneasiness; recites the probable consequences of success of colonies, v. 102, 103; protests against sailing of French ships with military stores for America, 520; to application of Franklin and Deane to exchange prisoners, is silent; to a second, replies that "the king's ambassador receives no applications from rebels, except for the king's mercy," 539; succeeds Weymouth in British ministry; confident in resources of England, but blind to moral distinctions in dealing with other nations; to complaints of Dutch of outrage on their flag, announces determination to persist in his policy at any cost, vi. 357; writes to Yorke that the best way to bring the Dutch to their senses is to hurt their trade, 360; writes disingenuous memorial to states-general, to be delivered conditionally; wishes to "stun" the Dutch "into their senses," 362, 363; renews demand for punishment of Van Berckel; prepares to send secret orders to seize Dutch West India settlements, 365.
Stoughton, Mass., a county congress directs special meetings in every town and precinct, to elect delegates to meet at Dedham, iv. 379.
Strachey, Henry, appointed Oswald's assistant; his instructions, vi. 477; writes to secretary of state that Jay and Adams will consent to indemnification of refugees rather than lose the treaty, 478, 479; at meeting of negotiators, says that final settlement depends on restitution of property to loyalists, 481; reluctantly answers that his propositions are not an ultimatum, 482.
Strafford, Earl of, urges violent counsels, i. 379; his arraignment and attainder, 381.
Stuart, land agent at the west, concludes treaty with Cherokees, by which they ratify all former grants of land, and fix boundaries of Virginia, iv. 127.
Stuart, Indian agent for southern department, instructed by Gage to make Cherokees take arms against king's enemies; sends to lower Creeks and Chickasaws to assure them of plenty, if they will join the king's cause; employs like tactics with the Little Tallassees and the Overhill Creeks, to whom he distributes ammunition, v. 48, 49.
Stuart, James, an officer of Fort Loudoun, captured by Indians, iii. 237; saved by Attakulla-kulla, 238.
Stuarts, their colonial measures always fail, i. 168; their prohibition of foreign trade with Virginia, 175; pass from throne of England; monuments of, in New World; their relations with American colonies, ii. 188.
Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, ii. 52; dissolves assembly, 63; goes to Boston to protest against western extension of New England colonies, 65; futility of his efforts to coerce colonists and provide defence against invasion, 66; opposes surrender to Duke of York's fleet, 68.
Subsidiary troops, required by Britain from German princes; the duke of Brunswick expects to supply three, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel five, thousand; Faucitt, the British agent, instructed to "get as many as he can;" the prince of Waldeck begs the king to accept six hundred men, v. 170.
Sucingerachton, king of the Senecas, foremost man in the Six Nations, vi. 143; his attachment to the English increases, on alliance of Americans with the French, whom he hates; influences Senecas to yield to Butler's allurements, 144.
Suffolk county, convention of: Warren reports that the sovereign who breaks his compact with his people forfeits their allegiance, advising a provincial congress, and defensive action as long as it shall be reasonable, iv. 389, 390.
Suffolk, Earl of, in house of lords offers an amendment to address "to enforce the legal obedience of the colonies and their dependence on the sovereign authority of the kingdom," iii. 529; which is rejected by the house, 531; becomes secretary of state in place of Weymouth, iv. 217; replies, in house of lords, to Chatham's great speech, that the government would repeal not one of the acts, but use every effort to bring America to obedience, 449; says king and cabinet are determined not to treat with the illegal congress, and in no event to recognise colonies in association, v. 79; writes, with reference to hiring Russian troops, that, this increase of force being much desired, expense, is "not so much an object as in ordinary cases," 92, 93; death of, vi. 225.
Suffrage, universal, Virginia, first state in the world, in separate boroughs, where representation was based on, i. 175.
Sullivan, John, a member of continental congress, from New Hampshire, dismantles the fort at Portsmouth, iv. 434; elected brigadier-general of continental army, a lawyer, ready to act,

but not always judicious, vain, and a lover of popularity, v. 7; commands brigade in expedition to Canada, 291; succeeds to command of army, on Thomas's death, 297; thinks of "a glorious death, or a victory over superior numbers;" on approach of British forces, breaks up his camp, 298, 299; joins Stirling's command on Long Island, 376; his party attacked by Hessians, and driven in confusion, 377; orders his men to shift for themselves, and hides in a corn-field, where three grenadiers find him, 378; received by Lord Howe on the "Eagle," and exchanged with General Prescott; volunteers to visit Philadelphia, as a go-between; in his boundless indiscretion, takes no minute of the offer he is to bear, 391; his greeting in congress by John Adams, 392; affirms that Lord Howe said he was ever opposed to taxing America, and would set aside the acts therefor, and that changing charter of Massachusetts, 392, 393; at Princeton, in command of fifteen hundred men, 564; on approach of Howe, retires to the Delaware, 565; ordered to join his division to Greene, 566; grievously weakens the army; plans surprise of Jersey loyalists on Staten Island, 592; divides his corps, and allows his rear-guard to be captured, 593; at Brandywine, charged with securing the right flank; ordered to cross Brandywine at a higher ford, but disobeys orders, and defeats Washington's scheme, 596, 597; is attacked, and his division routed, 597; praises Conway warmly, vi. 38, 39; gives written advice to Washington to attack Howe in Philadelphia, 42; commands district of Rhode Island, 150; detains the French fleet ten days, 150; censures D'Estaing in general orders, and hints that French alliance is useless, and, compelled by Lafayette, makes reparation in other orders; repeatedly ordered by Washington to withdraw from the island, 151; his men desert, and he begins a retreat; Greene foils attempt of British to get around his right wing, and drives them back to their post; his army retires from the island, Clinton, with re-enforcements, landing next day, 152; his force raised by New England, in twenty days, to ten thousand men, and the people indignant at his failure, 152; commands expedition against the Senecas with his usual inefficiency, 212, 213; it falls to him, in the pay of France, to carry Luzerne's amendments in congress; for this service, recommended by Luzerne to French cabinet for prolonged rewards, 377 and *note;* acting in concert with Luzerne, promotes election of Franklin as a peace commissioner, 378.

Sullivan's Island, Charleston harbor, a fort on it proposed, v. 50.

Sumter, a patriot commander, in South Carolina, takes refuge in North Carolina; his wife turned out doors and his house burned by British; leader of exiles, vi. 272, 273; attacks Huck, and destroys nearly his whole force, 273; surprises British post at Hanging Rock, 273; retires to Catawba settlement, and patriots flock to his standard, 274; captures British store train and escort, 278; after Camden, commands the largest American force in the Carolinas, 282; while bivouacking and asleep, attacked by Tarleton, who routs the Americans, taking two or three hundred prisoners; rides into Charlotte alone, without hat or saddle, 282; pronounced by Cornwallis "our greatest plague in this country," 286; repulses a party sent against him under Wemyss, 295; is joined by Clark and Brennan, and threatens Ninety-Six, 295; attacked by Tarleton, whom he forces to retreat, 296; captures Orangeburg, 404.

Supper, a farewell, of congress; the health of the commander in chief drunk; his reply received with silence, imposed by thoughts of the difficulties that await him, v. 7.

Supplies for British army, penalty fixed by congress for furnishing; enemy suffers for want of food and forage, vi. 19.

Supreme court, in Boston, opened; but jurors refuse to take the oath; judges notify Gage of impossibility of exercising their office in any part of the province; the army is too small, and jurors will not serve, 381.

Surrender of Burgoyne, vi. 13; he stipulates for passage of army from Boston to England, on condition of not serving again in North America during the war; the convention signed; ceremonies of surrender, 14.

Swaanendael, name of colony in Delaware, planted by Pieter Heyes; destroyed by Indians, ii. 44.

Sweden, only colony ever planted by, ruined by aggression of its governor, ii. 55.

Sweden, New, banks of Delaware, from the ocean to the falls, known as, ii. 48; disastrous end of; descendants of, colonists blend with other nationalities, 56.

Swedes, form company to plant colonies, ii. 46; its operations delayed by the king's military campaigns; first expedition, 47; military fame protects colony against Dutch; increased emigration of, to America; Pennsylvania traces its lineage to, 48; on the Delaware, more powerful than the Dutch, 55; driven from their settlements by the Dutch, 56.

Switzerland, an old and stable republic; an example to America; its men will not enlist in British armies; never

asked for aid by the United States, vi. 93.
Syracuse, salt springs of, discovered by Jesuits in 1654, and occupied by a French colony in 1656, ii. 64.
System, colonial, all Western Europe had shared in building, ii. 293; two powers most interested in, France and England, 294.
System, mercantile, of 1689, prime cause of colonial independence, ii. 290, 291; a source of European wars, 291; each nation permitted to apply it to its own colonies; doomed, by its own destruction, to emancipate commerce, 293.

TALBOT, Silas, assails the "Rénommé," a British ship-of-war in the Hudson, with a fire-brig; is severely burned, but escapes with his crew. v. 404.
Talon, intendant of Canada, ii. 322; resolves to spread power of France, and chooses St. Lusson to hold a congress of Indians at Falls of St. Mary, 326; favors Marquette's project of discovering the Mississippi, hoping to carry French flag to the Pacific or Gulf of Mexico, 328.
Tarleton, a British officer, attacks Buford's command, and butchers nearly all, though suing for quarter; is warmly praised by Cornwallis, vi. 266, 267; joins Rawdon near Camden, 277; ordered to aid of Ferguson, 290; hearing of battle of King's Mountain, rejoins Cornwallis, 293; sets fire to houses, and destroys corn from Camden to Nelson's ferry, beats the wife of a general because she cannot tell where Marion is, 295; ordered against Sumter, 295; attacks him, and is forced to retreat, 296; promises either to destroy Morgan's corps, or to push it towards King's Mountain, 383, 384; aims to break up assembly of Virginia; suffers nothing of Jefferson's at Monticello to be injured, 415; demonstrating against allied troops at Gloucester, is driven off by French dragoons, barely escaping, 425, 426.
Taxation, arbitrary, law against, in Massachusetts, i. 292; New England plantation freed from, by house of commons, 340; English lawyers doubt not power of parliament to tax America, ii. 288; American, the landed gentry of England startled by Barrington's announcement of its abandonment; Lord North, in house, moving the full tax of four shillings in the pound on land, encounters discontent of those who remember Barrington's words, and proceeds to explain that lord's statements, rendering it harmless, v. 106; in colonies, jealousy of control from without centres in, 347.
Taxes on colonies, imposition of, advised by Thomas Penn, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and Governor Sharp, of Maryland, iii. 110; inquiries as to best methods of levying, in parliament, 112; Franklin's argument against, 113; general demand for, from servants of crown in colonies, 116; various forms of taxation proposed, the stamp-tax being generally favored, 395, 396; right of legislature to impose on colonies unanimously conceded in house of commons, 414.
Tea, duties on, in England given up, and a specific duty imposed in America, iv. 45; women of Boston renounce the use of, 185; bill to repeal duties on, introduced in house, but fails, 201, 202; meetings to protest against importation of, in Boston, 267, 268, 272; the case of the "Dartmouth," 274, 275; two more tea-ships arrive in Boston, 276; destruction of three ships' cargoes there, 280, 281; tea-ships at Charleston, South Carolina, and Philadelphia, 281; repeal of tax on, moved by Rose Fuller, 303; reply of ministry that the question was simply whether all British authority should be taken away, 303; Burke's great speech, 303, 304; repealing act defeated, 306; a tea-ship sent back from New York, 306; bill refusing repeal passes the commons by vote of three to one, and by greater majority in lords, 306; a subscription started to pay East India company for tea, but fails, 323, 324.
Tea-party, the, men disguised as Indians, march to Griffin's Wharf, Boston, and throw into the harbor all the tea in three ships; encouraged by Hancock, Samuel Adams, and others; the deed accomplished, the town quiet while the news is borne to other points, iv. 280, 281.
Temple, John, a rumor spread in London that letters of Hutchinson and Oliver had been dishonestly obtained through him; press says he purloined letters of Thomas Whately submitted to him by latter's brother; fights a duel with W. Whately; denies "any concern in procuring or transmitting" the letters, iv. 283.
Temple, Lord, approves principle of stamp act, iii. 451; refuses appointment to the treasury, 460, 461; and to take office with Pitt, 484; offers a protest against repeal of stamp act, and defends Grenville's policy, 584; his removal urged by Bernard and Hutchinson, iv. 141; says, in debate on Boston port-bill, that nothing can justify ministers now except Boston proving in a state of actual rebellion, 300, 301.
Ten Broeck, Abraham, member of New York assembly, moves to take into consideration the proceedings of the general congress, but his motion is defeated by a majority of one, iv. 456.
Tennessee, people of, uphold American independence in consequence of Indian

war instigated by British, and name their district Washington, v. 432.
Ternay, Admiral de, convoys Rochambeau's command to Newport, vi. 318.
Thacher, Oxenbridge, counsel for people in trial touching writs of assistance, iii. 274; his ideas as to relations of colonies with England, 426; points out results of prevalence of British colonial system, 466; his tribute to Virginians, 476.
Thayer, Major Simeon, of Rhode Island, takes command of Mud Island fort; after brave resistance, sends away the garrison, vi. 23; reported to Washington as an officer of highest merit, 24.
Thirteen states, the old, whole Atlantic coast of, possessed by England, ii. 69.
Thorne, Robert, of Bristol, visits Newfoundland in 1502, i. 63; proposes voyages to the east by way of the north, to an open sea near the pole, 64, 65.
Thomas, John, commander of American troops at Roxbury, iv. 541; a physician of Kingston, Mass., elected brigadier-general of continental army; the best general officer of that colony, v. 7; made major-general, and ordered to command in Canada, 292; calls council of war, which votes to retreat to Three Rivers; attacked by garrison marines, and driven in disorder to Deschambault; at Sorel, fifteen leagues below Montreal, 293, 294; destitution and inefficiency of his army, 296; his death, 297.
Thompson, Brigadier-general, of Pennsylvania, in command of four battalions sent by Washington to Quebec, v. 291; commands party sent to attack Three Rivers; encounters a large force of the enemy, and is defeated after brave resistance, 297, 298.
Thompson, William, colonel of the eight companies of riflemen from Pennsylvania; his second in command, Edward Hand, an Irishman; one of his captains, Hendricks, famed for his fine person and gallantry, v. 30.
Thomson, William, commands Moultrie's advanced guard at Fort Moultrie, v. 276; re-enforced by Muhlenburg's regiment, 285.
Three plans for settlement; at opening of parliament in November, 1777, three systems of dealing with America proposed; the king for continuation of war at all hazards, till colonies submit, vi. 54; Chatham for conciliation of America by change of ministry, and chastisement of France; Rockingham party for giving up all claims on America rather than continue an unjust and cruel war, 55.
Thurlow, solicitor-general under George III., his coarse nature and bad heart; the evil genius of Lord North and England, and unrelenting to America, iv. 200; thinks the Quebec constitution, which cuts off right of *habeas corpus* and excludes men from any share in government, the only proper one for colonies, 308; his memory honored in Canada for his aid in passing the Quebec act, 415; in 1799, pronounces proposal to terminate the slave-trade "contemptible," vi. 298; most conspicuous defender of the new tory party, vi. 436.
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Vose, a major in Heath's regiment, sets fire to light-house in Boston harbor, capturing a field-piece, swivels, and the lamps; pursued by boats from a man-of-war, but escapes, v. 19.

Voyages, the, which led to colonization of United States; the courage and ability exhibited therein, i. 91, 92.

WADDEL, commander of militia, sent by Governor Tryon to Salisbury, iv. 220; his ammunition blown up, 221.

Walcott, Lieutenant-colonel, represents General Howe in negotiations for exchange of prisoners, and tries to sound his American co-commissioners with reference to negotiations for peace, v. 549, 550.

Waldeck, prince of, agrees to furnish troops, but has no way of getting them except by force or deceit; but, helped by the clergy, he hopes to get some together, vi. 178; collects twenty men for British army in his own domain, and sixty-nine elsewhere, 539.

Waldenses, the, their origin, ii. 59.

Waldron, Richard, magistrate at Cocheco, murdered by Indians, ii. 348.

Walker, Henderson, governor of North Carolina during four years of prosperity, ii. 202.

Walker, Sir Hovenden, commander of fleet for conquest of Canada, ii. 380; his obstinate stupidity, 382, 383.

Walpole, Horatio, reports bill in parliament to overrule charters, and make all royal orders the highest law in America, iii. 33; protests of the colonies against it, 33, 34; the bill dropped, 34; the younger, thinks Osborne's instructions better adapted to Mexico than for British Americans, leaning toward independence, iii. 67.

Walpole, Sir Robert, his administration leaves English statutes and American practice more at variance than ever, iii. 56.

War, a naval, between England and Holland, i. 165.

War, King Philip's, its beginning, i. 459; one of surprises on the part of Indians, 459, 460; peace concluded by Sir Edmund Andros, on terms favorable to Indians, 466; between France and England, suspended by negotiations, soon followed by peace of Utrecht, ii. 386; concessions of England and France, 387, 388; between France and England, avoidance of, desired by Bedford and De Puysieux, French minister for foreign affairs, but precipitated by a collision in America, iii. 48; between England and France, established by rescript of Louis XVI.; the British ambassador at Paris, and the French at London, recalled, 62; Rockingham advises breaking of alliance between France and the United States, by acknowledging independence of the latter; Shelburne insists that it is impossible not to resent the affront of France, 63.

Ward, Artemas, first general officer of Massachusetts militia, iv. 470; fears that he cannot keep his troops together, 541; his incompetency for his post observed by Joseph Warren, and the necessity of his removal imperative, 587; determines to avoid a general action, and sends regiments of Stark and Reed to Prescott's aid; does not leave his house all day, 610; his general order, 624; elected first of major-generals by continental congress; professes he is ready to devote his life to his country, v. 4.

Ward, Nathaniel, of Ipswich, prepares a model of a body of liberties for Massachusetts colony, i. 332.

Warner, elected lieutenant-colonel of regiment of Green Mountain Boys, v. 114; commands rear-guard of St.

Clair's retreating army, and repulses Francis's attack, till latter is re-enforced by Riedesel, v. 578.
Warren, James, of Plymouth, desponds, saying, "The towns are dead, and cannot be raised without a miracle," iv. 247; speaker of house of representatives of Massachusetts, v. 19; writes to Samuel Adams, in congress, that the king's silly proclamation will put an end to petitioning, and calling on him for a declaration of independence, &c., 83.
Warren, Joseph, of Boston, utters new war-cry of the world, "Freedom and equality," iii. 578; convinced that all connection with British parliament must be thrown off, iv. 379; singled out as leader of the "rebellion," 390; protests to Gage against fortifications on the Neck which closes the town, 390; writes to Quincy, the younger: "It is barely possible that Great Britain may depopulate North America; she never can conquer the inhabitants," 427; his hair grazed by a bullet, on retreat of British from Concord, 531; says, after Lexington and Concord, "The next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between us ends," 532; resolves to take part in the battle of Bunker Hill, and to Elbridge Gerry, remonstrating, he says, "It is pleasant and becoming to die for one's country;" receives tender of obedience from Putnam, but declines to assume authority, and declines like offer from Prescott, 611; at moment of retreat from Bunker Hill, falls, last in the trenches; his private and public virtues; lamented by all patriots, 623.
Warwick, Earl of, leader of opposition in the London company, i. 124; governor in chief of American colonies, 344; Connecticut obtains title to her soil from his assigns, 344.
Washington, George, sent as envoy to French forces on the Ohio, iii. 69; fired at by an Indian, whom he spares, 72; commissioned lieutenant-colonel to command at fork of Ohio, 73; opens first great war of revolution, and wins a small victory, 76; no aid comes to him, save one company from South Carolina, whose commander claims precedence, 77; his pretensions occasion defeat that followed, 77; capitulates, 78; resigns from British service, because no rank was given to provincial general officers, 111; joins Braddock as his aide, 121; commissioned colonel of volunteers, but thwarted by regular officers, 147, 148; goes to Boston to appeal to Shirley, who sustains him, 147; complimented by Shirley and Dinwiddie, 155, 156; joins Forbes's expedition to Ohio, 204; leads advance on Fort Duquesne, 206; [illegible] by speaker of house of burgesses, 208; retires to Mount Vernon, 208, 209; compared with Frederic, king of Prussia, 209; denounces stamp act, 504; avows his readiness to take his musket when his country calls, iv. 82; takes part in conference which announces policy of Virginia, 336; gives fifty pounds in aid of Boston; presides at convention, which favors a general congress, 351; eager for tranquillity, but indignant at wrongs of Boston, and resolved to resist regulating act, 405; publishes under his own name resolves of Maryland convention and Fairfax county committee, and thus stands out the advocate of a system which sets aside the military powers of royal governors; chosen commander of a company composed exclusively of "sons of gentlemen," 453; exults in the rising of New England and the discomfiture of Lord Sandwich, who had said that Americans were cowards, 580; battle of Bunker Hill confirms him in belief that the liberties of America would be preserved, 624; writes to his wife that "a kind of destiny has thrown me on this service," v. 7; assumes command of army at Cambridge; sees materials for a good army, but notes want of subordination and errors of inexperience, 17, 18; unable to return fire of enemy for want of ammunition, 32; takes possession of Ploughed Hill, when Gage begins a cannonade; the next day offers battle, but British will not accept the challenge, 33; resolves to direct the invasion of Canada from Ticonderoga, and open the road to Montreal, 33, 34; his life after his arrival at Cambridge "one continual round of vexation and fatigue," 35; submits to reproach of having chosen the policy of inaction, at which his soul revolts, 35; urges congress to establish prize courts, 83; his instructions to Arnold, 123; receiving from congress authority to attack Boston, repels with dignity the imputation of inactivity; uneasy, but never thinks of resigning his trust, 155; thinks independence should be declared, 156; consents to Lee's taking a separate command at New York, 185; prepares a stroke for the British, 194; when congress voted him thanks and a gold medal, he transfers the praise to his troops, 203; freely says that reconciliation is impracticable, and would be injurious to America; is convinced that nothing but independence will save the country, 263; his refusal to receive Lord Howe's communication approved by congress, 341; attempts defence of New York Island; forced to occupy many posts with a feeble and destitute force, 367; his generals incompetent, 369; resolves to avoid a general action at Long Island,

390, *note;* disapproves Sullivan's mission as a go-between, 391; submits to the decision of generals, till he can convince congress that evacuation of New York is a necessity, 394, 395; his conduct at Kip's Bay, 401–403, *note;* uses every means to revive the courage of his army, 404; foreseeing Howe's attempt to get in his rear, occupies causeway and bridge from Throg's Neck, posts guards on defensible grounds, and detaches a corps to White Plains, 439, 440; after the battle, draws back his army above White Plains; his military skill superior, but his army wasting away, 444; gives Greene final orders to use his discretion as to evacuating Fort Washington, and revoking order of congress to defend it to the last, 447, 448; not seconded by his generals, who seem to be his peers, 448, 449; after capture of Fort Washington, regrets his failure to overrule the orders of general in command of the post, 453; retreats before Cornwallis, and exchanges a sharp cannonade at Raritan bridge; his repeated but vain order to Lee, 460, 461; resolves to strike the enemy as soon as Lee joins him, 470; his determination to attack Trenton, 481; begins the battle, 482; defeats Rall's plans, 483; crosses Delaware, and announces to congress that he will beat up the enemy's quarters; pledges his own fortune to raise money for troops, 488; surrounded by jealous and tattling officers, 554, 555; moves his army of seventy-five hundred men to Middlebrook, 564; cares of northern department thrown on him; blamed for his Fabian policy by Samuel Adams and others, 566; leads his troops, decorated with sprigs of green, through Philadelphia, to overawe the disaffected, 594, 595; withdraws to high ground above Chad's ford, directly in Howe's course, 595; too weak to risk a battle; joined by Wayne, and re-enforced by a thousand Marylanders; urges Gates to return Morgan's corps, resolved to force Howe to retreat or capitulate before winter, 601; receives news of Burgoyne's surrender with joy and gratitude, vi. 20; defeats project of attacking Howe in Philadelphia; selects strong ground for an encampment, and waits for the enemy, 36; reproves Johnstone, one of British commissioners, for sending him a private letter, 136; crosses Delaware above Trenton, and follows Clinton in a parallel line, 137, 138; encountering Lee's retreating troops, angrily demands of Lee, "What is the meaning of this?" on Lee's reply that he had not approved of the attack, tells him that he shouldn't have taken the command, unless he meant to do his duty, 139, 140; the first to affirm that efficient power must be infused into general government, 174; seeing congress "rent by party," calls on George Mason and Jefferson to save the country, 301; moves his camp to Rockaway bridge, leaving Greene, with two brigades, at Short Hills, 317; arrives at Fort Defiance a few hours after Arnold's flight, 328; refuses sole disbursement of the six million gift of France, 372; orders Steuben to defend Virginia with an eye to Greene's needs, 398; congress puts highest military powers in his hands, 414; visits Mount Vernon, with Rochambeau and Chastellux, the first time in six years; goes to Williamsburg, and is welcomed by Lafayette as generalissimo of combined armies of two nations; acknowledges the courage and coolness of the French at Yorktown, 428; resumes, with eastern army, the old positions around New York, 432; his reply to Nicola, 465.

Washington, Lieutenant-colonel, sent by Morgan against Georgia tories, plundering near Fair Forest, attacks and routs them, vi. 383; kept in reserve at battle of Cowpens, 385; but charges with effect at its close, 387; receives a silver medal from congress, 387; in the battle of Guilford, 395; wounded and taken prisoner at Eutaw Springs, 408.

Watauga, the, settlers on, march under Evan Shelby to Point Pleasant on the Kanawha, iv. 423; hold assembly at Abingdon, which adheres to congress, and addresses delegates from Virginia with an avowal of its political faith, 443, 444; settlers on, pitying Macdowell's men, resolve to restore them to their homes, and raise two regiments under Isaac Shelby and John Sevier, vi. 289; this force, with Campbell's and Macdowell's men, crosses the Alleghanies; is joined by Colonel Benjamin Cleveland with a regiment, 290; takes name of "western army;" officers resolve to surprise Ferguson, 291; they encounter, and compel his force to surrender, 292.

Watson, George, of Plymouth, Mass., elected to the council; on Sunday after his acceptance, when he enters meeting-house, his neighbors depart; overcome by this indignity, determines to resign, iv. 376.

Waymouth, George, commands expedition to New England in 1605, i. 90; ascends St. George's River; takes home five natives, 90, 91.

Wayne, Anthony, joins Pennsylvania troops in Forbes's expedition to Ohio, iii. 204; commands a regiment in Sullivan's army in Canada; his gallantry at Three Rivers, v. 297, 298; burns to go to assistance of "poor Washington," but is kept in command at Ticonderoga, 458; is attacked by General

Grey with three regiments, who takes, kills, or wounds three hundred men, 600; expresses purpose to follow line pointed out by Lee, Gates, and Mifflin; disparages Washington as having often slighted the favors of fortune, vi. 39; distinguishes himself at Monmouth, 142; leads assault on Stony Point, 211; encounters heavily superior force at Green Spring, and is rescued by Lafayette, 417, 418; goes south to join Greene, 432; wrests Georgia from the British; surprises a body of British troops, escorting Indians, and totally defeats them; repulses a Creek attack, and kills their chief warrior, 460, 461; joins Greene, on evacuation of Savannah; strives to reconcile patriots and loyalists of South Carolina, 461.

Webb, British general, ordered to be ready to march to defence of Oswego, iii. 156; delays, and flees to Albany, 158; his cowardly conduct at capture of Fort William Henry, 174, 176.

Webster, Pelatiah, of Philadelphia, shows congress the necessity of their calling a continental convention to define, enlarge, and limit the duties and powers of the constitution, vi. 356.

Wedderburn, seconds Burke in condemning ministerial policy towards America, and denounces Hillsborough; his veracity questioned by Lord North, i. 203; becomes solicitor-general, 217; his attack on Franklin before privy council, 286-288; his memory honored in Canada for his aid in passing Quebec act. 415.

Welde, Thomas, minister of Roxbury, helps to translate Psalms from Hebrew, i. 330.

Wemyss, a British officer, despatched against Sumter; is repulsed, wounded, and taken prisoner; on him is found a list of houses he has burnt, and he had hanged Adam Cusack; but is unharmed by his captors, vi. 295.

Wesley, John, defends colonial policy of the court; regards defection of America as prelude of conspiracy against monarchy, iv. 494; hearing news of Lexington, writes to Dartmouth and Lord North, asking if it is common sense to use force toward Americans, 561; noting rapid increase of British prosperity, predicts approach of revolution in Europe, v. 247.

West, Francis, governor of Virginia, i. 152.

West, Francis, sent to exclude from American waters fishermen without a license; his authority derided, i. 255.

West, John, governor of Virginia on the deposition of Harvey, i. 155.

West, Joseph, commercial agent for proprietaries of South Carolina, i. 509; dismissed on the charge of favoring the popular party, 522.

Westchester county, Pa., a thorough movement made for manumission of slaves, iv. 503.

Westchester county, N.Y.; Morris, of Morrisania, and Van Cortlandt, strong patriots; but Philipse and the Delanceys, large landholders, in favor of the king, v. 183.

Western territory, conquered by English in America, a waste, with feeble garrisons, which yet alarmed the Indians, iii. 375.

Western Virginians at Fort Gower, promise allegiance to the king, if he would reign over them as "a brave and free people," but agree to exert all their powers for the defence of American liberty, iv. 425.

West Florida, Franklin pleads in peace negotiations for its restoration to England, vi. 474; the line of north boundary of, and the United States, agreed on in separate article of treaty of peace, 483.

West India Islands, captured by De Grasse, — St. Eustatius, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, vi. 445.

Westminster, in New Hampshire Grants; to prevent the assertion of New York jurisdiction, young men of, take possession of the court-house, and are driven out by the royal sheriff, two being killed; royalists concerned in the affair sent to Massachusetts for trial; the story of their deed spread abroad, as one of tyranny and murder, iv. 502.

Westmoreland, county of, the only county in Virginia that had no grievances to set before the king, i. 558.

Westmoreland county, Pa., inhabitants of, form regiments, iv. 549.

West New Jersey, its fundamental laws, recognising democratic equality, published, ii. 102; influx of English Quakers; jurisdiction claimed by Andros, governor of New York, but claim referred to England; Duke of York relinquishes all claims to territory and government, 105; institution of this government one of the most beautiful incidents of the age, 105; Byllinge's claim as proprietary to right of nominating deputy governor resisted; constitution amended, and a governor elected, 106.

Weston, Thomas, a London merchant, active in forwarding Plymouth colony; desires to monopolize profits of the fur-trade, i. 249; failure of his enterprise, 249, 250.

Wethersfield, Conn., scene of Ingersoll's resignation, iii. 498, 499; sends one hundred volunteers to Boston, well-armed and spirited, April 22, iv. 536.

Weymouth, settlement at, maintained, i. 264.

Weymouth, Lord, refuses Spain's offer of mediation, but invites a closer union, even an alliance, with Spain, vi. 163; gives warning of fatal effects of American independence on Spanish

monarchy, 164; steadily repels Spain's mediation, unless France withdraws her support from colonies, 180; rejects Spain's special offer of mediation on basis of a truce of thirty-five or forty years, 181.
Whale-fishery, the boon that was to mollify New England; Americans relieved from inequality of the discriminating duty, 412, 413; the most liberal measure of Grenville's administration, 413.
Whately, Thomas, joint secretary of British treasury, thinks the taxes on American colonies insufficient, iii. 414.
Whately, William (brother and executor of Thomas, Hutchinson's correspondent), publishes card, in which he does not relieve John Temple from suspicion of purloining some of Thomas Whately's letters; fights a duel with Temple, iv. 283, 284.
Whalley, Edward, one of the judges who condemned Charles I.; escapes with Goffe to Boston, i. 406.
Wheelock, Eleazer, president of Dartmouth College, sends James Dean to visit the tribes in Canada, and "brighten the chain of friendship," iv. 510.
Wheelwright, John, a silenced minister, a friend of Anne Hutchinson, i. 306; censured for sedition, 307; exiled from Massachusetts, 308; his sentence of exile rescinded, 349.
Whence was America peopled? Mounds do not prove the existence in it of people of a high civilization, ii. 452, 453; no evidence of America's early connection with Europe in resemblance in roots of words, 454, 455; or in similarity of customs, 455; theory that the lost tribes of Israel found homes in America unsupported, 455, 456; only American nations were ignorant of the pastoral state, 458; water the highway of uncivilized man, 459; resemblance between American and Mongolian races, 460; the Tschukchi of Northeastern Asia and Esquimaux of same origin, 461.
Whig lords, conference of; Bedford, on behalf of Temple and Grenville, announces readiness to support a, if it insisted on sovereignty of Great Britain over colonies; Rockingham objects; a substitute for Grenville's explicit language accepted; meeting closes without any results, 53, 54; a second conference as vain, the difference about America being insuperable, 54.
Whig party, the, of England; its achievements, iii. 107, 108; its controversy with province of New York, 108, 109; never had affection or confidence of people, 163; its crime and its punishment, 289; chief members of, driven into retirement, 294; its leaders propose to stay away from parliament, as their opposition only strengthens the ministry; keep aloof for the time, intending to favor mercy when the rebellion is beaten down, v. 415, 416; Burke and the friends of Rockingham retire from active service in parliament, 419; its principle the paramount power of the aristocracy, vi. 436; the trustees of, rather than with the people, 437.
Whitaker, Alexander, the "apostle of Virginia," i. 110.
White, John, governor of city of Raleigh, i. 83; goes to England for supplies and re-enforcements, 84; two ships containing these forced to return, 85; revisits Roanoke in 1590, and finds it a desert, 86.
Whitefield, George, his fears for New England, iii. 418.
White Plains, battle of; Howe beset by difficulties; advances his right and centre above New Rochelle, leaving Von Heister there with three brigades; Washington sends Heath's division to White Plains, v. 442; re-enforcements of Hessians and Waldeckers; Washington is at White Plains, and baffles attempt to get in his rear, 442, 443; Lee joins army, and grumbles at the position; Washington's object to waste Howe's time, 443; his army advances, driving back Spencer at Hart's Corner, 443, 444; English and Hessians attack Chatterton Hill in line; are desperately resisted, and seem to be defeated, when Rall charges Americans on the flank; Macdougall, beset by thrice his own force, safely retires; British losses the larger, 444, 445.
White slavery, in last quarter of eighteenth century, blights more than half of Europe, vi. 298.
Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, enforces conformity, i. 222; his death, 231.
Whiting, agent of Connecticut, aids in obtaining approval of king for resumption of government, after Andros's repulse by Presbyterian sympathy, ii. 241.
Wilford, Thomas, an officer under Bacon, in Virginia; his jest on arraignment, i. 555.
Wilkes, John, inflames public mind through "North Briton," iii. 294; exposes a fallacy in king's speech; is arrested, but set at liberty, 372; elected member for Middlesex, and expelled at king's request, iv. 156; made magistrate of London, and returned by Middlesex; the return voted null in the house; returned unanimously a third time; becomes the most conspicuous man in England, 156, 157; deprecates war against Americans, and anticipates their celebration of victory, 467, 468; lord mayor of London calls on the king, with aldermen and livery, and complains that the real purpose of the

ministry is to establish arbitrary power over all America, 511; his remark about the king, v. 89; says it is impossible to conquer and hold America, 416.
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Wilkinson, Gates's chief aide, a sycophant; made a brigadier, vi. 38.
Willard, Abijah, of Lancaster, Mass., arrested by farmers of Union, Conn., and about to be taken to county jail, when he begs forgiveness, and promises never to sit in the council, iv. 376.
Willard, brother-in-law of Prescott, asked by General Gage if the latter will fight, answers, "To the last drop of his blood," iv. 606.
Willett, Marinus, of New York, in command of St. John's, v. 130; leads a sally from Fort Stanwix, and harries Sir John Johnson's quarters, 585; makes his way through Indian quarter, to seek relief for the garrison, 586; receives from congress public praise and "an elegant sword," 586.
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William of Orange, his absorbing passion, ii. 190; his election to the throne, its meaning, 192; recalls Sir Edmund Andros, 250; favors colonizing Mississippi, 368; governs the policy of Europe, and, as to territory, shapes the destinies of America, 370.
William V., stadholder of United Provinces, weak, incompetent, and dependent on influence of Great Britain; mercenary, vi. 233; sides with England in dispute about ravages of her privateers, 236; indignation at his want of patriotism, 241; addresses empress of Russia as to concert in defence of neutral rights, 357; delays organization of defensive association, 358; will not listen to a treaty with Russia, unless it guarantees possessions of the republic in both Indies, 360, 361; thinks his government has done enough to avert England's suspicion, 365.
Williams, Colonel Ephraim, of Massachusetts, sent to relieve Fort Edward from Johnson's camp, is ambuscaded and killed, iii. 139.
Williams, Colonel James, alone of patriot leaders of militia in South Carolina, escapes pursuit, vi. 267; after fall of Charleston, does not cease to gather friends of the union in arms, 286; routs garrison of Musgrove's Mills, 287; in the forks of the Catawba, pursuing Ferguson; joins the "western army" at the Cowpens, 291; killed in battle of King's Mountain; his family nearly extirpated by the enemy, 293.
Williams, David, of Tarrytown, aids Paulding in the seizure of André, vi. 327.
Williams, Roger, arrives in Boston, i. 285, 286; unable to join with Boston church, 287; called to Higginson's place in Salem, but, warned by Winthrop, the church withdraws its call, 287; again called to Salem, 293; his opinions, 294, 295; first in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of liberty of conscience, 298; exiled by the court, 299; leaves Salem for Narragansett Bay, 300; under advice of Governor Winthrop, goes to a place which he calls Providence, 301; founds a commonwealth in an unmixed form, 301; invites Anne Hutchinson's friends to Providence, 309; obtains a charter for Rhode Island, 344; goes again to England, and procures revocation of Coddington's commission to govern islands, 346; his success due to Sir Henry Vane, 346.
Wolfe, General James, his military career, iii. 193; gathers army to operate against Quebec, 216; attempts to land, but is repulsed, 219; his final inspection, and recital of Gray's lines, 222; repulses French attack, is thrice wounded, and carried to the rear; his last words, and death, 224.
Wooster, David, of Connecticut, brigadier-general of continental army, v. 7; appointed governor of Montreal, 130; chief command of troops in Canada falls on him, 287; incompetent, and desires to yield his office; takes command of troops around Quebec, and is laughed at by the garrison, 290; fights bravely, and is mortally wounded at Ridgefield, 561; a monument voted to him by congress, 562.
Worcester, Mass., holds a county congress, which disclaims the jurisdiction of British house of commons, asserts exclusive rights of colonies to originate laws for themselves, and declares the violation of the charter a dissolution of their union with Britain, iv. 372.
Writs of general assistance, demanded by customs-officers in Massachusetts, iii. 252; James Otis's bold denunciation of the writs as destructive of the fundamental principles of law, and against the constitution, 274, 275; old judges against granting writs; but persuaded by Hutchinson to await orders from England, on receipt of which writs were granted, 627.

Ximenes, Cardinal, refuses to sanction introduction of negroes into Hispaniola, i. 136.

Yale College, founded by gift of a few volumes by ten clergymen, at Branford, in 1700, i. 425.
Yeamans, Sir John, created a landgrave

of South Carolina, i. 510; his arrival with slaves, 512; second governor of South Carolina; his policy, 522.

Yeardley, George, deputy governor of Virginia, superseded by Argall, i. 116; reinstated and knighted, 117; real life of Virginia begins with his administration (1619), 118.

York, Duke of, brother of Charles II., engrossed with country between Pemaquid and the St. Croix, and with that between Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, i. 433; ascends the throne, 481; in his name, soldiers landed near Brooklyn, ii. 67; patron of the slave-trade, 70; promises not to change enactments of assembly of New York, but breaks his promise after accession of James II., decreeing direct tax, and extorting fees and quit-rents, 146; excluded by vote of commons, 165.

Yorke, Charles, selected by Newcastle for chancellor, but opposed by Pitt, iii. 404; defends the stamp act, 450; offered chancellorship by the king, which he had long coveted; accepts, and is reproached by Hardwicke, his brother, kisses him, goes home, and dies by his own hand, 181.

Yorke, Sir Joseph, charged to induce Austria to turn to England, iii. 286, 287; perfidy of this effort, which fails, 287; British minister at the Hague; reports that recruits in any number may be raised in Germany, v. 92; assures British government that capture of Lee is to be regretted, that he is the worst present the Americans can receive, 550, 551; instructed to ascertain how British cruisers may know where to find richest Dutch prizes, vi. 360; reports to Stormont that a war against England is still believed impossible, 363.

Yorktown, Va., fortified by Cornwallis, vi. 420; exterior posts of, abandoned by him, 425; trenches opened before, by Americans and French, and firing begun; two advanced British redoubts stormed, one by Americans, the other by French grenadiers and yagers, and both carried, 426–428; British make a sortie, but are driven back; Cornwallis proposes to surrender; terms of capitulation same as those granted to Lincoln, 428; Cornwallis stays in his tent, while Major-General O'Hara marches the British army, and with ill grace surrenders to Washington, 429.

Yorktown, surrender of, news of, received in England; in parliament, the king's speech confused, the debates augur a change of opinion, and ministerial majority reduced, vi. 430

Young, Thomas, publishes address to people of Vermont, which influences the action of its convention, v. 577, 578.

Zubly, a Swiss, delegate in congress from Georgia, says a republic is little better than a government of devils, and shudders at the idea of separation from Britain, v. 86.

Zuñi, the account of, manners, customs, &c., i. 35, 37, 38.

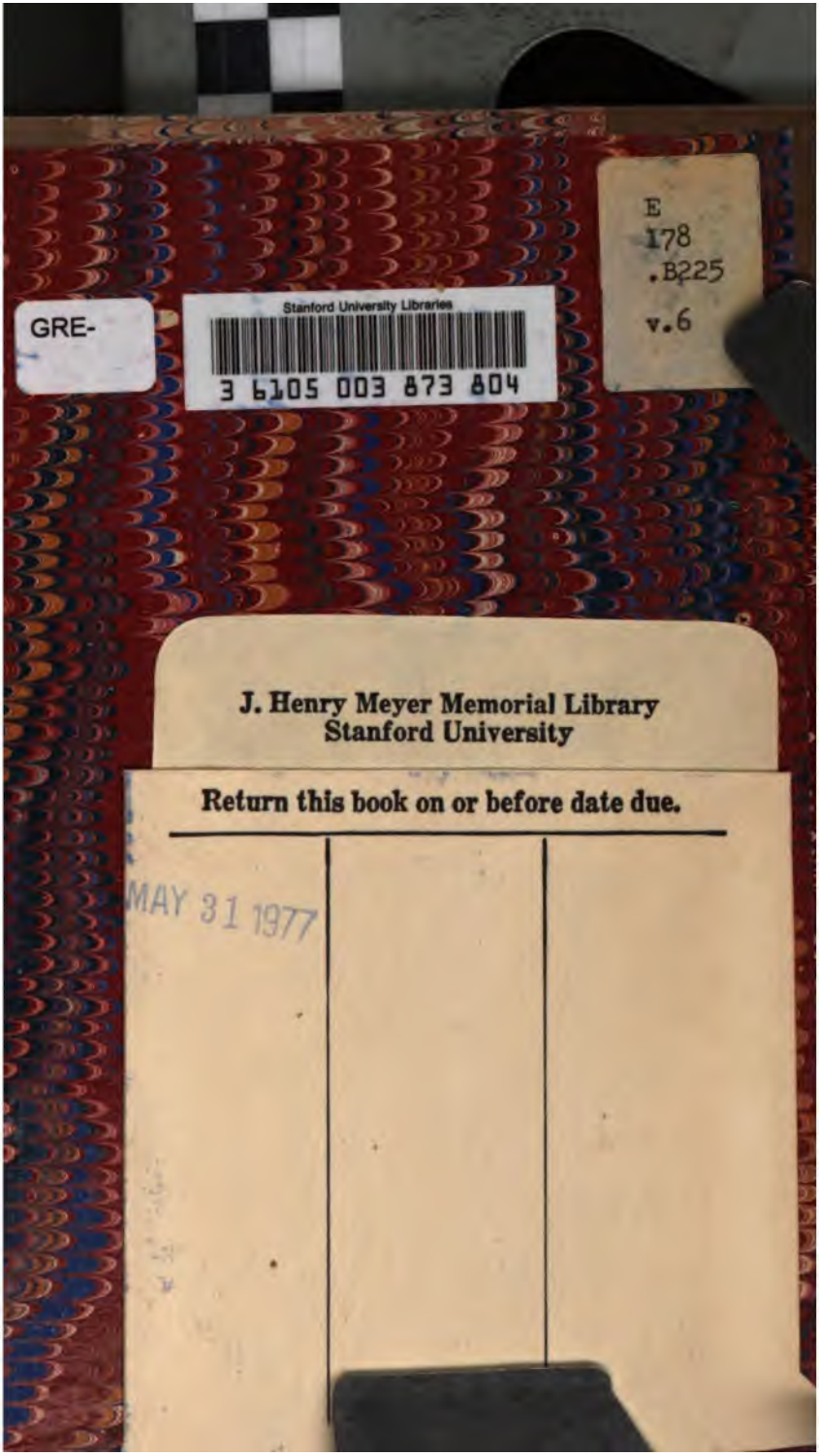
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